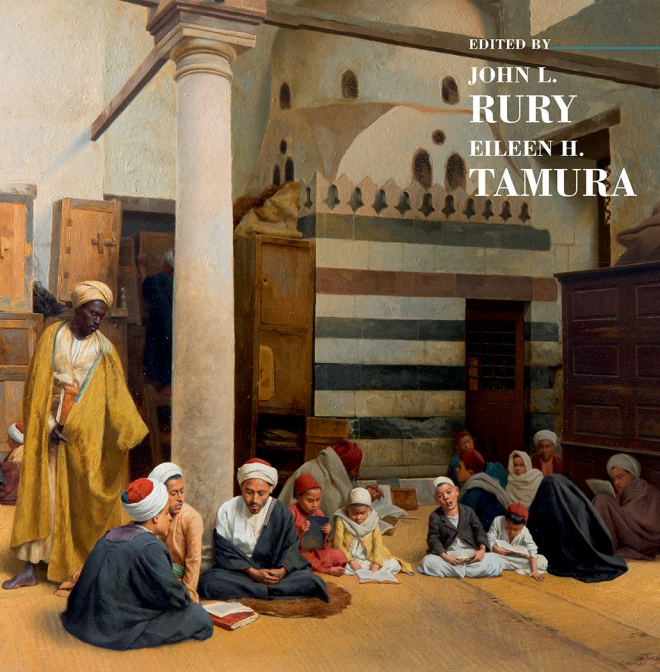




EDITED BY

JOHN L.

RURY

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TAMURA

≡ The Oxford Handbook of
**THE HISTORY
OF EDUCATION**

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

THE HISTORY
OF EDUCATION

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and

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INTRODUCTION

a multifaceted and flourishing field

JOHN L. RURY AND EILEEN H. TAMURA

THE history of education is an old and expansive field of scholarship, global in purview and touching upon a wide range of issues in social, intellectual, and political history, along with other scholarly domains. Systematic historical accounts of education as a discrete institutional domain appeared at least as early as the first half of the nineteenth century, in concert with the rise of state-affiliated schooling, and even earlier in more general terms. For the next century or more, most work in the field focused on emergent national systems of education, a major development of the period. It was not until the twentieth century that the history of education began to develop as an identifiable subfield of teaching, research, and writing in many countries, although it lacked such academic accoutrements as scholarly journals and regular professional conferences until the latter twentieth century. Like many other realms of historical scholarship, it took a while for the history of education to acquire a distinctive academic identity.

Once the field had gained a firm academic footing, the body of scholarship within it expanded enormously, especially after the 1960s. Much of this work has been published in English, but it has increased in other languages as well. For the most part, this growing research literature has retained a preoccupation with educational problems in particular locales, framed by state systems of schooling. But exposure to the work of scholars in other disciplines, the social sciences in particular, has offered a somewhat wider purview to consider as well. As a result, the history of education has begun to transcend disciplinary borders as a coherent and integrated field in many respects, even if much research and writing remains focused on topics defined in national terms. At the same time, it has experienced a variety of interpretive and methodological debates and, consequently, has undergone considerable change.

THE FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF A FIELD

The earliest modern historical accounts of teachers and schools date from the eighteenth century. Although historical accounts of education were written before the rise of formal or specialized teacher training in the nineteenth century, the emergence of this institutional apparatus provided a firm professional footing for the field. In these circumstances the history of education as a course of study flourished. It was intended to provide prospective teachers with an understanding of pedagogical theories and methods of teaching that had been utilized in the past, along with a commitment to nationalistic goals for popular education. Such instruction was often didactic in nature, a litany of failures and successes in the quest to establish clear guidelines about preferred approaches to education. The history of education also became a means of developing professional identities for educators, especially as school systems grew in size and complexity. The field became widely associated with narratives of progress, often depicting modern schools as marching forward in the face of adversity, typically with contemporary bureaucratic and differentiated administrative structures portrayed as the pinnacle of educational thought and practice. The purpose of such history was less a matter of critical reflection on educational problems of the past than reinforcement of professional commitment to existing school organizations and the social and political purposes they served.

Given this orientation, the research agenda and historiography of the field was rather constricted through much of the first half of the twentieth century, and for some time afterward as well. Since it was generally taught in schools or departments of education, it was largely isolated from historians working elsewhere in universities, many of whom—like liberal arts scholars in many fields—held a rather low opinion of the intellectual merits of education as an academic domain. There were a small number of academic historians who studied certain aspects of educational history, but most viewed it as a rather specific topic within social or cultural history rather than a clearly distinctive and established branch of historical scholarship. The result was a degree of incoherence and arrested development, with some topics—such as university history—receiving considerably more attention than most others. A strong tradition of research on the history of ideas in education was especially notable in Europe and exerted influence elsewhere.¹ But the field remained largely isolated from broader trends in the study of history. It would take a period of profound social and economic change in the late twentieth century to finally alter this state of affairs.

Like many other subfields of historical research and writing, the history of education was deeply affected by the global social and political upheaval that occurred during the 1960s and 1970s. Education had become a critically important aspect of social and economic development, as enrollments in secondary and tertiary sectors of national school systems increased rapidly around the world. As expectations for educational attainment rose sharply, inequality in access to advanced levels of schooling and the means of academic success became highly potent political issues. Migration patterns that brought millions of newcomers from the countryside to major cities, occurring in the nineteenth century in industrialized countries and some decades later in developing nations, highlighted urban poverty. Social class differences that had simmered before the turn of the twentieth century

once again became significant issues of contention during the 1960s and beyond, especially with the decline of factory employment and the heightened importance of formal education. In a relatively short time, education became a vital social question, affecting a large and growing segment of the world's population, and a new generation of historians became interested in exploring previously unexamined dimensions of its past.²

The history of education was hardly the only field of historical inquiry to be affected by the social and political turmoil of the era. Historical scholarship in much of the world was turning decisively away from the political orientation of earlier research and writing, toward an abiding focus on social and economic history. It was the era of "history from the bottom up," influenced by social protest, much of it on campuses in Western countries, and by a resurgence of academic Marxism that took a variety of forms. Left-wing historians such as Eric Hobsbawm and E. P. Thompson in Britain and members of the *Annales* School in France became influential sources of inspiration, along with the Bielefeld School in Germany and figures such as Peter Stearns, Gerda Lerner, and Herbert Gutman in the United States. There was renewed interest in history as uncovering dimensions of social change that had long been overlooked, especially the experiences of nonelite or otherwise ordinary people and the circumstances that helped shape their lives.³

Working in the spirit of the "new social history," historians began to examine previously unexplored dimensions of the educational past as well. This was the era of revisionism in educational history, a development evident in a number of countries. Harvard colonial historian Bernard Bailyn contributed to it in 1960 by calling for greater attention to the vast array of formal and informal educational influences that shaped learning in an era before modern school systems had appeared. In addition to this, historians such as Philippe Ariès in France and Brian Simon and Joan Simon in Great Britain, along with Michael Katz and Clarence Karier in the United States, also offered new ways of thinking about the role and development of education in different contexts. Like Bailyn's, theirs was not a narrative of progress in the face of adversity. Rather, it was a tale of inequity and conflict, struggle against dominant and exploitative authorities, and the identification of deeply rooted cultural change. As a consequence, perceptions of the field began to change. In this light, education no longer seemed like a narrow and isolated estuary in the landscape of historical research and writing. It was an institution, after all, that touched upon almost all of society, including groups that had long suffered discrimination and exclusion. These new educational histories were hardly tales of advancement and triumph. This was the great appeal of this flavor of revisionism in educational history: it seemed to turn on its head the conventional narrative long associated with the field.

This changing conceptualization of the past was hardly limited to educational historians. The rise of the so-called new history kindled an interest in education among other academic historians, and a growing number began to examine schools, students, and teachers as aspects of popular experience that warranted sustained investigation, particularly with respect to their roles in the larger social context. One telling sign of this was an international faculty seminar focusing specifically on the history of education, directed by prominent British historian Lawrence Stone at Princeton University between 1969 and 1973. Reflecting this changing scholarly landscape, the journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, *Daedalus*, offered a special issue in 1971 titled "Historical Studies Today," featuring articles by Stone, Hobsbawm, Felix Gilbert, and a number of other scholars on various aspects of historical study, including one on the history of education. Written by John Talbott,

a young historian at Princeton who studied French education, that contribution signaled a decisive turn for the field. Talbot argued that education stood at the nexus of the study of children and families, literacy and social status, and many other facets of social history that had been long neglected. Even if he was dubious about its standing as a unique field of study, it represented a clarion call for a broader, more expansive way of thinking about education as a historical question.⁴

Attention to education as an object of historical study was abetted by the rise of parallel subfields that often touched upon it, even if only tangentially. These developments also reflected the impact of the new social history. As suggested earlier, the pioneering work of Ariès was quite influential, well beyond educational history. His provocative thesis about the “discovery” of childhood prompted additional historical studies of children in France and other countries, along with renewed attention to the history of families and family life around the world. Accordingly, the history of childhood and the history of the family emerged as growing areas of study during the 1970s and beyond. These developments were influenced by heightened interest in gender as a long-ignored dimension of historical experience, especially following the work of Louise Tilly and Joan Scott on women’s roles in family life. Somewhat more closely related to education, the history of literacy also came into view as a distinctive topic of research at about the same time, drawing attention from economic and social historians, in addition to scholars interested in the history of education. For a time, studies in so-called psychohistory also proved to be stimulating to historians studying education. As cultural history came into fashion during the 1980s and 1990s, this too cast education in a somewhat new light. All of these various fields of historical study shared an interest in one facet or another of human development, an abiding concern of education as a domain of institutional and individual activity. These events helped to make the history of education a point of interest to a much wider range of scholars than had been the case prior to the 1960s.⁵

At the same time that the history of education was being reconsidered in this light, a minor methodological revolution was beginning to agitate the discipline of history, one with important implications for the study of education in the past. With the advent of modern computing for research and data analysis, it became possible to utilize large-scale quantitative evidence to address a wide range of historical problems. Understandably, these methods were most readily used by economic historians, but it was not long before they were employed in social history as well. This adaptation was pioneered by Fernand Braudel and his colleagues in the *Annales* School during the 1950s and 1960s. Elsewhere Stephan Thernstrom’s studies of social mobility were quite influential in the United States, as was the work of Peter Laslett’s research group on family structure in Britain. There were many others, and certain subfields such as urban history were dramatically revived. It certainly appeared as though time-honored approaches to historical research and writing were on the verge of being fundamentally changed.

By the late 1960s historians of education had begun using these methods to study inequality in education and its relationship to factors such as ethnicity and social class, especially in quantitative studies of school attendance. This body of work developed first in North America but eventually spread to other parts of the world. Since education research was historically linked to the development of statistical methods and schools had generated a wide variety of statistical data for decades, the connection seemed natural for some educational historians, but not for many others, particularly those who had long focused on the

history of educational ideas. The quantitative era of historical research in education thus turned out to be relatively short-lived, as it was in the larger historical profession. This somewhat fleeting attraction to quantification illustrates educational historians' rather eclectic approach to evidence and methodology. This was true long before the quantitative revolution and remains so today.⁶

What has emerged in the types of evidentiary sources used by educational historians includes not only written documents and statistical data, the latter of which have not been entirely eschewed, but also increasing sophistication in analyzing photographs, film, archaeological findings, building and furniture design, oral histories, and the like. These developments in sources and methods provide a wealth of material that enables scholars to examine the lives and experiences not only of educational leaders and other prominent figures but, importantly, of those who constitute most of society: ordinary people, including children and youth, parents, and teachers.

In conjunction with changing methodological approaches and new forms of historical evidence, historians of education also became more conscious users of social theory. There were sharp debates about the links between schools and industrialization, literacy and social inequality, and a number of related questions that could be tied to sociological theories of conflict and change. Historians of education waded into these controversies, representing a wide variety of viewpoints and dispositions. Neo-Marxist perspectives became quite influential during the 1970s, finding expression in historical writing about education on both sides of the Atlantic. The reaction within the field differed in these settings, however, becoming rather shrill in the United States, while finding a more sympathetic reception in Great Britain, in Europe, and elsewhere. Perhaps the more important lesson was that it had become quite impossible to think of the history of education without considering a larger theoretical frame of social and economic conflict and change. Clearly the days when a celebratory history of educational growth and success would suffice were long gone, and while some lamented this, most historians were unwilling to tolerate such an unsophisticated and sanguine account of the educational past.⁷

THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN A GLOBAL CONTEXT

Historians have responded to the global nature of education, reaching far back to premodern times and in all areas of the world. East Asia, for example, has been an important region for historical studies. Scholars have examined Chinese educational traditions dating back to the second millennium BCE, when scribes learned the practice of etching symbols onto deer and turtle shells. From these early times, China developed a sophisticated educational tradition based on Confucian ethics, which eventually spread throughout East Asia and beyond. Since the late twentieth century, scholarship on East Asia has moved into the history of women's education and the history of literacy, and local studies have brought to light the wide diversity within the nation-states.

Ancient Greece and Rome have also been places for fertile historical research. Historians have found a wealth of sources in students' work and teaching materials, including exercises

in reading, handwriting, and composition, as well as literary works used for edification. Of continued interest to historians are the linkages between these past practices and later Western developments in education, including those of medieval Europe, and extending well beyond in time.

Independent of its educational linkages with ancient Greece and Rome, medieval Europe achieved a consequential development that began in the twelfth century. This was the inception and gradual evolution of a form of higher education that became the university, with Christian theology taking center stage in the curriculum. Historians have examined these changes, as well as the spread and further development of the university, including its increase in professionalization and secularization during the centuries that followed.

Other far-reaching changes occurred in Europe and North America in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, such as the emergence of the research university that was pioneered by Germany and influenced by the Industrial Revolution, and the use of universities as places of research for military purposes during and after the two world wars. Beginning in the late twentieth and continuing into the twenty-first century, increased globalization witnessed the heightened internationalization of student bodies, the establishment of satellite campuses situated beyond national borders, and virtual, online courses that reached students worldwide.

A global phenomenon, first occurring in Europe and North America beginning in the twentieth century, and later in Asia and parts of Africa and Latin America beginning later in the century, was the dramatic rise in student enrollment, often encouraged by governments seeking to boost national development. At the same time, this remarkable increase in demand for postsecondary education created tensions coming from the lack of sufficient public funding, as well as the limited human and physical capacity to meet the needs of increased enrollment.

Substantial historical work has been achieved on these far-reaching developments in higher education, focused particularly on Europe, North America, and Asia. Since the late twentieth century, issues of race and ethnicity, class, gender, and religion as they impact higher education have garnered increasing interest, particularly among historians of North America and Europe. These issues can be expected to be subjects of increasing interest in historical studies of higher education in Asia, Latin America, and Africa. In the areas of comparative and transnational histories concerning higher education, much has yet to be achieved.

While historians of the first half of the twentieth century were more interested in writing about universities than other aspects of educational history, this began to change in the decades that followed. During the second half of the twentieth century, historical literature on multiple aspects of education proliferated, including studies on the development of national education systems in different areas of the world. Emerging from the rise of nationalism, these school systems promoted the state's interests through citizenship education and the teaching of the nation's history. Beginning in Prussia in the late eighteenth century and spreading across Europe and North America in succeeding decades, the notion of using education to promote the nation-state spread globally through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In Latin America, as in other areas of the world, school reformers sought to expand primary and secondary schooling and spread literacy to promote loyalty to the government and create a more productive society. These efforts, which saw their beginnings during the

colonial period, gained force after independence. Historians have examined these endeavors, such as the role demanded of schooling in building strong nation-states, and the varied responses to those initiatives. More has yet to be done, on topics previously researched as well as ones less studied, such as gender issues in education and their relationship to the larger society.

As with Latin America, histories of education systems in the Middle East point to the inculcation of nationalism as a driving force for the spread of schooling. During the first half of the twentieth century, and extending into the second half, formal education was used to promote anti-imperialistic sentiments as well as loyalty to national leadership. Extant studies on these and other issues indicate that Middle East educational history is a growing field of research that is expected to broaden and deepen in the future. The same can be said about studies on Australia, New Zealand, North America, Europe, and Asia, where historians are expected to continue producing in-depth examinations on a wide variety of educational topics, including school systems.

In contrast, historical research on education within the large continent of Africa has been relatively minimal. There, newly independent governments beginning in the 1950s expanded colonial-government schools into national education systems. Financial limitations and lack of sufficient capacity brought challenges to efforts to provide quality mass primary education, particularly in rural areas, and difficulties in developing appropriate vocational education at the secondary level. Historians have questioned earlier views of African peoples as passive recipients of Western influences, instead positing them as actively engaged in using schools to meet their political, economic, and social agendas. Yet much awaits researchers interested in filling gaps in understanding African education during the precolonial, colonial, and postcolonial periods.

While education in the modern era was framed largely in terms of the nation-state, the historical study of its problems and patterns of development has crossed borders, traversed continents, and spanned the globe. There is a long history of historical inquiry, commentary, and analysis of this type. Much of it was initially inspired by curiosity about the development of national education systems elsewhere or even particular schools or districts known for innovation or success of one sort or another. Missions to study models of education in leading countries, such as Germany or the United States, became fairly commonplace during the late nineteenth century. Before long this sort of work acquired a scholarly flavor, giving rise to the academic field of comparative education, which featured a strong historical component for much of its formative period. Comparative education eventually would foster sustained sociological inquiry into international patterns of educational development, with important theoretical and methodological implications for historians to consider.

As inquiry into education in other nations and places has held continual interest among historians, the increase in the worldwide movement of people and ideas and the upsurge in global interconnections in production, commerce, and communication contributed to a powerful challenge to the conceptual dominance of “nation” as the preeminent framework for study. The 1990s witnessed a breakthrough among historians, and to a somewhat lesser degree among educational historians, to embrace the notion of transnationalism and the need to rethink assumptions and reconsider conventional understandings. There was a push to reassess transcultural and transnational issues, to examine in new ways the social forces that transcend nation-states.⁸

A major stumbling block has been methodological. Such studies require extensive archival work in more than one nation and a facility with more than one language. Oftentimes these challenges can be surmounted by close collaborative work of two or more historians, resulting in book projects that go beyond edited collections of single-authored chapters. Two areas that have much potential for promising work are diasporic studies and colonial and postcolonial histories.

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, European and American colonial powers established schools, colleges, and other educational institutions for a variety of purposes, assisted in many respects by religious authorities interested in teaching subject populations about the advantages of the traditions of their particular faiths. These efforts often displaced or altered indigenous educational activities and institutions, resulting in social and cultural changes that afforded greater power and prestige to colonial authorities. Western models of education became associated with progress, a tendency abetted by ethnocentric attitudes and discriminatory policy agendas that favored indigenous elites and Western nationals. These proclivities were clearly reflected in the early literature describing education in colonial settings during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁹

In the post-World War II era, liberation struggles shifted the political dynamics of Western influence in former colonies and altered the ways that historians and other scholars viewed the development of education in those parts of the world. Many limitations of the colonial regimes were acknowledged and described by Western and indigenous scholars alike, as so-called developing nations undertook ambitious investments in primary and secondary schooling to equip their citizens for a global future. These efforts did not realize uniform levels of success, however, and the eventual failure of many “emerging” nations to achieve political stability and sustained economic growth contributed to the development of postcolonial studies to reconsider their histories in a new light. Historical writing conducted in this vein considered the impact of colonial regimes upon indigenous institutions and practices, often posing alternative visions of social and political development to illustrate what had been lost. Such studies implicitly or explicitly rejected the proposition that Western models of economic development represented a predictable path to social and political improvement. And education often has been taken to be an important consideration in these debates.¹⁰

The postcolonial perspective has been challenged in some respects by sociologists who adopted a very different perspective on educational development in the 1970s and beyond. So-called neo-institutionalists argued that the growth of modern schools was spurred by status competition and popular beliefs that formal education was the key to a better future. They also maintained that it was linked to the rise of the nation-state and the necessity of training citizens to be loyal and responsible members of a national polity. Studies of enrollment expansion suggested that schooling became a global institutional phenomenon following World War II, and its development was largely independent of economic or political differences among nations. Reflecting the influence of neo-Weberian sociologist Randall Collins, the scholars John W. Meyer, Francisco O. Ramirez, and their students and colleagues conducted a wide range of studies examining the international growth of educational institutions in different historical contexts. They also exerted a telling influence on many historians, especially in the United States, where studies of school reform and institutional behavior came into prominence during the 1990s. The neo-institutionalist perspective was also widely criticized by other historians, especially those who believed that it overlooked important

dimensions of educational inequality, along with struggles to overcome social problems through education in a wide variety of settings. It continues to be a point of controversy.¹¹

At the same time that sociologists offered new historical perspectives with which to consider education in comparative and transnational frames, economists continued to study it from the standpoint of human capital formation. This too was largely a product of the post-World War II era and was especially influential during the 1960s and 1970s, although it experienced a revival after 1990. At the center of this renewed interest stood the research of economic historian Claudia Goldin and her frequent coauthor, Lawrence Katz. Beginning with a series of articles in the 1990s, this line of work culminated in *The Race between Education and Technology*, published in 2008. Goldin and Katz argued that the growth of public education in the United States, particularly at the secondary level, had provided the skilled and knowledgeable workforce that made the nation's technological advances possible. While focused on the United States, the study was at least implicitly comparative insofar as American educational and economic development was contrasted with that of other countries. Other economic historians subsequently have examined schooling in other settings. Like the neo-institutionalists, Goldin and Katz used history to formulate a more general theory about education as a factor in social and economic development. Unlike the sociologists, however, they argued that schooling contributed directly to human capital formation and greater prosperity, at the same time implying that financial gain (a wage premium for schooling) provided an incentive for many Americans to seek higher educational attainment.¹²

For the most part, educational historians were spectators to the debates among social scientists over how to view the development of education internationally in the latter half of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first. This did not mean, however, that they refrained from critiquing these viewpoints. As a rule they found the aggregate statistical analyses employed in each of these camps to be somewhat ahistorical, especially in their failure to consider the particular social and cultural conditions that affected educational institutions and the people who utilized them. It was one thing to observe that education grew rapidly in the United States and other countries, but another to say why. Where sociologists and economists offered theoretical propositions about such questions, even if supported with quantitative evidence, historians constructed stories from the standpoint of participants and witnesses. The result often was a more complex and variegated account of educational change, eschewing generalization in favor of meticulous accounting of local circumstances. This too contributed to comparative analysis, but in a manner that remained attentive to particular facets of local culture, political conditions, and additional factors that affected the development of schools and other educative institutions.¹³

Since the 1970s greater attention has been devoted to this sort of comparative history of education, fostered in part by the influence of the International Standing Conference for the History of Education (ISCHE). Its annual meetings, held in different cities around the world, have brought hundreds of scholars together from a range of countries, and its journal, *Paedagogica Historica*, offers special issues on conference themes that permit comparative perspectives on a variety of issues. In this regard it has served both as a trend-setting forum and a source of reflection on new directions in the larger field of historical research on education.¹⁴

In this spirit, a number of books were published that reflect this approach, examining the growth of education in different periods and parts of the world, comparing the experiences

of institution-builders in various national settings. These were collections of essays that began with a range of countries and localities, offering at least the promise of a comparative perspective. Much work remains to be done, however, before a more analytically robust and comprehensively conceived comparative and transnational body of research and writing can emerge from the field. Forming teams of historians with a variety of specializations and methodological skills may well be one way for realizing the promise of such historical work in education. This, of course, would require the commitment of substantial resources to undertake projects organized on such a scale. Since most funding agencies traditionally associated with education and its history have a national or local orientation, it is difficult to imagine how such ventures might be organized and sustained. Consequently, it remains a problem to be addressed in the future.¹⁵

A CHANGING FIELD OF STUDY

As education is a global phenomenon, extending back in time to the earliest stages of humankind, so the potential parameters of the history of education as an academic field are indeed quite wide. With respect to institutional history, formal education has largely developed in conjunction with religious or governmental authorities in particular locales, often with distinctive cultural or social factors at play. This was the focus of early histories of education, often from a local or national perspective. The revisionist historians of the 1960s and 1970s, moreover, were generally interested in institutional questions as well, albeit with a leftist perspective. This resulted in a complex, multidimensional historical record, which has continued to develop since the mid-twentieth century.

Following the 1970s, new dimensions were added to this rather familiar narrative, as historians began devoting more attention to groups and individuals who experienced exclusion and marginalization in educational systems. While this may not have been labeled a revisionist turn in quite the same fashion as the radicals of earlier years, it ultimately was no less transformational. Following trends in the larger field of historical research and writing, historians of education have subtly shifted much of their attention from focusing on schools and other educational institutions to the experiences of children, youth, and adults who spent considerable portions of their lives in them. In many respects it represented a newly sensitized sociocultural turn in scholarly interests.

In studies of race, ethnicity, and sociocultural diversity, the African diaspora has long been a particular topic of interest to American historians of education, but also became a focal point for scholars in Brazil, Great Britain, and other parts of the world where people of African descent are found in significant numbers. In the United States, educational histories on Latinos have been growing, but much has yet to be done on Asian American educational histories. A field yet in its infancy is one centered on the educational histories of indigenous peoples. Scholars writing in the twentieth century discussed indigenous education during the colonial period in, for example, Latin America, Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and North America. For the precolonial period, there has been a proliferation of works on indigenous peoples globally, but studies focused explicitly on their educational histories have been rather sparse. Since the twenty-first century, historians have sought to fill the void by widening their evidentiary sources to include, for instance, ceremonial practices,

chants, legends, physical structures, and archaeological finds in order to piece together precolonial ways of teaching and learning.¹⁶

Also since the twenty-first century, historians of gender issues in education have been expanding their area of study. They have been filling lacunae created by studies dominated by the masculine perspective. They have inquired into underexamined subjects such as LGBTQ issues and have critiqued long-studied ones such as progressive education, thereby transforming the understanding of the educational past. Moreover scholars examining the educational histories of peoples who were un- or underrepresented in the literature have recognized the importance of moving beyond artificial boundaries created by works focused on single, discrete categories. They have understood the complexities of people's lives, which have been forged at the intersections of gender, race/ethnicity, and class. Studies employing the concept of intersectionality in educational history have laid the groundwork for a promising area of scholarship, yet to be fully developed.¹⁷

A number of topics continue to be of interest to educational historians, who have expanded and deepened their inquiries, often in newer ways. For example, after the history of childhood became a subject of heightened interest with the publication of Ariès's path-breaking study, the topic generated a considerable number of works. Research focused on the ways in which the shift from agriculture to manufacturing, and the subsequent move from child labor to compulsory schooling, affected children in different parts of the world. Particularly since the late twentieth century, historians have delved more deeply into issues of race, class, and gender as they affect children and youths. They have also inquired into the ways in which the environment—such as war, technology, consumerism, and globalization—impinge on and interact with youths.

One aspect of the environment—urbanization—became a subject of interest to historians seeking to understand the evolution and problems of city schools and school systems. In the second half of the twentieth century, this inquiry, undertaken primarily in the United States, eventually moved to other parts of the world as urbanization grew into a worldwide phenomenon, with urban blight a matter of serious concern. Since the late twentieth century, historical research on urban education has moved in fresh directions and approaches, with policy implications, as scholars attend to the roles of class, race, gender, language, and/or religion in schooling, while others argue that schools were not only products of urbanization but also creators of urban life. An area of inquiry yet to be fully examined is urban education's counterpart—rural education—and the change from rural to urban schooling.

Schools worldwide employed educators, of course, subjects of continual interest to historians. Since the 1970s, scholars have used both quantitative and qualitative sources to analyze school organizational structures and the actions and experiences of teachers and administrators. Particularly since the late twentieth century, historians have examined the interplay of race, class, religion, culture, and/or gender in the school building and school system within the context of the feminization of teaching.

But schools and school systems—formal schooling—have not been the only type of education of interest to historians. Since Bailyn's call in 1960 to look beyond schools for instances of the educative process, and particularly after Lawrence Cremin restated the call a decade later, historians have been more open to examining education that occurred beyond the schoolhouse door. But publications were few and far between until the early twenty-first century.

Since then, historians have investigated instances of nonformal education in, for example, clubs, apprenticeships, and job-related workshops and seminars. They have also explored instances of informal education, unorganized or unplanned, occurring in daily life and resulting in incidental learning that were at times as meaningful as, if not more so than, school learning. In this regard, they have responded to the challenge of sparse documentation. In delving into the education of indigenous peoples during precolonial times, for example, scholars have turned to chants, rituals, ceremonies, and other nontraditional historical sources. Researching other instances of informal education has required the necessity of analyzing the educative role of, for example, newspapers, magazines, television, games, the internet, social media, and the like. At the same time, a challenge has been that of addressing questions of whether and what kind of learning took place, questions for which oral histories, letters, and personal journals serve as valuable sources.

Other important issues await historical attention. One is the history of disability in education, which eventually culminated in the creation of so-called special education and disability studies as fields of education policy, research, and practice. Historians have devoted relatively little attention to this question, even though it has a long history. A similar point could be made about the history of assessment, and standardized testing in particular. These facets of educational systems have had an enormous impact on educational policy and the work of educators around the world. The history of educational thought, once a mainstay of the field, was largely neglected after 1970, with the exception of scholarship on progressive education.¹⁸ While each of these topics is in need of additional scholarly attention, there doubtless will be others as the theory and practice of education continues to evolve.

CONCLUSION

The history of education is an old and reputable field of study and one that has undergone considerable change. It is hardly a unique academic domain in that respect, although the factors that have contributed to its development have reflected the larger fields of scholarship and debate that influence educational practitioners. Professionally situated both within education as a distinctive arena of teaching, research, and writing and history as a disciplinary realm, historians of education have strived to address a variety of audiences. Academically isolated from the larger historical profession for many decades, they have achieved considerable scholarly recognition for their work since the 1960s. This was due to both a higher level of interest in education as a topic among academic historians and a growing range of interest among historians based in schools, colleges, and faculties of education around the world, not to mention conferences and journals to support and feature their work.

In addition to gaining scholarly legitimacy, historians of education have continued to be relevant to the larger field of educational research that they have traditionally served. In particular, they have addressed an array of topics that have proven quite critical both to educational practice and the social and political lives of societies around the world. In the wake of global social change, questions of cultural diversity, social harmony, and economic inequality have grown ever more important, and education systems are implicated to one degree or another in all of them. Given this, it seems likely that the field of historical research and writing on educational topics will continue to be important, both as a means of reflecting

on such issues and for aiding in the articulation of answers to the dilemmas they pose, offering valuable contributions both to educational research and historical scholarship.

NOTES

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PART I

INTERPRETIVE
FRAMES IN
EDUCATIONAL
HISTORY

CHAPTER 1

CONSENSUS AND REVISIONISM IN EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

GARY McCULLOCH

THE basic principle of revisionism is that an understanding of the past, although it may be widely shared and agreed upon, may still be challenged and effectively revised. Revisionism in this broad sense may be applied both to a general explanation of human history and to specific past events and trends. Over the past century and more, modern historical scholarship has developed techniques for informing and legitimizing revisionist accounts, and thus establishing the basis for historical revisionism. A critical awareness of historical ethics and methodology and of historiographical interpretations is a fundamental condition for the idea and practice of historical revisionism. The modern predilection of historical scholarship to encourage revisionist approaches has been followed with particular enthusiasm in the case of the history of education. This has been encouraged especially due to a growing dissatisfaction with the precepts and practices of a “traditional” historiography. It has tended to place a premium on historical explorations of the relationship between education and society. At the same time, consensus has been punctured by frequently heated debates over the nature and extent of social differences and conflicts, as well as over the scope of a history of education that is not confined to the development of modern schooling. These arguments have been influenced by the American and European literature but have differed in their detail and trajectory in different national and local contexts around the world. In the twenty-first century, historical revisionism continues to play an important part in refreshing the history of education and in questioning received accounts, a significant contribution that shows little sign of abating.

HISTORICAL REVISIONISM

The fictional character Winston Smith in the English novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, by George Orwell, is undoubtedly the ultimate revisionist. Smith works in the Records Department of the Ministry of Truth, where his role is to erase any evidence of the past that would be

inconvenient to the present requirements of the regime and to fabricate evidence that would support the current orthodoxy. For example, he rewrites the text of speeches and changes the original figures in output forecasts by making them agree with later ones. This process is completed systematically to achieve a revised version of the past. The newspaper *The Times*, widely regarded in the United Kingdom as the newspaper of record, would undergo "continuous alteration," so that "as soon as all the corrections which happened to be necessary in any particular number of *The Times* had been assembled and collated, that number would be reprinted, the original copy destroyed, and the corrected copy placed on the files in its stead." This process is also applied to books, periodicals, pamphlets, posters, leaflets, films, sound-tracks, cartoons, photographs, and indeed, "to every kind of literature or documentation which might conceivably hold any political or ideological significance." In this way, Orwell suggests, "Day by day and almost minute by minute the past was brought up to date. . . . All history was a palimpsest, scraped clean and reinscribed exactly as often as was necessary." These were acts of forgery, but Smith regards them as "merely the substitution of one piece of nonsense for another." Nothing about the past could be proved or disproved: "It might very well be that literally every word in the history books, even the things that one accepted without question, was pure fantasy. For all he knew there might never have been any such law as the *jus primae noctis*, or any such creature as a capitalist, or any such garment as a top hat."¹

This is a particularly graphic example of revisionism, and it is a fictional case, but still it serves to make a point. There were many cases in the twentieth century of the past being revised for political purposes. In the Soviet Union, Leon Trotsky was removed from photographs that showed his leading role in the Revolution and literally airbrushed from history. Some have denied that the Holocaust of the Jews in the Second World War ever really happened, ignoring available historical evidence that it did. In some countries, school history textbooks have appeared to owe more to current political orthodoxy than to historical accuracy. Such instances amply demonstrate that revisionism can amount to tampering with the past with no respect for historical truth or evidence. It may be based on falsification, invention, or expunging of events or individuals.²

Historical scholarship has developed in such a way as to provide many opportunities for revisionism, but also a number of safeguards against unethical and immoral revisionist practices. The modern historical profession has inculcated practices that permit vigorous debate but within a broad set of considerations that effectively set the limits for challenging previously agreed interpretations of the past. Among these, for example, is respect for available evidence, basing historical judgments on a rigorous analysis of documents or other data relating to a particular historical problem or period. This is also an ethical issue in terms of ensuring the probity of the evidence that is used. A further aspect is an awareness of the historical context being examined, to relate any reinterpretation to the specific period being assessed. Moreover a revision of previous views requires an understanding of historiographical trends and debates. It is a grounding in such key issues that tends to shape and condition the nature of historical revisionism, or what the historian Edward Hallett Carr described as "an unending dialogue between the present and the past." It was Carr who most clearly demonstrated how historians, themselves a part of society, modify and revise their view of the past as their angle on it changes.³

This overall trend has itself stemmed from a general shift in notions of history from the end of the nineteenth century. Although, as Fritz Stern once remarked, most historians

seem reluctant to articulate their views of history, over time their approaches have tended to adapt to their contemporary social, political, and economic contexts and have reflected broader intellectual currents. In the nineteenth century, as the modern academic discipline of history became established, historians generally emphasized a scientific rationale for their work, concentrating on the development of nation-states and their political systems, based on detailed scrutiny of available archival documentary sources. By the early twentieth century, a historical profession had emerged, with national historical associations to represent and support it, for example, in the United States (1889) and the United Kingdom (1904), and with key journals such as the *Historische Zeitschrift* (1859), the *Review Historique* (1876), the *English Historical Review* (1886), and the *American Historical Review* (1895). Specialization also increased, leading to different groups of historians concerned with specific and emerging issues in politics, society, and economics.

During the twentieth century, a succession of challenges arose against once-dominant orthodoxies in history that amounted to an all-encompassing wave of historical revisionism. As Jim Obelkivich points out, "The demand for a new history always begins in dissatisfaction with the old." Empiricist and positivist schools of thought, led by historians such as Leopold von Ranke and Thomas Babington Macaulay, had highlighted the importance of high politics and great individuals but increasingly came under critical scrutiny. A widespread tendency to present the past in terms of gradual progress and improvement, dubbed the Whig interpretation of history by Herbert Butterfield in the 1930s, gave way to accounts that questioned the extent and nature of such progress. Marxist interpretations offered new prominence for explanations of historical change framed around social class conflict, from Charles A. Beard in the USA in the early twentieth century to Edward Thompson and the "new" social history of the working class that was heralded in England in the 1960s. In France, the Annales School, named after the journal *Annales* (1929), pioneered another version of historical revisionism. This placed a new emphasis on the history of mentalities, a "total history" embracing the social sciences, which was intended by its leaders Lucien Febvre, Marc Bloch, and Fernand Braudel to transcend the previously dominant focus on personalities and events.⁴

From the 1960s onward, an ever wider range of social scientific theories and debates underpinned reinterpretations of many different dimensions of the past, leading to an upsurge of historical revisionism that appeared to resemble a "new history." For example, in 1990 Eric Foner, on behalf of the American Historical Association, celebrated the rise of "the new American history." According to Foner, in the course of the past twenty years, American history had been "remade." He argued, "Inspired initially by the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s—which shattered the 'consensus' vision that had dominated historical writing—and influenced by new methods borrowed from other disciplines, American historians redefined the very nature of historical study." Thus, he concluded, "the study of American history today looks far different than it did a generation ago." At the same time, he added, the diversity of the "new histories" also tended to fragment historical scholarship at least to some extent and to impede the attempt to create a coherent or integrated new vision of the historical experience.⁵

The extent and influence of historical revisionism during the twentieth century might be open to exaggeration. One leading British social historian, Arthur Marwick, observed approvingly in 1970 that the large majority of practicing historians "continued to deal exclusively with constitutional and political matters, continued to put the patient accumulation

of facts above sweeping interpretation, the use of documents above the use of tools borrowed from other disciplines.” Another British historian, David Cannadine, has also expressed some skepticism as to the claims to novelty declared by advocates of a “new” history: “Many of them make assertions concerning the novelty or importance of their own type of history which are at best over-stated, at worst incorrect; and we should assess their claims and manifestos about history with that same sort of critical acumen, contextual scrutiny and long-term perspective that we bring to bear on other forms of evidence from and about the past.”⁶ Nevertheless a general emphasis on challenging received orthodoxies was widely followed, and nowhere was this trend more evident than in the history of education.

REVISIONISM AND THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN EDUCATION

The classic example of historical revisionism in the history of education occurred in the United States between the 1950s and 1970s. In the early twentieth century, the history of education tended to be practiced most often as part of a course for students preparing to be teachers rather than in university history departments. Sol Cohen observes that at the turn of the century, the special subject of educational history suffered from enormous internal problems of staffing, teaching load, and books. Indeed few schools or departments of education had trained historians on their faculty, while faculty members who taught history of education could not devote themselves solely to the subject. This situation had the effect in many cases of isolating educational history from contemporary historiographical trends, while it magnified the aspects of traditional history that were becoming unfashionable. The history of education as presented by historians such as Ellwood Cubberley in the 1920s and 1930s fostered a large amount of work that portrayed the educational past unproblematically as a story of continual improvement and refinement, led by a partnership between the education profession and a benign nation-state. Other historians of education after the Second World War saw the purpose of history of education as being to serve the cause of social reconstructionism.⁷ Such frameworks of interpretation were decisively challenged, first in the 1950s by a new initiative to reevaluate the role of education in American history, and then in the 1960s and 1970s by a more radical historical critique.

During the 1950s the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Advancement of Education sponsored the development of the Committee on the Role of Education in American History. Under the auspices of the Fund, a conference of historians and others was held in December 1954 to propose new research topics, expanded by the historian Arthur M. Schlesinger Sr. to the proposition that education was the sum of the intellectual, emotional, and other influences that had combined to create the American character. This broadened the scope of the history of education well beyond modern systems of schooling to the roles of agencies such as the family, churches, libraries, youth organizations, adult associations, opinion formers, and occupations. The committee argued that such research should form part of the broad social, political, and intellectual concerns of American historians, as opposed to the narrow and isolated group of historians of education who worked in university education departments.

The manifesto for this new, avowedly revisionist history of education was *Education in the Forming of American Society*, published in 1960 by a historian of early modern America based at Harvard University, Bernard Bailyn. This work reflected and further stimulated a fundamental shift in what the history of American education was supposed to be about. Bailyn pointed out that despite the large number of books and articles on various aspects of education, the role of education in American history remained obscure. In Bailyn's view, the history of education needed to become much more concerned with exploring the relationships between education and society in various historical situations, that is, both with the influences of education on society and the reciprocal influences of society upon education, since, as he put it, "education not only reflects and adjusts to society; once formed, it turns back upon it and acts upon it." At the same time, Bailyn also called for a widening of the scope and definition of "education" in the history of education: it should be concerned rather less with the rise of modern schooling and much more with educational processes as they have occurred in many different kinds of institutions and milieux, pervading individual lives and collective social experiences. Topics and problems in a "new" history of education would not be restricted to schools, teachers, and formal instruction, but would concern nothing less than the "process and content of cultural transfer." Bailyn hoped that education itself might be reappraised "not only as a formal pedagogy but as the entire process by which a culture transmits itself across the generations." This kind of approach was subsequently developed in particular by Lawrence Cremin, who argued for a much more expansive notion of the history of education that took account of the rise of the mass media of communications and the organization of a growing number of private, quasi-public, and public agencies associated with education in a broad sense.⁸

There was some resistance to and criticism of this new line of historical thinking. For example, one member of the old school, William W. Brickman, complained that the revisionists lacked "humility" in their destruction of earlier orthodoxies. These "revisionist friends," he protested, were unaware of aspects of the history of education, "because they came lately to the subject and they have not spent enough time studying it." In broad terms, however, this revisionist approach became the basis of a general consensus that the history of education should be about the historical relationship between education and society. Thus, for example, John E. Talbott, writing in 1971, affirmed that new approaches to the history of education differed from the old primarily in the attention now being given to the interplay between education and society. Sol Cohen was no less enthusiastic about the new history: "The past decade has witnessed a surge of writing in the history of American education, broadly conceived, closely attuned with the fields of social and intellectual history, imaginative and mature in its use of the tools and apparatus of historical scholarship." Cohen argued that there was now no sharp divide between university history departments and education departments, since the new historians of education, whether they were on school of education faculties or history faculties, had abandoned writing about the public school as though it was unequivocally progressive and historically inevitable. On this view, the prime purpose of the history of education was not to instill professional pride but to analyze institutional adaptation to social change and to emphasize the relationship of pedagogical ideas and practices to social, economic, and political contexts. He conceded that this new work was continuing to explore traditional fields and subjects, but insisted that these were being taken in novel directions because, he argued, the questions being asked

and the methods employed to explore them were quite different from those of the past. By 1980 Jurgen Herbst could celebrate revisionism as “the cutting edge of our historiography,” improving the standing of the history of education both in history and in education.⁹

Beneath the surface of this new consensus there arose vigorous and often fierce debates over the nature of the historical relationship between education and society. Disputes grew around the character of schooling in modern societies. According to a self-styled “radical revisionist” school of thought, led by Michael Katz, Clarence Karier, and other historians, modern systems of schooling had developed on the basis of social class differences as devices of social control, designed to maintain existing social and economic structures. Katz aimed to dispel what he described as a “cloud of sentiment” that seemed to surround educational reform: “Popular education, according to the myth, started in a passionate blaze of humanitarian zeal; but most large urban school systems have been cold, rigid, and somewhat sterile bureaucracies.” By piercing the “vapor of piety,” the motives and interests behind the extension of popular education could be exposed for what they really were, “the attempt of a coalition of the social leaders, status-anxious parents, and status-hungry educators to impose educational innovations, each for their own reasons, upon a reluctant community.”¹⁰

Many other historians of the revisionist persuasion were not entirely convinced by this radical critique, powerful and persuasive though it often was in helping to explain the historical causes of contemporary problems in American schools, and argued that the past was neither as bleak nor as simple as the radical revisionists presented it to be. David Tyack, for example, criticized both the “inspirational” tradition of Cubberley and the hostility to public education demonstrated by Katz and others: “I endorse neither the euphoric glorification of public education as represented in the traditional literature nor the current fashion of berating public school people and regarding the common school as a failure.” The conservative historian Diane Ravitch soon sought to “revise the revisionists” while endorsing the earlier work of Bailyn and Cremin. Thus the spread of revisionist thinking did not entirely lead to a new consensus, apart, that is, from the common emphasis on the relationship between education and society. Indeed the controversy between radical educational historians and others in the USA vividly reflected the ongoing social and political conflicts of the 1960s and 1970s. By the late 1980s, Katz could fairly claim that because of the work of historians such as himself, “a simple narrative of the triumph of benevolence and democracy can no longer be offered seriously by any scholar even marginally aware of recent writing in the field.” On the other hand, he complained that a new form of politically based critique had arisen that he described as “revisionist-bashing.” The debate could now be recast once again, he argued, by building on the insights of the radical revisionists and retaining a critical “cutting edge.”¹¹

As the initial enthusiasm and controversy that surrounded revisionism in the 1960s and 1970s subsided, some historians have proposed the development of a “postrevisionist” phase in the history of education. William Reese and John Rury characterize postrevisionism as an eclectic approach, broad and diverse in its range, although they also suggest that it represents “a new narrative frame of analysis for the history of American education, transcending both the institutionalist progressive standpoint of the generation that Bailyn had critiqued, and the class dominion and social control perspective of the radical revisionists.” At the same time, they commented, this marked “a new maturity in the field, a willingness to embrace the complexity of education as a social and political process of change, entailing

struggle but also growth and the hope of progress.” In order to illustrate this, they assembled a number of contributions to different historical topics, including colonial and antebellum education, black schooling, teachers, the education of girls and women, children, higher education, the curriculum, urban and suburban education, and federal education policy.¹²

At the same time, there has arisen what might be termed a radical postrevisionist set of writing. Unlike the earlier radical revisionists, this new generation of historical critics tended to be radical not in terms of their politics but rather drawing on postmodernist arguments to challenge historical orthodoxy in terms of methodology and theory. For example, Cohen promoted discussion of a “new cultural history of education” that was strongly influenced by the ideas of the French philosopher Michel Foucault. This was followed by further work in this vein that emphasized the historical construction of patterns of knowledge. Thomas Popkewitz was opposed to the usual dependence of historians on archival sources, claiming that this was the basis of “dust bowl empiricism” in American history of education, and focused instead on what he calls “styles of reason,” “challenging the representations of the subject as the origin of historical phenomena and problematizing the relations of space and time.”¹³

Overall, then, the case of the United States neatly exemplifies the contribution of historical revisionism to the historiography of education. A surge of revisionist writing in the 1960s and 1970s forged a new literature in this field of study. There was a measure of consensus on which this was based, in particular a strong negative reaction against the traditional histories and an emphasis on the relationship between education and the wider society. On the other hand, it was accompanied by vigorous and often heated debates over the nature of this relationship rather than a broader agreement.

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Similar debates were played out in many other countries, although with different kinds of emphasis depending on particular local and national circumstances. In some countries historical revisionism in education began earlier than in the United States, and in others later, while the extent and nature of consensus was also variable. In England, for example, a trend toward historical revisionism began to develop in the 1940s, while in Australia and New Zealand it was not evident until the 1970s and 1980s.

The traditional historiography of education in England strongly favored textbooks on the progress of the national education system such as those produced by John Adamson in the interwar years. There was an implicit Whiggish theme of gradual social progress that was accentuated in the work of George Lowndes. This aimed to trace the beneficial changes wrought as a result of the development of public education in the early decades of the twentieth century, which together amounted to what Lowndes described as a “silent social revolution.” Peter Gordon and Richard Szreter have also noted that the history of education tended to emphasize individual thinkers and writers, was excessively concerned with educational legislation, and focused particularly on elite institutions such as the universities of Oxford and Cambridge and the independent or “public” schools.¹⁴

Fred Clarke, director of the Institute of Education London, was a significant harbinger of a revisionist approach to the history of education in the English context, especially through

his short work *Education and Social Change: An English Interpretation*. He called for “a history of English education in its full cultural and social setting” that would highlight the social differences and inequalities represented in the education system. In the postwar years this was taken up particularly by sociologists such as Olive Banks and Raymond Williams, who, like Clarke himself, regarded a historical analysis as a key accompaniment to sociological understanding.¹⁵

It was Brian Simon, however, who did the most to realize Clarke’s vision of a detailed historical account that would document the relationship between education and social change. Simon did so from a Marxist perspective that emphasized social class conflict as the prime explanatory factor in the history of education in England. He identified in this context “a new function for the educational historian, that of unravelling the social and historical influences which have played so potent a part in shaping both the schools and what is taught inside them; and, most important, of distinguishing genuine educational theory from the rationalisation which seeks to explain away rather than elucidate.” According to Simon, it was this that would enable the history of education to assume a new role “as a vital contribution to social history—rather than a flat record of acts and ordinances, punctuated by accounts of the theories of great educators who entertained ideas ‘in advance of their time.’” This conviction underpinned Simon’s own work, including his four-volume history of education from 1780 to 1990, which overturned the previous liberal progressive orthodoxy and soon became the standard account.¹⁶

There was broad agreement with the assertion expressed by the British social historian Asa Briggs in 1972 that the history of education should be approached as “part of the wider study of the history of society, social history broadly interpreted with the politics, the economics and, it is necessary to add, the religion put in.” There was a general consensus around Simon’s revisionism in the English context, with its emphasis on social difference and conflict. Nevertheless there continued to be disagreement about the nature of such social tensions which also involved further attempts to provide new, overarching interpretations. Peter Musgrave expressed an anxiety that dependence on social class as an analytical concept would undermine potential connections with other theoretical models. For example, Simon’s work hardly mentioned gender inequality as a source of social conflict, a lacuna to which a number of feminist historians had drawn attention by the 1980s and 1990s. June Purvis observed, for example, that histories of education continued to emphasize the policies and experiences of men and boys rather than those of women and girls. Further research on gender differences, ethnic identity, religion, biography, and other themes did much to supersede a preoccupation with social class, with a recognition of a wide range of ways in which education has helped to maintain social antagonisms.¹⁷

Similar arguments around revisionism developed in other countries, in some cases later than in the United States and England but often with broadly the same issues involved. Across Europe, although playing itself out in different ways according to variations in the social and national contexts involved, there was evidence of a general reinterpretation of the traditional histories of education, in favor of a more critical social history. The leading Europe-based journal in the history of education, *Paedagogica Historica*, itself was transformed in the 1990s from a fortress of liberal-progressive history of education to an outlet of international, self-styled vanguard literature. This new historiography was in some ways similar to that which had developed in the United States but tended to be more theoretical and less interested in schooling on the margins of society.¹⁸

In Canada revisionist debates began to be prominent in the 1970s. In Australia, too, a new interest arose in the social history of education, with further emphasis by the 1980s and 1990s on the education of girls and women in the writings of historians such as Alison Mackinnon, Pavla Miller, and Marjorie Theobald. Much of this revisionist work in the Australian context tended to highlight the close connections between social class and gender, with Ian Davey and Bob Bessant also to the fore. In India attempts were made in the 1990s to recast interpretations of the history of education in the spirit of the "new history" that had already spread in the West. Here too there is continued contestation as scholars such as Parimala Rao are now challenging an established historiography that emphasizes imperialist, anti-imperialistic, postmodern, and nationalist ideas with a preference for a more narrative and chronological approach that also includes the voices of the poor, women, untouchables, and the lower orders. In Brazil also, historiographical surveys from the 1980s onward led to fresh approaches to the field and new and vigorous debates.¹⁹

Another particularly interesting case worthy of detailed examination is that of New Zealand, which did not begin to move toward revisionist approaches until the 1980s. In this context the dominant work in the first half of the century was that of Arthur Butchers, although there were others who followed this basic approach well into the 1970s and 1980s. Butchers's writings in the 1920s and 1930s provided a comprehensive history of education in New Zealand at a time when little was available for students of education apart from British histories and accounts of European educational ideas. There is little that could be classed as critical analysis of the social and political significance of modern schooling in Butchers's work. A similar outlook to that of Butchers was adopted by Ian Cumming, the leading historian of education in New Zealand after the Second World War. Cumming's centenary history of the Education Board in Auckland, New Zealand's largest city, became a highly influential reference, while his key work, *History of State Education in New Zealand*, written jointly with his son Alan, was published as late as 1978.²⁰

Very little of the debate that characterized the history of education in the USA was reflected in New Zealand until the 1980s, explained in part by the study of all New Zealand history being "still at an immature stage of development, and full of major gaps." Even in 1984 one leading historian of education, David McKenzie, could still comment that the conventional wisdom in New Zealand educational history still owed much to the ideology laid down in Butchers's pioneering works. It was not until 1987 that a set of essays in the history of education was published that could be described as revisionist in its approach. This delay was attributed to two main factors: the isolation of New Zealand history of education, both geographically in relation to other countries and also in relation to history and the social sciences within New Zealand, and the enduring strength of New Zealand's social and political "myth" of egalitarianism. Stimulated also by new research in social history and sociology in New Zealand itself, writing in the history of education now began to exhibit greater interest in critical inquiry.

One key exponent of the new history of education in New Zealand was Roy Shuker. He was earlier than most in arguing for a "revisionist perspective" to be adopted, and in particular in engaging with the insights already well developed in the United States. Shuker himself was strongly in favor of a more explicitly theoretical approach that took its cue from the American debate of the 1960s and 1970s. As he noted, "The work of the revisionist historians of American education suggests possibilities for a similar reappraisal of the history of New Zealand education." His particular preference, moreover, was to follow the line of the

“radical revisionists” in emphasizing the social class inequalities reproduced in the state system of schooling as representing the establishment of a configuration of social, political, and economic interests from the late nineteenth century onward. In stark contrast with the orthodox narrative of gradual progress toward social equality, Shuker insisted that schools had been based on a differentiated pattern of provision and served to reproduce existing class, gender, and ethnic structures.²¹

Again as elsewhere, the onset of revisionism did not lead to a full consensus but rather to vigorous debates. In the 1990s a new generation of historians of education found fresh insights that were based in political and social criticism but also recognized complexity and nuance. One major text, for example, analyzed the political debates that had pervaded schooling in New Zealand throughout its history in a way that incorporated theoretical concepts while utilizing “a genuinely historical approach to the writing of education history.” The debate engendered in the late 1980s had a long-term influence on the field as the dominance of Butchers and Cumming receded into the past and a broad range of critical insights came to the fore. Yet the underlying resilience of more traditional approaches remained strong, and they did not disappear despite the efforts of a more critical school of thought.²²

While stressing that revisionist history developed in different ways depending on local and national circumstances, it is also possible to discern a trend toward internationalization based on Western international journals, international conferences and seminars, and computerized networks. One such revisionist perspective in the early twenty-first century, naturally enough, is that of a “transnational” approach to the history of education, that is, going across national borders to examine educational and social phenomena that transcend the single nation-state.²³ Here too there is potential for controversy to undermine consensus, with further debate likely over the relative importance of national and transnational factors and the tensions between them.

CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

In these different national contexts, we see a new emphasis in the history of education on the relationship between education and social change, broadly influenced by historical revisionist approaches emanating from the USA and Europe, although taking different paths and developing at their own pace and at different times. In each case, while a general consensus emerged about priorities for the field, fresh debates arose around particular issues of interpretation and approach that were often unresolved.

An element of consensus was no doubt to be expected in a relatively small subdiscipline of history. Consensus was the major part of the history of education during its early development and survived to play a part even when revisionism became dominant. As with history more generally, historical revisionism became a key motif for the history of education. It was probably more active as a theme in the history of education than it was in other areas of history because of a deep and continuing dissatisfaction with its early foundational texts. These could be revised and rerevised because of their liberalism, their male-centeredness, their empiricism, their focus on schools, and their limited local and national range. There was always cause for complaint, always an itch to scratch away at, never a time to gaze at the record with contentment or to say “Enough.” In this basic discontent reside future revisions and debates.

Yet with all their diverse motivations, it is fair to say that historians of education have by and large remained true to the tenets of historical revisionism rather than straying into the wilder excesses that revisionism can engender. Its practitioners have paid due attention to evidence just as they have respected historiographical trends. It remains fundamentally an ethical pursuit even if it has been the subject of underlying struggles. It has not yet produced a Winston Smith nor created a Ministry of Truth, and we do not seem likely to scrape our history clean.

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3. Edward Hallett Carr, *What is History?* 2nd ed. (London: Penguin, 1987), quote on p. 30.
4. Jim Obelkevich, "New Developments in History in the 1950s and 1960s," *Contemporary British History* 14, no. 4 (2000): 125–142. For an overview of changes in approaches to history, see Fritz Stern, introduction to *The Varieties of History from Voltaire to the Present*, ed. Fritz Stern (London: Macmillan, 1956), 11–32; Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988). The classic critique of Whig history is Herbert Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History* (1931; repr. London: Pelican, 1973). Richard Hofstadter, *The Progressive Historians* (New York: Knopf, 1968) explores the Marxist interpretations of Beard and others; Edward Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Penguin, 1963) is a key example of the new social history of the 1960s. Overviews of the Annales School include Peter Burke, *The French Historical Revolution: The Annales School 1929–89* (London: Polity Press, 1990); Francois Dosse, *New History in France: The Triumph of the Annales* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1994); Andre Burguiere, *The Annales School: An Intellectual History* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009).
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6. Arthur Marwick, *The Nature of History* (Macmillan: London, 1970), 87; David Cannadine, *Making History Now and Then: Discoveries, Controversies and Explorations* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008). See also Geoffrey Elton, *The Practice of History* (London: Fontana, 1967); Quentin Skinner, "Sir Geoffrey Elton and the Practice of History," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 7 (1997): 301–315.
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8. Richard Storr, "The Role of Education in American History: A Memorandum for the Committee Advising the Fund for the Advancement of Education in Regard to This Subject," *Harvard*

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 11. David Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974), 9; Michael Katz, *Reconstructing American Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 136, 137, 159. See also Diane Ravitch, *The Revisionists Revised: A Critique of the Radical Attack on the Schools* (New York: Basic Books, 1978); Ira Shor, *Culture Wars: School and Society in the Conservative Restoration, 1964–1984* (London: RKP, 1986).
 12. William Reese and John Rury, introduction to *Rethinking the History of American Education*, ed. William Reese and John Rury (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 6–7.
 13. See Thomas Popkewitz, "Styles of Reason: Historicism, Historicizing, and the History of Education," in *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge*, ed. Thomas Popkewitz (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 14. See also Sol Cohen, *Challenging Orthodoxies: Toward a New Cultural History of Education* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999); Thomas Popkewitz, Barry Franklin, and Miguel Pereyra, eds., *Cultural History and Education: Critical Essays on Knowledge and Schooling* (London: Routledge, 2001).
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CHAPTER 2

THE URBAN HISTORY OF EDUCATION

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SCHOOLING in urban settings has long drawn the attention of historians of education, especially in the United States.¹ There, the fields of history of education and urban history grew up alongside one another, if not always together. Both had existed previously but gained new energy in the 1960s in significant part because of the contemporary concern for cities, and city schools, as sites of crisis. In the United States, the social consequences of deindustrialization and metropolitan segregation became points of popular and academic concern in these years as well. Over the next two decades, urban historians dug deeper into the many and broad origins of the urban crisis, tracing a raft of federal and local policies that combined with market dynamics and social preferences to draw resources away from city centers and into white suburbs. Meanwhile city school systems, only a few decades earlier the most resourced and institutionally elaborate in the nation, served socially and economically isolated children and families while their budgets dwindled. It was in this milieu that historians of education turned increasingly to the study of schools in cities.

In other parts of the twentieth-century world, however, urban education and the writing of its history proceeded on a quite different path. The United Kingdom reached “urbanization”—meaning that the majority of its residents live in cities—in the mid-nineteenth century (fully a half-century before the United States), but U.K. scholarship showed little focus on cities until the 1990s. On other regions and in other continents, urbanization proceeded more slowly and drew less concerted attention from historians of education (at least as is visible in works published in English from the vantage point of a U.S. university). It was only in the early twenty-first century that the majority of the global population lived in cities. As of 1910, when the U.S. became urbanized and primary schooling for white people without disabilities was near universal, fully 50 percent of the world’s population lived in Brazil, Russia, India, and China, where rates of participation in schooling remained strikingly low. Only one in ten Indian children between ages five and fourteen were in school. Although significant variation existed within nations and between them, across the twentieth century city residents were relatively more likely to have access to formal educational structures than their rural counterparts. Agrarian economies disincentivized investment in

education, while increasing commercial and later industrial economies centered in cities created demand for skills that schools could help provide. By no means was educational access widespread, especially for the urban working classes, but urban economic and at times political factors enabled more investment in schooling. In China the rural-urban educational gap remains a key focus of scholars, while comparisons between rural and urban settings motivate work in Latin America as well.²

In scholarship on the developing world, much of the history of education has focused on cities by default, as the locations where, for example, elite groups created educational institutions for their children and did or did not support broader access to schooling. Yet the specific urbanism of these locations drew less attention. In previously chiefly agricultural nations that underwent both industrial urbanization and crucial phases of postcolonial and/or postdictatorship state-building, as in Latin America, questions of state-building and democratic citizenship, often examined at the national scale, predominated. In scholarship on India, for example, investigations into the processes of colonial and postcolonial education have framed educational inquiry more than has the urban *per se*.

Even where historians have given cities and their schools extensive examination, core matters have not yet been settled—much as U.K. historian David Reeder noted in 1977. What was urban education, he asked? How should historians think about the relationship between cities and schools? Were city schools “a mirror that reflects social tensions” stemming from other, broader forces, in the city or beyond, or “a specific set of problems,” both distinct from and “integral” to understanding the modern city?³ In the nearly four decades since Reeder characterized this historical problem, these questions remain without a firm answer—even more so when cities beyond the U.S. and U.K. come into view.

In popular usage in the U.S., “urban education” at present has an amorphous, and often obscuring, meaning. In the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries “urban” represented a particular combination of density, scale, and social diversity, often around an industrial economy. Today demography at times has trumped geography, with “urban” used to characterize students of color whether located in an industrial core or in a suburban or even exurban landscape. Given the tight association, particularly in the latter half of the twentieth century, between the terms “urban” and “crisis” in the U.S., “urban education” also has stood in for the educational consequences of economic decline and accompanying or reinforcing public disinvestment or systemic disarray. In the U.S. context, where cities did undergo a striking transformation, an emphasis on crisis may be appropriate. Yet we need to investigate the constructive as well as limiting consequences of a focus on crisis for understanding schools and cities historically.

Historians of education outside of the United States see and interpret a broader array of urban landscapes. In other parts of the developed as well as the developing world, cities located wealth and privilege, poverty and neglect, largely on a pattern that reverses the U.S. model. There, poor and newcomer communities rim the metropolitan edge, while wealth remains largely concentrated in the city center. This is the pattern of the French *banlieu*, which has more in common with the Nigerian or Brazilian dynamics of self-built slums and *favelas* than with the U.S. model of affluent suburbanization.

Some scholars have responded to the diversity of the urban form globally and to the increasing dispersal of poverty, racial and class segregation, and poor infrastructure in the U.S. by gathering ever more under the label “urban.” Equating the urban with social and economic problems “not fundamentally about geography,” as do George Noblit and William Pink, may have the benefit of inclusivity and may help in the ways that the idea of “crisis”

did in U.S. scholarship: by drawing attention through a dramatic simplification. Yet it obscures as well. By removing geography—physical, social, political, and economic—from the conversation, the idea of the urban can lose its analytical power and specificity. Taking stock of the development of the history of urban education and noting promising trends that approach the varied and changing urban landscape with analytical rigor can help toward an idea of the “urban” and of “urban education” that clarifies more than it encumbers.

To consider how urban education has operated as an interpretive frame in the history of education, one route is to examine the countries with the most developed and extensive historical literature on urban education published in English: the United States and the United Kingdom. “Urban education” has operated there as a key organizing concept in approaching both social and economic histories of education, but there remain key questions about schooling that have received less attention in connection with the urban. Scholarly work on other locales comes in for discussion here, where it complements or challenges the dominant strains of thought in work on the U.S. and U.K. David Reeder’s enduring questions about what, precisely, is the history of urban education will also be engaged.

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL APPROACHES TO THE CITY AND ITS SCHOOLS

Four key themes emerge in a survey of work on the history of urban education in English. First, even as much work on both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has emphasized urban education, cities appeared chiefly as context for the development of schooling. Urban conditions—especially deriving from industrial production—spurred demand for particular educational forms. Still, the question of how schools might have interacted with the city, or may even have contributed to the making of the city, received much less attention. Second, as apparent in comparison with accounts of the history of urban education from Europe as well as countries in Latin America and elsewhere, the U.S. historiography of urban education has overwhelmingly emphasized the industrial city, often on the Chicago School’s concentric zone model. Third, despite the strong attention to urban education in the history of education in the U.S., scholarly attention to education in urban contexts remains incomplete. Historians have devoted extensive attention to the making of educational bureaucracies, to problems of state control, and more broadly to matters of political economy, particularly in the twentieth century. By contrast, several major themes in the history of education have not been engaged fully in, or in relationship to, the city. And fourth, the idea of the city as the prime site of educational innovation has been challenged, or at least qualified, by new works that emphasize the importance of educational developments in rural settings or at national rather than local scale.

THE CITY AS CONTEXT FOR SCHOOLING

U.S. historians of education have made city settings their chief focus, particularly in works on the twentieth century. Collectively they examine the nineteenth- and early

twentieth-century city as a site for educational innovation, often out of the force of necessity. Cities were bursting at the seams with new immigrant and migrant communities, and schools appeared to be crucial mechanisms for managing urban scale, urban diversity, and the needs of an urban, industrial economy. David Tyack's 1974 *The One Best System* offered the most powerful and enduring view, locating in the urban industrial crucible the forces that crafted the dominant modes of educational practice and organization in the twentieth-century United States.

For Tyack, and for many writing after him, the story of urban innovation petered out in the decades after World War II, and the narrative of crisis took hold as the chief depiction of urban education. If urban schools had appeared more sophisticated, more resourced, more fully elaborated than their suburban or rural counterparts in the first half of the twentieth century, by the second half of the century the balance had shifted. The site of innovation became the site of crisis, and scholars often defined urban schooling as the troubled product of the crumbling city.

Although this view of American cities and schools was responsive to major shifts in urban form, it offered a largely one-dimensional view of city and school interaction. It holds that cities contain and condition schooling. Schools face social and political struggles generated by the urban (typically industrial) form. Despite their great collective value in describing how institutions function and how urban communities struggled over schooling, these works are much less likely to explore how schools may have shaped the city.

This pattern may flow in part from a view of history of urban education that is at times surprisingly disengaged from the specifics of urban forms, the built and human geography of the city. Some of the major works of the 1960s and 1970s on nineteenth-century history of education paid intricate attention—if with competing results—to the geography of small cities and the connections between geography, schooling, and class formation and hierarchy. Yet subsequent work paid more attention to broad ideas of social structure and inequality, with relatively less attention to education in connection with the spatial form of the city.

Reluctance to think about education as a force in the making of the city also may stem in part from relationships between the fields of history of education and urban history. Situated often within colleges of education, historians of education long worked within the relatively narrow boundaries of institutional histories. They answered questions that mattered to their colleagues in education, but only sometimes located their work within related historical fields. Historians of cities and historians of city schools often participated in separate networks of knowledge production, moving in parallel but rarely in conjunction. Important shifts in scholarship in urban history in the 1980s and 1990s, for example, did not immediately find engagement by historians of education.

The terms of debate for much of U.S. urban history of education, set out in works like Tyack's *The One Best System*, predated the crucial urban historical scholarship of the 1980s by such scholars as Kenneth Jackson and Arnold Hirsch. Tyack's work was completed at a time when city growth, and city decline, appeared to be nearly inexorable processes of urban economic and social development. Works like Jackson's and Hirsch's, and later Thomas Sugrue's *Origins of the Urban Crisis*, emphasized the structural forces and policy choices that made the twentieth-century U.S. city, especially in its post-World War II form. This scholarship rendered the city a place that, rather than developing ecologically, was a deeply and intentionally human, political construction. There was not an immediate response to these key works by historians of education, nor was there an embrace by urban historians of matters of schooling.

In the United Kingdom, with a historiography less focused on ethnic or racial divisions but with significant concern for class formation, several lines of scholarship developed that demonstrated thinking about how schools helped shape the city. William Marsden's research led the way, examining the reciprocities between urban growth and educational change even while working within an ecological framework. Marsden understood status hierarchies in schools as reproducing and interacting with lines of class segregation in London, a process he attributed to the "ecological forces" that had shaped the residential landscape extending into and reinforced by schooling as well. Marsden's approach is evident in scholarship on England and Scotland and other European settings, as well as on Australia, that highlights the role of the school in helping to construct the urban landscape via the formation of neighborhoods, the demarcation of state institutions, or the architectural choices made in schools and educational spaces—moving toward a more interactive view of city and school.⁴

One step in moving beyond views of the city as context in the history of education in U.S. scholarship came in a 1997 survey of historical and social science work on urban education. John Rury and Jeffrey Mirel emphasized a transition between ecological views of the city and the new urban sociology that focused on the policy choices and interests that led to urban development and change. Rury and Mirel called, then, for more historical work in the latter vein, particularly work that appreciated the spatial organization of the city as, in Henri Lefebvre's terms, a landscape that was produced and not simply evolving of its own accord.⁵

Scholarship emerging over the past decade has taken up a more spatially focused view of the history of urban education. A first wave of work in the U.S. placed heavy emphasis on white Americans' reactions to efforts to end racial segregation in schools, which became another motive for suburban out-migration of white and middle-class and wealthy residents. Schools became factors in the making of the city, largely by provoking angry resistance and departure.⁶ Later works in this vein more explicitly considered how city decline and suburban growth were interconnected within education and helped indicate the value of a more metropolitan, rather than only central city, perspective on urban education. Gradually this work has moved from an emphasis on "race relations" as a social matter to appreciating how racism and white supremacy operate at the core of the political and economic terrain of schooling and the city.

Recognizing that schools work in multiple ways to define urban space, new studies of U.S. cities ranging from Hartford, Connecticut, and Flint, Michigan, to Raleigh, North Carolina, not only traced expressions of individual or group preference around schooling but also documented how actors in the metropolitan landscape, from real estate developers and philanthropists to urban planners and educators, conceptualized schools at the center of metropolitan development and helped construct race- and class-segregated neighborhoods and jurisdictions. Marta Gutman's examination of Oakland, California, shows how women shaped the built environment, including schools, to serve children.⁷ Careful attention to schools and spatial dimensions of the metropolis helps to avoid sweeping pronouncements regarding class reproduction or social control while still documenting important interactions among schooling, racism, and unequal development.

Ideas of the city (and of the rural context) have also been shaped in and by education. Preferences for urban, or for rural, spaces find expression in school practices—such as primary grades field trips—or in national debates over the appropriate space for university campuses or high school locations. Some educational practices linked school curricula to

students' experiences and understandings of their urban locales or, going further, imagined "anarchic" education practices that freed students from the physical confines of the school and learning at large in the urban context. In Argentina the nineteenth-century city was considered the bastion of civilization's positive forces and potential for the making of citizenship, in keeping with ideas of urbanity emerging in European contexts as well. Yet by the later twentieth century the city took up a negative connotation, as the site of problems of decline or barbarism.⁸

Some urban historians are also newly attentive to interactions between education and markets for labor. One strand of this work appreciates the importance of employment within education, as an at times contested resource in an urban or metropolitan economy. Another returns to some of the core questions of the 1960s revisionist debates to ask how, in metropolitan space, the school curriculum has been a mechanism for promoting economic growth through the conscious production of students as future workers.⁹

David Reeder's 1977 questions about the field of history of urban education juxtaposed two views of cities and schools: of schools as important windows into city dynamics or of schools as separate and important features of the city landscape. New work in history of urban education increasingly values both of these views while exploring a third as well: how schools can be forces in the making of the city, at once shaped by and helping to shape the urban context. Such a focus does not displace attention from such crucial matters as the impact of resources and power in politics and the economy that continue to shape cities and their schools, nor does it choose one side or the other in debates between economic drivers and political drivers in the expansion of education. Instead it encourages scholars to consider how schools have been implicated within these processes.

THE PRIMACY OF THE INDUSTRIAL CITY

Whether taken as context or viewed in interaction with schools, the paradigmatic city in most history of education research in the U.S. and the U.K. is the industrial city. History of education in the U.S. emerged in an era when a singular version of the urban form dominated both popular and scholarly imaginations. In the U.S. scholars believed the industrial city had a particular geography, as famously depicted in the concentric zone model of the Chicago School, spreading outward from a manufacturing and commercial core to residential areas of increasing privilege and wealth. Cities on this model dominated the important case study research of the 1970s through the 1990s. Thinking about the industrial city made sense for historians of education working in a materialist tradition and seeking to trace how the economic order and schooling interacted. Inculcating industrial discipline and balancing the various effects of industrial capitalism motivated many advocates of education. Similarly, industrial work offered influential paradigms for the organization of school systems.

Surveys of the developing world also cast industrialization as a key prompt to the advancement of mass schooling. Yet recent work on Norway by the scholar Ida Bull helps challenge this pattern by tracing the roots of Norway's early (eighteenth-century) shift to mass educational provision in cities not to the Industrial Revolution but to the development of a mercantile economy. This economy, and the class diversity it produced in urban spaces, generated a particularly urban embrace of mass education. The broader implication of Bull's

work—that urban economic processes that predate industrialization helped foster investment in schooling—finds reinforcement as well in research on India and China, where schooling developed earlier in coastal, mercantile cities as well as in industrializing spaces. Andy Green makes an even broader critique of the primacy of the industrial in stories of the expansion of schooling. He suggests that it was not economic pressures—industrial or otherwise—that fed the expansion of mass schooling in the U.S. and in Europe, but rather state-building processes.¹⁰

U.S. scholars have pushed beyond the industrial model in work on higher education. Margaret O'Mara has examined the efforts of higher education and municipalities together to create economic growth through scientific innovation and knowledge production. Recent studies from Cambridge to Chicago and New York draw attention to universities' impact on the spatial organization of the city, at times furthering urban renewal projects (or at times opposing them) depending on whether projects would help create or protect favorable campus environments. Universities proved powerful actors in making the postwar city.¹¹

Recent projects that highlight the role of schooling in shaping metropolitan space have focused on cities that take on polycentric or postindustrial forms. These works have shifted to an explicitly metropolitan rather than solely urban frame of reference, understanding cities in relationship to expanding and often privileged suburbs. Yet this work has not fully interrogated schooling in the context of postindustrial urbanism. Scholarship on European contexts can offer important examples for U.S. scholars writing new histories of suburban spaces that, by the turn of the twenty-first century, faced poverty, disinvestment, and inadequate infrastructure and became home to broad racial and cultural diversity. Such spatial configurations come to the fore in a study of Madrid's working-class suburbs in the Franco period. Targeted by the Catholic Church and state for "urbanization," which meant spatial rationalization, class segregation, and deterrence of working-class organizing, these suburbs became a locus of church-run educational programs and hubs of working-class activism that Manuel Castells called "schools of citizenship."¹² Whether by shifting to a metropolitan frame of reference or by examining suburban educational history, these projects consider how schooling interacts with multiple geographic and economic forms of the city.

CITIZENSHIP, CULTURE, RELIGION, AND LEARNING OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL

Urban sites have remained the chief location for examining the political economy of education in the U.S. and the U.K. Yet cities have been less deeply examined with a focus on other crucial aspects of education: its relationship to citizenship, culture, and religion, as well as in nonschool or noninstitutional settings.

As many historians in locations around the world have demonstrated, citizenship—and particularly the making of citizens for new and developing republics—was a major motivation for the mass expansion of public education in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Although in some settings cities were thought to encourage traits of citizenship, urban industrial poverty and the anonymity of life in diverse and dense cities often seemed threats

to the shaping of a citizenry. In twentieth-century China, associations among education, urbanism, and elitism proved an impediment in the expansion of education beyond the city. Many historians approached urban spaces as sites of particular demands and challenges for schooling but have been less likely to consider how schools, the specific urban context, and ideas of citizenship at times constructed one another together.

Work on highly local democratic governance of schooling in New York City in the 1960s and 1970s demonstrates both the potential of and the turn away from this attention to urban space and citizenship. Ira Katznelson's 1982 *City Trenches*, focused on community politics more broadly but with engagement with education-specific struggles, consciously locates ideas of citizenship in the relationship between working-class identity formation and the geography of the city. Subsequent work on decentralized school governance emphasizes racial and ethnic fissures while attending much less to the spatial form.¹³

A few examples of recent scholarship in the U.S. context show engagement with education, citizenship, and the particular urban context. Historians long treated African American residents in northern U.S. cities in the early nineteenth century as if they existed outside of larger narratives of growing educational provision linked to citizenship. As Hilary Moss has shown, however, debates over education were deeply implicated in contests over the boundaries of citizenship. If schooling was important for the ways it produced citizens—a status denied black residents—then exclusion from citizenship and exclusion from schooling reinforced one another. Moss's attention to differing urban cases helps point out city particularities—like Baltimore's demand for skilled black labor—that helped broaden opportunities for schooling. Moss also observes that the particular shape of dense urban economies, as in Baltimore, created multiple avenues, beyond schooling, by which black residents could gain education. These modes of education could not themselves produce citizenship, but they helped establish even stronger claims for both learning and political status. In the 1930s and 1940s, New York City educator Leonard Covello's Benjamin Franklin High School engaged students in community research projects that helped galvanize local support and official commitment to new housing construction in the area. Covello's work was influenced by the broader movement for "community schools" in the early twentieth century, motivated at once by John Dewey's ideas of schooling and citizenship and a desire to intentionally make schools sites of community bonds.¹⁴

Another indicator of the value of considering citizenship and education together with city space comes in histories of black activism in the urban U.S. As Donna Murch shows in her study of Black Panther activism in Oakland, California, urban community colleges functioned not only as formal educational institutions but also as hubs of activist energy enacting new visions of citizenship. Porous boundaries between the campus and activist networks in the broader community helped sustain an organizing base for the Black Panthers. Although often framed as studies of activism rather than under the broader rubric of citizenship, other examples of student organizing are similarly evocative of how students use urban spaces to achieve their civic goals. The richness of these examples should prompt historians to consider more fully how education and new visions of citizenship were articulated and realized in urban contexts.¹⁵

Many important works in the history of education in the U.S. place schools at the center of conflict over culture and religion—sparked by or manifest in debates over what languages students and teachers speak, what textbooks they use with what portrayal of what culture, or what lessons about ideology, morality, or religion schools offer, implicitly or

explicitly. This is a rich strain of history of education, but it is one in which the urban is relatively less represented or more often understood as context rather than as a subject of inquiry and particular interaction with schooling. Recent work on schooling and the concept of race and struggles over bilingual education, for example, engage some of the nation's largest school systems but often leave unanswered the question of how the stories they tell might be different because of the particular political, social, and economic configurations of the city. New work on culture and religion offers more nuanced views than earlier interpretations that saw elites imposing economic, political, and cultural conformity on working-class and immigrant communities. Yet despite this, recent works tend to retain a relatively static view of the city as backdrop. Immigrant communities arrive in the U.S. and become "Americanized" via schooling; extra-institutional modes of education, like the foreign-language press, aid in the process of acculturation, as Jeffrey Mirel shows. Similarly, an exploration into colonial education as a venue for cultural and linguistic negotiation examines an urban colony, Hong Kong, but does not query the place of the urban in the story. How the city works in this process and how, perchance, that process helped shape the city get less attention in this body of work.¹⁶

Pathbreaking works in U.S. urban history offer lines of inquiry that educational historians have not yet tapped but may prove valuable in exploring more interactive views among urban space, citizenship, and culture. George Chauncey's *Gay New York* links cultural history to highly specific attention to the urban landscape, including in the spaces, interactions, and relationships it enables for queer people.¹⁷ What would a history of education be that follows Chauncey's careful attention to the urban form and its interactions with the making of sexuality and culture?

These matters converge also in the enduring challenge for historians of getting beyond schooling as the sole site of education. Many historians acknowledge that the history of education is much broader than the history of schooling. However, schools have consumed the vast majority of scholarly energy. Historians of African American education, telling stories about learning in communities often formally denied or excluded from educational institutions available to white people, have provided more attention to education in other institutions (like churches and clubs) and outside of institutions (in homes and apprenticeships), yet few have followed Lawrence Cremin's 1988 call to attend carefully to the full range of spaces where education occurs. This absence is particularly significant for urban history of education, given that the density of urban space, as well as the institutions that such density entails, make cities ripe locales for an investigation of learning beyond schooling. Hints of what might be found if this field were to be fully explored appear in works in other fields, as when historians of the civil rights movements notice the pedagogical practice of organizers like Ella Baker working in Depression-era Harlem or scholars of the narcotics trade notice how youth gangs disciplined one another against drug use in the 1950s cities.¹⁸

In a 1992 essay Barbara Finkelstein encourages scholars to think about how the city *is* an educational entity. Finkelstein identifies a range of topics, from understandings of children to the nature of community, that could better be understood if scholars shifted from considering education (or, more narrowly, schooling) *in* the city to considering how cities themselves educate. This perspective is more likely to be engaged when scholars trace the creation and the potential of the city rather than prioritize crisis and failure. Attention to the city as an educative force is on view in work on twentieth-century Colombian cities, where the city is not only a site of learning, but the making of the city—the modernization process—served to educate.¹⁹

Labeling cities places of crisis makes it easier to perceive problematic developments and harder to notice patterns of constructive organizing, human productivity, or accomplishment. The negative cast of the idea of crisis, part of the deficit model that has inflected U.S. urban scholarship especially on black communities, obscures instances of great creative innovation in urban spaces. The emergence of global hip hop from some of the poorest and most institutionally neglected neighborhoods in the United States is a prime example. Similarly, the deficit model makes it harder to perceive the multiple, even if struggling institutional and noninstitutional contexts in which people, however embattled in the face of ongoing political and economic struggles for survival, manifest a rich admixture of hope and skill, knowledge and power.

CITIES, SCHOOLS, AND THE STATE

The primacy of the urban in U.S. history of education has been especially visible in relationship to questions of institution-building, developing educational bureaucracy, and, in the process, the development of new kinds of state capacity. Tyack's view of the U.S. urban "one best system" exemplifies the dynamic, in which the urban proved the point of creation for models of bureaucracy, governance, and state capacity that later expanded across rural and suburban systems.

Even as cities received relatively less attention as standard-bearers in cases outside the U.S., new forms of state capacity developed out of urban schooling in other Western nations. Kevin Brehony's inquiry into efforts to structure children's play in Victorian England shows that privately initiated reform efforts quickly opened the way for expanded state functions. Also in the U.K., school practices in the early twentieth century such as the making of report cards and educational records about families pioneered governmental practices of surveillance not only in schooling but for the state more generally. Urban school systems have appeared less dominant in cases of highly nationalized education, such as that in France. The French system was long thought to operate with much more power at the central, national level. Yet work focused squarely on the place of cities in French educational development shows that beneath claims to centralization (and the national-state capacity it might seem to have implied) a more haphazard, varied, and privately administered configuration of schooling continued well into the twentieth century. This work shows that the emphasis on centralized French state-run education was overstated, veiling a long history of "local action and diversity" of educational offerings, particularly at the secondary level. This French pattern aligns with scholarship on developing nations in the early and mid-twentieth century as well.²⁰

A key part of the question of state capacity in and through education is the matter of social welfare provision. Historians in the U.S. have asked how schools figure within various forms of social welfare support. U.S. historians of education have recognized the tendency in U.S. social policy since World War II to use education as a substitute for more robust social service provision. The "educationalization" of social problems as David Labaree has titled it, makes schooling or training a shaky substitute for more active intervention into the economy, such as job creation, minimum wage supports, and similar measures.²¹ "Educationalization" is by no means limited to urban contexts, but it gained particular

support from post–World War II U.S. political opposition to social welfare that reflected the racialization of urban poverty in particular. Many Americans held a view of poverty as the product of cultural or individual failing rather than structural circumstances, and therefore one subject to remedies through education. New work on the place of education in relationship to the broader landscape of social welfare provision developing in the early twentieth century identifies cities and their schools as contributing to the making of the “civic welfare state,” with schooling complementing rather than displacing commitments to social welfare.²²

Although this line of investigation continues to develop, other work emerging in the past decade in the U.S. context raises questions about an urban-centric view of education and state formation. Without denying that urban school districts were sites of innovation and bureaucratic elaboration, new scholarship points toward other modes of state-formation at work in rural and state-level governance and in the administration of new policies operating at the national scale. Nancy Beadie documents how rural and small-town settings linked the building of education and the transition to the capitalist marketplace. Tracy Steffes examines state-level efforts to remedy deficiencies in rural schools in the early twentieth century and identifies modes of expansion in state power over education apart from those under way concurrently in cities. Where elite control and managerial authority ruled in the city context, negotiation and incentives for cooperation with state agendas characterized the rural and state dynamic. Looking at the presence of education programs during and after World War II, Christopher Loss sees a strengthened role for the federal state in education through its direct interaction with citizens as soldiers and then students. Loss and Steffes clarify that as education helped further new state capacities, it did so at scales of governance beyond the city alone. Neither popular support for education as a state function nor the negotiation of state power was of necessity urban. In this regard U.S. historiography becomes more aligned with scholarship on European nations, and Latin America as well, that have long emphasized citizenship and the state over urban innovation, or with China, where questions of state capacity find investigation around the development of education in rural settings more than the urban.²³ This new work does not simply point attention away from cities but offers historians the chance to revisit with increasing clarity the question of what is distinct about education in urban spatial, political, economic, and social contexts.

CONCLUSION

When, in 1977, Reeder helped inaugurate the field of history of urban education and critique its early growth, he rightly noted key ambiguities in the basic shape of the field. What constituted urban education? How did historians understand the relationship between schools and cities—in terms of their historical findings and of the historiographic approaches they took? In the decades of robust work that followed—centered heavily, but not exclusively, in the most urbanized countries, like the U.S. and the U.K.—much of this ambiguity continued. Many historians located their investigations in cities but at times seemed to take the city, and its importance for education beyond urban contexts, for granted. They could do so in part because of the power of the idea of urban crisis, first in the U.S. and later in the U.K. and beyond. Who would need to justify studying the most troubled, the most uncertain

spaces in the educational landscape? Yet while the idea of crisis could motivate more investigation, it could not on its own define the field sufficiently. Nor could it ensure that all of the important questions to ask about education in cities have been asked. Important questions about citizenship and culture remained much less fully interrogated as educational problems in urban space.

Since the 1970s, historical scholarship has moved from taking cities as context to beginning to conceptualize schools and cities in interaction with one another. In some cases, this work identifies ways that schools have helped define the urban landscape. In others, it continues to detail and examine the complex demands on and conditions faced by schools working in urban settings. The strongest of this work pays careful attention to the spatial organization of the city. Similar attention to the spatial organization of education and its consequences for political economy, for culture, and for citizenship has been at times applied to areas outside of the historic urban core, either through a metropolitan frame of reference or with a particular focus on suburban or exurban development. This work, rather than being subject to lumping under a generalizing idea of “the urban” because of the presence of diversity, segregation, or poverty, can instead offer useful comparative perspectives on how education has operated and has taken on particular meanings and has had particular impacts in various geographical forms. More specificity, rather than less, is helpful at this time of widely diverse urban forms and demographics. Specificity remains crucial as exciting new work in urban history takes up transnational frames of reference, from the global movement of segregationist practices and logics to the cross-border construction of cities themselves.

With specificity about the urban form can come an even firmer sense of how much the story of urban educational history matters for broader views of history of education. If we can answer how urban space matters for education, and how education matters for urban space, then we can identify more clearly, as Reeder suggested we do, what is “the particular set of problems” that is urban schooling.

NOTES

1. The author thanks Viola Huang for her research assistance.
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CHAPTER 3

METHOD IN THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION

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THE development of historical method has been a conscious enterprise intrinsic to the history of education and human culture. Moreover it has comprised two divergent historical practices: oral technique, characterizing traditional societies from the earliest times; and writing, which began to be practiced in polities around five thousand years ago, heralding the possibility of literate history.

However, it is only in the past century that a dominant method of written history has emerged globally and only since the 1960s that, in most parts of the world, written histories, including those on education, have moved away from nationalistic priorities of the previous century and a half to embrace much broader cultural concerns. But since the 1960s, also, global literate method in history has reencountered, tangentially and uncertainly, the oral tradition that, over previous centuries, it almost eclipsed.

THE EMERGENCE OF HISTORICAL METHOD

Formal discussion of historical method is at least as old as Herodotus (fl. 450s–420s BCE). But he and his near contemporaries stand at a midpoint between the initial development of writing and the present day, and oral history must have long predated literate culture.

Across varied cultures the earliest records of oral tradition appear in common to embody knowledge that is codified and designed for transmission intergenerationally. It is most likely, therefore, that the first formulated histories were relayed through speech, song, or chant. By definition, such spoken tradition was protean, being malleable to audience pressures and subject to influence and substitution. It was also at the heart of education in the societies concerned, in terms of the information conveyed—for example, the recitation of genealogies or epic poems—and in the training by practitioners of the novice orators of the next generation.

Subsequently some cultures came to adopt written records as an aid to specialized activities such as trade, finance, and diplomacy. In such societies written history served primarily economic, bureaucratic, military, and political purposes but also required formal education

for its perpetuation. So it seems that from the beginning of the development of writing (in Bronze Age Mesopotamia, modern Iraq, c. 3100 BCE) places were designated alongside administrative buildings where instructors taught novice scribes and devised manuals for the learning of script. The “proto-writing” developed at this date purely as an administrative tool gave way, from c. 2600 BCE, to Sumerian cuneiform script and Egyptian hieroglyphs, seemingly the world’s earliest writing systems designed to record natural language for a range of legal, literary, and technical uses. With this cultural innovation new sources for the writing of history arose: king lists, chronologies, law cases, legends, ordinances, treatises, and diplomatic and royal correspondence.

But if the practice of both oral and literate history was intimately linked with education from the outset, the historical documents developed by literate bureaucracies differed from spoken tradition in that they were fixed in recorded script and thus impervious to the subtle changes inserted into oral histories for the ears of specific hearers. Equally distinctive, written records were less public. However, to as many as could access and read them, such texts could be studied systematically and were thus open to private correction, emendation, and elaboration.

In China, writing developed separately and later than in Sumer. Here the oldest known inscriptions are on oracle bones, which formed part of the Shang royal archive and date from the period between 1400 and 1200 BCE. Because the bones were inscribed they could be organized and preserved, but gradually Chinese script lost its primarily oracular purpose and gained instead a dominant regional influence, philosophically through Confucian thinking and functionally as an instrument of politics and economics. A parallel initial impetus is evident in the rise of Hebrew (from the ninth century BCE) and Arabic (from the fourth century CE), both driven by a desire to record sacred texts accurately. On the other side of the world an outlier—purposely and geographically—was the development of writing in Mesoamerica from c. 500 BCE, including Mayan, which seems to have been driven, in part at least, by a requirement to record the findings of systematic scientific inquiry and observation.¹

But it was never universally accepted that written archives were more reliable than the preexisting oral tradition. Just as Plato decried writing as a threat to the cultivation of memory, in the Indian subcontinent oral tradition was so revered that sacred texts were preserved by memory rather than in script (which was thought to be less secure), with the result that the progenitor of modern writing in both South and Central East Asia, Brahmi, emerged only in the mid-third century BCE. Similarly, even after writing had become ubiquitous, many cultures continued to revere the education provided by professional orators. In classical Greece rhapsodes performed epic poetry, while in the Turkic region ashiks maintained and transmitted oral tradition. In medieval Europe similar educative functions were performed by bards (Gaelic and British culture), minstrels (continental Europe), and skalds (Scandinavia and Iceland). Although all societies had language, not all embraced writing, with the result that in these communities oral tradition remained the sole means—into the mid-nineteenth century or later—for declaiming or refining the lessons of history.

Nevertheless the practice of the Sumerian kingdoms in training a small but growing elite in *edubbas* (scribal schools) sited near formal archives (and first evidenced at the trading city of Ebla c. 2350 BCE) became a pattern repeated wherever politics or religion required a bureaucracy or priesthood for its maintenance or promulgation. Such conditions were also favorable to the eventual development of a professional literate history. As a consequence,

in the work of Herodotus in ancient Greece and Sima Qian in China (fl. c. 100 BCE), we find the emergence of a formal concern for historical method: the exposition of what it means to construct a written history and the nature of the authority—oral, literate, and material—on which it might be advanced.

Herodotus, writing in the Greek dialect of the Ionians in the earlier fifth century BCE, employed primarily oral sources—fables, testimonies, and the utterances of oracles—and happily provided his readers with contrasting versions. However, he was also able to draw on written records in archives systematically maintained by Greek city state authorities, as well as on material remains. Like Herodotus, Sima Qian traveled in order to collect historical sources, including oral testimonies, for his *Records of the Grand Historian* (c. 100 BCE), but his work in China relied more overtly on a range of written materials that he discusses, advising his readers of rival texts where contradictions abound. Thus the core method of the literate professional historian in consulting, drawing upon, and verifying sources was under way in different parts of the world more than two millennia ago and continued to be refined in the following centuries.

This historical practice had education at its core. Herodotus, dubbed by Cicero “the father of history,” aimed at a wide audience and was engaged, in the words of a modern commentator, in an “audacious program of edification.” In contrast, his near-contemporary Thucydides wrote for intellectual peers. Deliberately eschewing sources that appeared authoritative merely by being in wide circulation, Thucydides concentrated his analysis instead on cause and effect. As such, both historians were educators whose technique turned on the systematic and explicit construction of their histories. So too was Sima Qian, whose interest in method was in some tension with a more general debt to Confucius. For, while Confucianism accepted that the purpose of history writing was to help establish and mirror an ideal polity, Sima Qian appears to have been “motivated as much by the desire to build a repository of historical knowledge as by the pursuit of an ideal sociopolitical order,” and this allowed him to pursue his curiosity in the unique or the extraordinary at the expense of pure didacticism.² Literate history and its educational uses were thus closely linked, as they have been ever since.

ENLIGHTENING AND PROFESSIONALIZING HISTORY

Until the nineteenth century, the strongest consistent forces globally for preserving the written historical record and subjecting it to analysis were religious or moral/philosophical, whether this be Hebraic doctrine, Confucian tradition, the successors to Vedic religion, Greco-Roman philosophy, Christian apologetics, or Muslim scholarship. Accordingly historical practice was valued in the educational institutions of the major religions and polities where scribal teaching and scholarship thrived. But, everywhere, these scholars constituted a tiny literary elite, dwarfed by those practicing history through the recital of family lore and local tradition or via purely verbal exposition at a church, synagogue, mosque, temple, shrine, or agora.

In these conditions, literary scholarship in history was laborious and the opportunities for exchange between individuals and between cultures was limited. Only with the invention of paper-making (developed alongside block printing in China by the eighth century) and

printing with movable type (by Pi Sheng in China in the mid-eleventh century and perhaps independently by Johannes Gutenberg's circle in Germany in the fifteenth) was the potential for rapid accumulation of knowledge and expansion of expertise put in place. And while in China the new technology served imperial purposes within the intellectually conservative, regional continuity of Confucian thinking (historians had been integrated into the Chinese government bureaucracy since the seventh century), in Europe it accompanied an inexorable expansion of trade and political ambition—circumstances in which an elision of finance, education, and culture could come to have the most far-reaching global effects.

The significance of these European conditions cannot be overstated. Following the collapse of the western Roman Empire, the religiosocial tradition in Europe over a millennium was fostered by the scholarly religious—mainly monks and nuns in formal orders, largely insulated from non-European literate cultures. Subsequently this practice was broadened first by Renaissance intellectuals and then, from the seventeenth century, by the gentleman scholar, the experimental scientist (women as well as men), the antiquarian, and the historian. But although a secular worldview gained ground only slowly, European historians of all stripes increasingly sought to eliminate from their accounts not only legend but also myth and supernatural intervention.

By the eighteenth century, the unprecedented extent of European merchant dynamism fused with the educative impulse of Christian missionaries to impress upon threatened cultures the intimidating power of the Enlightenment with its restless pursuit of novelty, commerce, and the exotic, its didactic program of rationality and faith, and its intellectual, scientific, and technological momentum built on an explosion of print culture. Something similar occurred in contemporary East Asia but in a more dilute form, with the result that the commercial, religious, and educational preoccupations of “the West” (Europe and settler culture in North America) began now to become a global force, both on the geopolitical stage and through influence over historical method, as the volume and range of authors in print increased steadily.

Crucially such developments generated a historiography that came to legitimize colonial expansion. First, by the mid-eighteenth century, an earlier encyclopedic impulse in historical inquiry began to be replaced among European intellectuals with Eurocentric ideas of progress strongly tied to commercial advance, the pace and range of scientific discovery, and its application through technologies. Second, method in history was debated and tested via a republic of letters through which historians created a cosmopolitan, interlingual literature. Careers were based on independent income derived from a lively book and library trade that indicated a civil society comprising a wide reading public.

This had a powerful effect on historical method elsewhere, both among nonliterate societies and in the major literate cultures beyond Europe. From the antiquarian and moralist mentality of the Enlightenment came the idea of primitive cultures, those without recorded history but where honor and dignity might be embodied in the noble savage. Yet these were also seen as, by definition, “prehistoric” societies (a term still used today in archaeology) needing to be civilized. Alongside this, Christian missionaries were translating the Bible—with its highly directional and teleological concept of time—into other written languages in what, over more than four centuries, must be accounted as the most systematic program of educational intervention in global history. Of the six thousand or so world languages, Christian missionaries have produced a printed Bible translation in over one thousand, where either there was no literate culture before or where there was writing but no preexisting technology of movable type.³

The impact of Enlightenment thinking was no less challenging to historical method. In the Arab world, for example, confidence in a proud tradition of history writing, not always impervious to European influences, was shaken by sudden and widespread unease in the last quarter of the eighteenth century about the growing strength of the European powers in science and commerce. In response, the example set by nineteenth-century imperial historiographers to the Ottoman sultanate and the curation of its large government archive allowed a reassessment of methods, with textual criticism among court historians becoming more favored than a tradition of flattery and deference.⁴

Finally, intellectuals in eighteenth-century Europe embarked on fresh appraisals of both the practice of formal education and its history. Prominent figures such as Locke, Rousseau, and Kant wrote treatises on educational theory and practice, but historical appraisals were also attempted in parallel. In republican France, the Marquis de Condorcet not only dominated the politics of school reform but set out a major historiographical treatise (published posthumously in 1795) arguing for progress in human affairs evidenced through developments in education. His contemporary in England, Robert Lowth, pioneered literary criticism and the study of vernacular grammar and also wrote a scholarly source-based biography of William of Wykeham, a major innovator in medieval education. For other Enlightenment figures such as Voltaire, Hume, and Gibbon, historical reflection through deep immersion among copious documentary sources pointed to new directions in scholarly ambition.

Before long, the practice of history across Europe was being extended to a new professoriate in the nineteenth-century university which took its professional cue from German models of rectitude and method. Most significant in the long run was Leopold von Ranke, whose first and most influential book, *Geschichte der romanischen und germanischen Völker von 1494 bis 1514* (*History of the Latin and Teutonic Peoples from 1494 to 1514*), demonstrated commitment to a wide range of sources and emphasized in the preface to the first edition (1824) that the accumulation of such evidence allowed him to pursue his main aim of representing the past “wie es eigentlich gewesen” (how it essentially was). This was to attempt something larger than merely verifying a sequence of events. Von Ranke called for all of the relevant sources to be examined and for discrimination in distinguishing the “purest most immediate documents.” In thus appropriating a new emphasis on textual criticism from German advances in philology, his ideal for historians was that they might recover the full substance of past episodes.⁵

Von Ranke’s insistence on the thorough and reflective study of written primary sources created as close in time as possible to the events being recorded can be labeled “Rankeian” method. Augmented later by the more accurate dating of artifacts on a large scale through archaeology, this method became widely accepted in Europe and North America as the means to the most authentic recovery of past events, actions, motives, and ideas.

PRACTICING HISTORY AND EDUCATING NATIONS

Much remains to be discovered about the evolution of historical method around the world over the past millennium. If there has been a central dynamic propelling it, this seems to have been the evolution into nation-states of societies managed by literate elites. Accompanying

this, historiography has been increasingly influenced by the cultural force of political, social, and economic development based on or acquiescent to empirical science and its technical applications such that the worldviews and oral histories of nonliterate societies are pushed inexorably even further to the margins.

Education has been integral to this dynamic. The rise of science and its technologies is predicated on intellectual curiosity and evidential validation by peers. From the sixteenth century, the universities and learned societies of Europe provided resources and speeded such transmission in ways that outran, in energy and restlessness, the academic institutions of other cultures. By the mid-eighteenth century, Europe had begun to incubate an intensifying conjunction of military technology, mercantilism, and territorial ambition that saw its nation-states moving to colonize, shape, and subdue other cultures around the globe.

To augment this momentum, systems of mass schooling began to be constructed in which national histories could be taught and imbibed, including narratives that sought to explain and justify the impulses of empire in a world where, by 1914, around 85 percent of the earth's territory was in a dependent relationship to a dozen European countries, the USA, and Japan. Such history, and the textbooks that supported it, was often jingoistic and partisan. Yet it was based increasingly on the Rankeian method practiced by an expanding historical profession. This assisted a significant enlargement of the horizons and landscapes of historical knowledge and by the late nineteenth century had come to constitute the main claim to expertise of university-based historians in Europe and North America while also proving to be the specific technique that could hold together widely agreed framing devices such as chronology and accurate, sequenced attribution.

Equally important, this equilibrium of method and framing was also highly flexible in use. For example, it was influential in allowing the Meiji in Japan to set the country on a course of modernization following the shock of China's defeat by the British in the Opium War of 1839–1842. This involved a decided turning away from Confucian thought and the development of a “civilizational history,” strongly influenced by Western method, that encouraged nationalism, empire building, and a close government supervision of school textbook compilation that has survived to the present day. Similarly, Rankeian method was the basis of 1930s studies that continued to justify colonial rule (for example, in large-scale British histories of India published by the university presses at Oxford and Cambridge) while also proving supple both in accommodating widely divergent theories of causation, such as liberal or Marxist accounts of socioeconomic development, and in holding together an academic profession in the West that expanded very rapidly from the early 1960s.

But if historians and educators in imperial nations could put history to such uses, so could those in literate societies under—or threatened by—the colonial yoke. As in the West but on a smaller scale, the historical profession expanded in such regions. Similarly school systems were enlarged, and this set the stage from around 1870 for gradually convergent patterns in both the general development of historical method and its particular application to education.

Thus the prerevolutionary crisis of 1898–1911 in China saw major reforms instituted in schools and universities that allowed historians to adopt Japanese-mediated Western techniques in order to construct a new nationalist history and to develop, from the late 1920s, a university-based profession of historians. Organized along Rankeian lines, this new breed of historian proceeded to put systematic method at the service of Marxist modes of interpretation.

Among the Arab peoples historical practice also took on a nationalist purpose with an uneasy merging of source-based method (history for nation-building) with the structure and form of chronology (list-making central to Islamic intellectual tradition) as historians increasingly drew on the emergent late Ottoman practice of research in official records so as to focus on the archives of nascent national governments and delineate recent political trajectories. Here too the 1920s saw historical practice across the region begin to professionalize along Western lines. This occurred inside state-founded universities rather than via mosques and was accompanied by expanded educational provision such as the new “national schools” of Egypt and Syria that set a priority on teaching history.

In India under the British, a pressing question beginning in the 1850s was the nature of a common historical identity that might be put to the service of nationalism. Here, as elsewhere, school systems developed in parallel. Anglicized schools celebrated the achievements of European antiquity and the colonial British thought-forms derived from it, while in Bengali schools a key text depicted a vigorous and ancient cultural history in India. By the 1920s and 1930s a Rankeian ascendancy among professional historians in India sat alongside a popular, idealized, and romanticized Bengali folk history movement that deployed myth, genealogy, and customs. It was an accommodation by no means unique to India at this time, and, as elsewhere, it was joined by a Marxist strain that prevailed up to and beyond Independence in 1947, as home-grown politicians and activists pursued parallel paths to nation-state autonomy.⁶

In each of these regions a growing number of their historians became based in universities in the West, had trained there, or were coming to adopt Rankeian method by example. By these means, the contours of a global profession of historians began to emerge. With the exception of those writing in totalitarian states, such as Nazi Germany or Kim dynasty North Korea, along with elders in nonliterate societies fighting to conserve their oral, nonliterate culture of history, education, and meaning-making, an increasingly ubiquitous, worldwide affinity of salaried historians has come to agree on the nature of procedural rigor—it should be based on a set of consensual principles about working practice that stand in direct succession to the central idea that Herodotus, Sima Qian, and their followers espoused: that method should be overt.

These shared principles are now to be found expounded in any number of primers outlining the essentials of literary historical method: exact chronology; close evaluation of sources; authentication; avoidance of anachronism; balance of description, narrative, and analysis; empathy and imagination; and precision, accuracy, and elegance in writing.

HISTORIES OF EDUCATION: PURPOSES AND METHODS

The implications for literate societies around the globe of the rise of nationalism, coupled with the professionalization of history in universities, has had a major effect on the historiography of education. Not least, this has been because these trends were accompanied by nation-building through expanded, modernized, and largely secular school systems through which governments promulgated precepts of national history, moral purpose, and

the obligations of citizenship. Conceived on broadly Western lines, these enlarged school systems emphasized the teaching of history, with textbooks closely monitored to ensure that national identity could be supervised.

The effect was felt initially in the industrializing and colonizing nations, where large-scale programs of state-formation through schooling first took place, beginning with Prussia in the 1790s, spreading across the USA at state level from the 1830s, and becoming universal within the main European nations and in Japan during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. These national school systems relied for their legitimacy not merely on the mass socialization of children, by the state and with parental consent, but also on the large-scale induction of recruits into a new, publicly funded profession. Those training to enter their country's school system as teachers required professional textbooks, and this set the scene for a series of histories of pedagogy that arose first in German in the mid-nineteenth century, complemented by equivalents in French and English (including pirated American versions) from the late 1860s. Outside Japan, where brief emulation of Western influences in the 1870s gave way to revitalized Confucian themes in education, these textbooks laid out a chronological and progressive course in which notable educators from the Greco-Roman world to the recent past were allocated to epochs and paraded. In the German and French versions, there was a strong emphasis on recent, local exemplars, but across the genre as a whole, Rousseau's *Émile, ou De l'éducation* (1762) was presented as the pivotal text in projecting educational theory and method into a modern age.⁷

By the turn of the twentieth century, the universal school systems of the western European states and of America had come to be seen by the professionals who ran them, as well as by politicians and intellectuals, as anvils of national and social progress and models to be emulated in their respective colonial possessions. Such was the gathering size of the state-funded teaching profession, allied to a major new bureaucratic class of educational administrators, that it bred its own cadre of historians intent on presenting systematic and often stirring accounts of the progress of education sponsored by the state through legislation and school building—a tailored history, designed to mirror and celebrate one aspect of the widespread professionalization that these societies experienced during the century that followed.

Thus, alongside a new class of salaried historians in universities engaged primarily in the political and cultural history of their country's elites (but generating also the occasional monograph or article on education), room was found in the parallel institution of the normal school/college of education for tutors to mold a new kind of history of education. This latter genre was a hybrid. Studies of "great educators," pioneers, and innovators continued to appear and assumed greater sophistication but were now joined by empirically based, highly detailed, and progressively oriented accounts of legal and institutional progress in the development of national education systems. In this manner, roughly from 1900 to 1960, it proved possible for source-critical procedure and a moral-didactic view of social improvement to be fused, serving both to open up a new field of social and institutional history and to inspire socially mobile entrants to school teaching seeking to play their part in the march of progress.

In terms of method, this new history of education was often scrupulous in following Rankeian principles, but this pointed to a tension. Scholarly monographs on education enlarged the field of history, but if seen as "dry" by readers in the professional ambience of the normal schools, they could fail to inspire, a problem that grew once psychology began to replace study of the ideas of the great educators as the principal generic subject matter of

teacher training in the 1920s and 1930s. British historiography of education was one such example. Substantial archive-based inquiries into education at the local level in the volumes of the Victoria County History (1899–) and authoritative monographs such as Rashdall's *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* ([1895] 1936) continued and refined eighteenth-century traditions of local antiquarianism and substantial institutional histories. But these scholarly studies stood at one end of a spectrum. At the other were progressively oriented, legal/administrative textbook accounts of the “rise” of state education such as those produced for the University Tutorial Press by S. J. Curtis and M. E. A. Boulthwood. Designed in short digestible sections, their purpose was explicit: to guide teacher training students “in their search for an understanding of the great service they are to join.”⁸

This continuum in British educational historiography was similar to that found in other European countries and in North America until the late 1960s. Thereafter a gently rising postwar tide of social history in the universities and colleges turned into a flood, sweeping away the dominance of scholarly “history from above,” on the one hand, and whiggish celebration of the progressive interventionist state, on the other, before reaching something of an accommodation in the middle ground via a burgeoning of social history.

This has played out differently around the world and has been shaped by broader historiographical influences. For while Rankeian procedure gained further ground as the ubiquitous mode of historical practice, building on a global professionalization of history beginning in the 1920s, interpretive frameworks showed less convergence. By no means a minor episode in the history of education itself, Marxist accounts, those influenced by feminism and postcolonialism, and those drawing on sociology, psychology, and ethnography, have played out unevenly and fluctuated depending on specific national preoccupations.

If highly general trends are evident in the history of education since the early 1960s, these include a growing influence of archaeology in extending and recasting the evidential base of histories of remote eras; greater freedom on the part of historians of education in former authoritarian states to adopt themes and concepts circulating in the wider historical community (for example, postmodernism); a continuing concentration on the apparatus of state education systems of schooling in the modern period (since, say, 1850); and greater openness to move beyond the documentary archive in order to develop and exploit new sources—oral, visual, and artifactual—while also grappling with questions of style, structure (especially narrative), and meaning. If there remain lacunae, one might be the religious impulse in education. It is a theme central to the global history of education and highly topical in the present, but one apparently set aside by most contemporary historians who, in acting on a secularizing impulse, have sought also to demonstrate scholarly sensibility in a postcolonial world.

SOURCES, TECHNIQUES, AND THE QUESTIONS THAT HISTORIANS SEEK TO ANSWER

Despite the massive expansion of histories produced, the “vast majority” of historical practice has remained “confined to libraries and archives,” with conventional Rankeian method

predominating.⁹ Nevertheless innovations in technique have broadened conceptions of which disciplines adjacent to history might enlarge horizons and what might count as a source.

For example, the alliance of historians and archaeologists in the past century has yielded a vast expansion of raw materials available for study, extending the kinds of questions that can be attempted, especially for more distant periods, and prompting major reappraisal of accepted truths. The way this has transformed understanding of the very origins of written culture was outlined earlier; to take a further instance among very many, the decipherment of ink writing tablets at the Roman garrison fort of Vindolanda, near Hadrian's Wall in northern England, has demonstrated vividly both what might have been assumed and what otherwise could not have been guessed. Predictably the imperial bureaucracy of Rome, even at its remotest northern outpost, relied on a steady stream of incoming mail, outgoing letters, financial accounting, leave requests, and duty officer reports. Less probably, the archaeology has revealed that senior officers had their families with them, that women in the fort corresponded, and that, during the years c. 92–103, writing exercises were constructed and given to children. But even less anticipated, the material evidence includes a tablet and styluses found in one of the British round huts in the town outside the garrison fort—strongly suggesting that, in trading with the Roman army, enterprising natives engaged with and probably participated in written as well as spoken Latin.

Just as archaeology casts bright but selective shafts of light on the history of education, so do documentary sources. In literate communities, sources survive unevenly and decisions about what is preserved are subject to change. Stability and lack of violence in a society is conducive to records surviving, but these conditions vary a good deal by geography, while the accidents of time everywhere winnow what is preserved. This acts as an important brake on a teleology not uncommon in histories of education—that there have been cumulative improvements in each succeeding century. The medievalist Nicholas Orme sounds a warning:

There has been a tendency to see the history of education as incremental. . . . Growth has been perceived as both quantitative and qualitative. . . . Doubtless there were more schools, teachers and literate people in 1500 than there had been in 800 or 900. Yet the incremental view is also imperfect. It partakes of the distortions caused by the growth of evidence as time goes on. More schools are recorded in 1500 than in 1400, and in 1400 than in 1300, because more sources exist that mention them. This increase is a result not only of more sources having been created but of more having survived. The further one goes back in time, the greater the losses. Education is an economy, and economies undergo fluctuations. We need to allow for decline as well as advance. The first person who tried to estimate the numbers of schools in England, William Bingham in 1439, believed that seventy had closed in half of the country during the previous fifty years.¹⁰

It need hardly be added that what Orme says here about instability in the relative cultural calm of medieval England is magnified across the geographies of other epochs, such as the widespread interruption of literate education across Europe at the end of the western Roman Empire, or the purging of intellectual expression across China during the Cultural Revolution.

However, most historians of education study the recent past, not least because a majority are connected through employment or professional interest to the state education systems described earlier. The sources for this enterprise are vast and, potentially, bewildering—as

are the interpretive frames that may be invoked. To the enormous accumulations of modern documentary records can be added sources generated by the technologies of the past 150 years—photography, film, recorded sound—all now being revolutionized by digital production and storage. This presents formidable challenges of preservation and curation and is accompanied by the uncertain patterns of evidence generated by word-search technology derived, for example, from the millions of electronic pages of historical periodicals of all kinds now becoming accessible.

Yet out of the chaotic array of sources that might be encompassed in formal historical inquiry have come reflexive and fresh considerations of the kinds of questions that might be broached and innovative procedures that might be adopted. Examples of such innovation abound in studies of the history of education and can be readily illustrated.

First, and still most common, is the convention of the historian seeking to answer a new question about the past and then setting about conceiving of the widest range of available sources for studying it. In recent decades this has involved a search to find and exploit new sources while also reinterpreting familiar ones in order to rebalance who and what gets recovered from the historical record. In this vein, and roughly in order of the attention they have received since the mid-twentieth century, historians of education in the USA, Europe, and elsewhere have undertaken “history from below” (emphasizing the experiences and outlooks of those other than the powerful, especially those low in the social hierarchy, those subjugated, and those enslaved); the history of women and education; and the history of minority groups struggling for recognition and autonomy within dominant cultures—indigenous peoples, those of scattered ethnicity, those identifying themselves outside normative expectations of heterosexuality, and those with disabilities.

Work in each of these areas has been ingenious, with ingenuity tending to be both practical and conceptual. Logistically, what extant written sources have been neglected by historians? Answers have included letters, diaries, memoirs, financial accounts, library collections, marginalia in books, court records, and wills. Conceptually, what ideas from adjacent disciplines in the social sciences might stimulate new and compelling interpretation of these sources? Responses here have involved dialogue with sociology, social anthropology (especially in respect of religion), political science, psychology, and professional studies (for example, education, social work and professions allied to medicine).

Alongside the impetus to answer new questions from fresh sources, a second procedural innovation has been the attempt to exploit new techniques of analysis beyond literary interpretation of the written record. Two innovations emergent in the 1960s stand out: quantification, which has had a checkered history, and oral history, which has become widely influential.

Quantification in history, first strongly promoted in the USA in the 1960s, appeared to promise much: greater objectivity in historical analysis; a much clearer delineation of pattern in history; harnessing of the power of computing; and, potentially at least, new and stronger claims about causation. That much of the initial energy surrounding quantification burned itself out within a couple of decades suggests that it promised too much, too soon. But this outcome obscures some important longer-term gains. Historians of education using quantitative techniques have been able to investigate the development of literacy more systematically than before, but, as with studies of school attendance, their findings did not prove conclusive, and the optimism of initial claims was followed by some recrimination. However, it was clearly important that historians should seek to deploy numerical data—especially when recorded in valid time series—and the potential for fruitful relations

between economists and historians of education remains strong (if underdeveloped), not least because insight into the processes of education under conditions of industrialization and globalization retain high salience to a wide range of contemporary audiences.¹¹ Birth cohort surveys, especially well developed in Britain in the postwar period and in essence a survey method of social science, are one prominent example where historical data about education and the social structure are having a major influence over contemporary policymaking.

If time-series data are only now coming to full prominence in some of their applications, the development of oral history as a widely used technique from which important questions about the history of education might flow is by now very well established. However, as with quantitative history, there are procedural conundra. In particular, oral history interviews are highly problematic as primary sources when assessed against the Rankeian requirement of creation as close in time as possible to the events being recorded. The interviewee who says “I was there” seems to provide the test of immediacy normally applied to such sources, but the veracity of recall in strictly historical terms (for example, specificity and chronology) is notoriously weak in such interviews. For this reason, more recent discussion of the content of oral history testimonies includes their value as insight into the workings of memory, either in respect of how individuals create autobiographic narrative or how, collectively, interviews with a range of individuals about a common experience, such as the trauma of war or living under totalitarianism, intersect with and serve to shape public memory. As this work continues, it seems likely that historians of education will continue to value interview data that elicit group experience—for example, a kind of schooling or the mores of a social group in relation to informal education—while noting the caveat that, by definition, the purposes of the interviewer in the present act on and influence the interviewee’s account of the past. And yet similar considerations of audience and the purpose of composition are present in the written memoirs and autobiographies widely used by historians. As ever, discernment in interpretation of the sources at hand, including reading them “against the grain,” is seen as the historian’s principal task.

Meanwhile, in a third and least common form of procedural innovation, some historians over the past two decades or so, especially as part of a collaborative enterprise, have focused their attention on specific types of historical artifact to consider the kinds of questions for investigation and interpretation they might encourage. For shorthand, this might be labeled a “materialities” approach to investigation.

Although under way in the mid-1990s and prefigured in the 1970s in studies of the architecture of educational buildings, a convenient way to trace this international development in the history of education is through articles published in the “Sources and Interpretations” section of the journal *History of Education* from 2004. In addition to a still prominent consideration of types of written source, the range of these essays has included discussion of historical method in relation to photographs, recorded lectures, school furniture (desks and blackboards), patents, libraries, and card games, while a special issue of the journal (2010) comprised detailed examination of “space, place and materialities” to complement those in *Educació i Història* on photography and history (2010) and in *Paedagogica Historica* on visual history (2000), documentary film (2011), and material culture (2015).

By definition eclectic, there are nevertheless strands running through this procedural development that help to explain its impetus. One was an expectation on the part of progressively minded researchers that nonwritten sources might somehow make the history of

education “more democratic.”¹² Another was the motivation to tackle a core theme in the history of education seemingly resistant to investigation through written records: the culture and dynamics of the classroom. The international networks developed by Martin Lawn and Ian Grosvenor have been prominent in this context, resulting in four edited volumes (1999–2013) in which thirty-five authors from sixteen countries have, in stages, widened attention from the classroom, through the broader rhythms of schooling (“design, technology, objects, routines”) and curated education exhibitions, to the construction and “visualization” of quantitative data on education used in global policymaking.¹³

REVISITING THE LITERARY/ORAL SCHISM IN HISTORICAL METHOD

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century processes of imperialism, intercultural exchange, and programmatic education for nation-building have resulted in a near-universal hegemony of professional history that is literate and Rankeian in method, at the expense of an ever-diminishing and now drastically marginalized minority of cultures where history has remained oral. But what if the historian wishes, or is commissioned, to explore questions for which there are no dateable primary sources, written or material? Is there no recourse when such sources are “silent,” and is this a major epistemological limitation of contemporary historical practice?

This was the precise problem that confronted historians in the 1950s asked to provide expert evidence in North American indigenous land claim cases, and others who set out to equip regions such as sub-Saharan Africa with a more extended past than that documented in Islamic and European trading, slavery, and missionary records prior to the colonial imposition of literacy. In the first instance the kind of evidence presented in the American law courts was often not to the liking of the leaders of the settler culture; in the second, the task was lent a paradoxical urgency for some Western historians by a sense that the knowledge embedded in African oral tradition was rapidly dying out.

Initially the solutions arrived at were to hunt for previously overlooked written sources (America) and the systemic analysis of oral histories (Africa). But by the 1980s, as historians and anthropologists broadened the geographical horizons of these earlier initiatives, a more syncretic approach to such endeavors began to take hold. Method in “ethnohistory,” the hybrid discipline that might provide an accommodation, now was seen less as the search for new facts than as an interdisciplinary obligation “to understand the dialogic dimensions of cultural encounter and exchange.”¹⁴

The interplays are complex. By following conventional practice some historians of Africa trained in the West deployed elements from oral tradition to create continuous factual narrative extending backward for up to four centuries, sometimes corroborated by artifact evidence from archaeology. However, such method and the claims resulting from it came under strain as, from a Rankeian point of view, doubts mounted about the consistency of the recital of traditions and the politics involved in retellings, regardless of whether or not the hearer/recorder is a professional outsider. It has also become increasingly clear that chronology, so central to the concerns of the empirical historian, is a matter mainly of indifference

to native peoples when recounting their cultural traditions. And so while dialogic encounter and exchange could become the means to an element of shared understanding, the ends sought by those in the encounter usually remained widely divergent.

It is especially appropriate that historians of education have grappled with the implications of such research dynamics because, historically, settler societies in the Americas, Australasia, and elsewhere have sought systematically to subordinate native peoples through disorientating institutions such as schools, especially boarding schools. In recent years it is notable that control over education—particularly what is conveyed through community education—has become an increasing priority for those indigenous peoples prepared to participate in encounters involving Western historical research as a means to reassert their identity and autonomy in a hostile, globalizing world. The intricacies of the dialogue involved are portrayed vividly and sensitively in the account by David Neufeld of the struggle between civil servants employed by Parks Canada and aboriginal representatives in the Yukon over how the “Story of Canada” should be interpreted to the public, both First Nation Inuvialuits and Western tourists.¹⁵

Where does all this leave method in the history of education today? Three modes of inquiry appear to encapsulate the current scene, comprising a trio of quite distinctive purposes for the enterprise as a whole.

On the one hand are two kinds of dominant Rankeian studies: those that seek to chart a new tract of social or cultural history “for its own sake” and those that set out to use history, frequently alongside the social sciences, for explicitly educational/professional ends, often in the implicit service of nationalism or progressive ideals. On the other hand is the small stream of defensive engagements between indigenous peoples for whom literate Western method has little or no meaning, and empirical historians whose ingrained assumptions about rigorous procedure are fundamentally challenged by the encounter.

Reflecting Rankeian dominance, most studies remain conventional in method. Indeed it is rare to find complete renunciation of empirical history in commentaries on the field. So while the interruptions to traditional method proposed by Popkewitz and his collaborators from thirteen countries when “rethinking the history of education” are evidently strongly influenced by recent waves of “theory”—and include a mauling meted out to such familiar landmarks in Western historiography as nation-states, Enlightenment, the archive, and chronology—the “revisioning” that Popkewitz proposes nevertheless rejects “doing away with enlightenment commitments to reason and rationality or with the possibility of agency and change” in history. Rather prosaically perhaps, the motivation of this project is to rescue the history of education in the USA from its conservatism, insularity, and distrust of “foreign” theory by placing it in the “globalised historical ethos” of postmodernism.¹⁶

A more common challenge to accustomed empirical method is found in response to studies where nationalism or progressive ideology is implicit or where Rankeian procedure appears inert. In the first instance Daniel Tröhler has criticized conventional studies for failing to contribute to broader educational discussion, while, in the second, Gary McCulloch has called repeatedly for porous boundaries between history and all of the social sciences in order to inject urgency into the projects of both, in pursuit of his ideal of a “usable past” and as a means to address the dilemmas of presentism head-on by embracing it.¹⁷

In the small minority of studies centered on encounters between literate and solely oral practice in history, a different kind of teleology and presentism can be evident when

subsequently reported in conventional Western journals. For example, Gillian Weiss's aim, when mounting her investigations of histories of education among Australian Aboriginal and Canadian First Nations peoples, has been to promote an ideal of "equality" between Western academic discourse and that of oral societies. But this endeavor, more ambitious than the mere infusion of theory drawn from within Western thinking, seems intrinsically contradictory when described as relying on a cooperative approach across cultural boundaries to creating primary, nondocumentary source material with or for the indigenous peoples concerned. How to move beyond this impasse was the political and conceptual dilemma addressed by Canadian government and Inuvialuit representatives in settling on an appropriate public representation of the separate kinds of history useful to both the indigenous and outsiders living off the land in the sparsely populated region of Yukon—a solution described as creating a "middle ground" where "multiple meanings can be acknowledged and accommodated," including surrender by the federal government of its role as sole steward of the national story.¹⁸

Resolution of a fundamental clash of cultures (as opposed to epistemological dispute within the post-Enlightenment West, sparked, for example, by postmodernism) is also reflected in the tentative prescription for Chinese education arising from Zongjie Wu's account of the violence to traditional historical sensibilities wrought by a wholesale importing of Western historicism after 1895. But in what kind of future social, economic, and political circumstances would his recommendation be viable? Should Chinese education return to a tradition of spoken exploration of poesy and textual pattern as the main mode of historical inquiry?¹⁹

In pondering this question, historians of education might consider a further lacuna. For while the processes of empire and colonization have become increasingly well aired in Western academic literature, including a strong strand on the relations between colonizer and colonized, much less has been written about the indigenous histories of education articulated by subjugated peoples—their variety, their characteristic procedures, and the nature of their resilience under the shadow of oppression. Comparative studies in this vein might address the extent to which shared features in the method of such indigenous histories appear to result from common forms of resistance to subjugation. Or are there regional or other commonalities of method in such cultural narratives? Even where epistemologies vary widely, for example in terms of the importance accorded to and meaning ascribed within events and chronology, what modes of communal autonomy are represented in traditional (non-Enlightenment) forms of knowledge? Or, indeed, would the very act of writing in such a vein yet again violate the integrity of such accounts which must, for their power and effect, be communicated orally?

NOTES

1. Peter T. Daniels and William Bright, eds., *The World's Writing Systems* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 24, 33, 36–38, 43, 45, 73–74, 172, 191, 485–487, 559.
2. Georg G. Iggers and Q. Edward Wang, *A Global History of Modern Historiography* (Harlow, UK: Pearson Education, 2008), 47–49.
3. Daniels and Bright, *The World's Writing Systems*, 777–778, 885.
4. Iggers and Wang, *A Global History of Modern Historiography*, 37–38, 86–87, 92–97.
5. Richard J. Evans, *In Defence of History* (London: Granta, 1997), 17–18.

6. Iggers and Wang, *A Global History of Modern Historiography*, 47–52, 101, 106–107, 137–147, 194–216, 224–243.
7. Daniel Tröhler, “History and Historiography of Education: Some Remarks on the Utility of Historical Knowledge in the Age of Efficiency,” *Encounters on Education* 7 (2006): 11–12.
8. S. J. Curtis and M. E. A. Boulton, *An Introductory History of English Education since 1800* (London: University Tutorial Press, 1966), iii.
9. John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*, revised 3rd edition (Harlow, UK: Pearson Educational, 2002), 56.
10. Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Schools: From Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 341.
11. David L. Angus, “The Empirical Mode in Quantitative History,” in *Historical Enquiry in Education: A Research Agenda*, ed. John Hardon Best (Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association, 1983), 75–93; Vincent Carpentier, “Quantitative Sources for the History of Education,” *History of Education* 37, no. 5 (2008): 701–720.
12. Inés Dussell, “The Visual Turn in the History of Education: Four Comments for a Historiographical Discussion,” in *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 36.
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14. Michael E. Harkin, “Ethnohistory’s Ethnohistory: Creating a Discipline from the Ground Up,” *Social Science History* 34, no. 2 (2010): 124.
15. David Neufeld, “Parks Canada, the Commemoration of Canada, and Northern Aboriginal Oral History,” in *Oral History and Public Memories*, ed. Paula Hamilton and Linda Shopes (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008), 7–29.
16. Thomas S. Popkewitz, “Styles of Reason: Historicism, Historicising, and the History of Education,” in Popkewitz, *Rethinking the History of Education*, 17–18; Lynn Fendler, “There Are No Independent Variables in History,” in Popkewitz, *Rethinking the History of Education*, 242, 227. See also Thomas S. Popkewitz, ed., *Cultural History and Education: Critical Essays on Knowledge and Schooling* (New York: Routledge Falmer, 2001).
17. Tröhler, “History and Historiography,” 5–24; Gary McCulloch, *The Secondary Technical School: A Usable Past?* (London: Falmer Press, 1989).
18. William Richardson, “British Historiography of Education in International Context at the Turn of the Century, 1996–2006,” *Paedagogica Historica* 36, nos. 4–5 (2007): 578; Neufeld, “Parks Canada,” 23–25.
19. Zongjie Wu, “Chinese Mode of Historical Thinking in Its Transformation in Pedagogical Discourse,” in Popkewitz, *Rethinking the History of Education*, 51–72.

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CHAPTER 4

THEORY IN THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION

ISAAC GOTTESMAN

IN an essay published in a 1976 issue of *Harvard Educational Review* focused on trends in the history of education, David Tyack presented five “explanatory models” for interpreting the history of compulsory schooling in the United States. “I am impressed with explicitly stated theories of interpretation,” he noted, “but also struck by the value in discovering anomalies which any one theory does not explain. . . . Using different lenses to view the same phenomenon may seem irresponsible to the true believer in any one interpretation, but at least it offers the possibility of self-correction without undue damage to an author’s self-esteem.” In the essay, Tyack offered explanatory models drawn from scholarship on the political construction of the nation-state and the creation of citizens, ethnocultural conflict as a driving force of institutional change, organizational theory and change, economics and human capital theory, and Marxian political economic analysis of class conflict. Tyack noted in his conclusion:

I have become convinced that much of the recent work in the field—my own included—has used causal models too implicitly. It has also tended to constrict the range of value judgments. Was schooling “imposed” by elites on an unwilling working class, for example, or was John Dewey a servant of corporate capitalism? Entertaining explicit alternative models and probing their values assumptions may help historians to gain a more complex and accurate perception of the past and a greater awareness of the ambiguous relationship between outcome and intent—both of the actors in history and of the historians who attempt to recreate their lives.¹

Tyack’s adoption of Kenneth Burke’s notion that “a way of seeing is always a way of not seeing” is a useful entry point into discussing the use of theory in historical inquiry. Tyack’s essay offers a classic and startlingly clear example and line of reasoning for why it is important for historians to think about theory in relationship to their work: when one looks at the world, it is with a lens. This guides how and what evidence is collected, the identification of meaning in the evidence, and ultimately the construction of narrative and its contribution to the historical conversation. Theory always matters in historical inquiry. The question is whether we are conscious of and intentional about the interpretive frames brought to our scholarship and the values, beliefs, and assumptions that underpin them.

In addition to making the case for why historians need to think deeply about theory, Tyack's essay points to the long-standing nature of conversations about the use of theory within history of education. There have been moves to highlight this use, including special issues of *History of Education* (U.K., 2003) and *History of Education Quarterly* (U.S., 2011) devoted to the topic, but engagement with theory goes back even further. Writing during the revisionist movement in history of education scholarship in the United States, Tyack was one of many thinking about the use of theoretical conversations in the social sciences to frame conversations in the history of education. Most widely signaled by the publication of Michael Katz's *Irony of Early School Reform* in 1968 and the publication of Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis's *Schooling in Capitalist America* in 1976, revisionism pushed historians of education in the United States to engage a deep reading of the history of schooling in relationship to capitalism and the interests of the elites and institutions that earlier historical narratives had uncritically celebrated. Scholars thus turned to the work of sociologists and philosophers, including Max Weber and Karl Marx, for conceptual guidance, and more generally began utilizing theory in the social sciences as interpretive frames.

Notably this move in history of education in the United States was not unique. Across the globe, scholarship in the social sciences and humanities in the 1960s and 1970s turned to social and political theory, particularly radical theory aligned with movements of the political left, as a way of framing social inquiry. In the U.K., for instance, the turn to Marxist interpretive frames in history of education came earlier than in the U.S., through the work of Brian Simon, a member of a vibrant Marxist historical community who published the first of his four-volume *Studies in the History of Education* in 1960. Furthermore the move to new and more radical interpretive lenses was not limited to a critical analysis of capital. Following moves in the broader historical community by scholars such as Gerda Lerner and Joan Kelly, feminist thought and an explicit focus on the lives and experiences of women also become an important new theoretical lens in scholarship on history of education, a move clearly marked in the United States by a 1974 special issue of *History of Education Quarterly* titled "Reinterpreting Women's Education" and one in 1979 titled "Women's Influence on Education."

By the mid-1980s scholars publishing in the leading English-language history of education journals such as *Historical Studies in Education* (Canadian History of Education Association), *History of Education Review* (Australia and New Zealand History of Education Society), *History of Education* (U.K.), *History of Education Quarterly* (History of Education Society, U.S.), and *Paedagogica Historica* (affiliated with the International Standing Conference on the History of Education) were drawing upon a variety of theoretical frames, far beyond the initial revisionist critiques of capitalism and feminist critiques of patriarchy, from the new institutionalism that emerged in sociology and political science to the poststructural ideas that emerged in cultural and literary studies. By the late 1990s and 2000s scholars publishing in the principal journals in the field moved further still, incorporating neoclassical economic theory, postcolonial theory, theories of social capital, critical theories of race and ethnicity, and theories of nationalism and transnationalism, among other perspectives.

These gradual moves since the 1960s have also coincided with the growth of history of education as a field of study, which has given rise to several academic journals and societies in many countries. Today historians of education across the globe are engaged in vibrant conversations with theory that are pushing the field in new directions. At the time of Tyack's writing it seemed unlikely that books as substantively different and conceptually rich as

Nancy Beadie's *Education and the Creation of Capital in the Early American Republic* and Geoff Ward's *The Black Child-Savers: Racial Democracy and Juvenile Justice* would be celebrated by the mainstream of the field, much less named Outstanding Book, an award Beadie and Ward won, respectively, in 2012 and 2013 from the History of Education Society in the United States. It also seemed unlikely in the 1970s that one would eventually be able to open the pages of a leading journal in the field, such as *Paedagogica Historica*, and regularly find articles written by scholars from around the world engaged in conversation about European colonization and imperialism, much less discussions that take the intersections between race, gender, and social class as a focal point. Now it seems almost impossible to imagine the field without such books and articles. Tyack's essay thus serves not only as a helpful example of why theory is necessary but also as a good reminder of the long-standing nature of the conversation, the distance traveled, and how important it is to extend the conversation further.

WHAT IS THEORY?

Historians of education tend to discuss theory in two different but interrelated ways: theory as philosophy of history and theory as an interpretive frame. Explaining the former will help clarify the meaning of the latter.

Thinking of theory as philosophy of history (or perhaps historical theory) invites ontological and epistemological questions about the nature of history. The ontological question is about the nature of being in the social world. What assumptions does the inquirer have about how the social world is structured and functions? What assumptions does the inquirer have about the role of ideas, discourse, institutions, nation-states, human agency, and a host of other determining and mitigating factors that shape, constrain, and otherwise push and pull history, if not bound an understanding of history itself, such as time and periodization? To what degree are contexts and the experiences of individuals and social groups within them more similar than different, and how does this influence the ability to generalize across contexts? What are the inquirer's assumptions about social reality, and how do these assumptions inform an understanding of history of education?

The epistemological question is about how the inquirer "knows" the social world. What does it mean to know, and what is the relationship between the knower (in this case, the historian) and the to-be-known (the historical subject—or is it object—of inquiry)? Must the inquirer observe or experience to know and ultimately support claims about the social world? How does one identify and make meaning of the information gathered about the observations and experiences of others, in either the recent or distant past? Does gender identity or social class or the way that the inquirer is racialized, or the intersections of all the above and more, matter in how an investigator knows?

Ontological and epistemological questions have been embedded in the history of Western historical theorizing since at least the time of Herodotus and Thucydides and up to the more modern work of academic historical theorists such as Dipesh Chakrabarty, Joan Scott, and Hayden White. Though many historians discuss history as if it is reliably concrete ("We *know* X happened because we have evidence"), especially when talking to nonhistorian audiences, they are also keenly aware that history is reliant on abstract thought, conceptualizations of the social world that frame all aspects of the inquiry process and the historical

narratives created.² However, despite an awareness of the role of theory in historical scholarship, the work of most historians, including historians of education, rarely engages the philosophical conversations that could be found in a journal such as *History and Theory*. Rather, instead of the more abstract philosophical discussion of the epistemological and ontological aspects of historical inquiry, theory-minded historians tend to engage these issues most frequently when considering interpretive frames for their work.

Historians commonly explain an interpretive frame as a lens through which one views the world. Put in the language of Tyack, an interpretive frame is a way of seeing. Just as a historical theory seeks to describe and explain the nature of history, other theories seek to describe and explain a range of social phenomena. For instance, to understand how capitalism has shaped schooling policies and practices, some historians draw upon Marxist political economic theory or human capital theory, each of which offers a different perspective on how capitalism operates. To understand how race has shaped schooling policies and practices, some historians draw upon critical theories of race, theories that describe and explain how race is socially constructed and how individuals and communities are racialized and situated within systems of power and oppression. In each of these cases, historians draw from and often contribute to the scholarship of other social science and humanities scholars who are engaged in conceptualizing, creating, and developing theory.

As one might expect from a discipline that often straddles the social sciences and humanities, there is often tension in the historical world about the use of theory. Many historians who consider themselves scholars in the humanities, for instance, are weary of the adoption of social science models, which they view as too totalizing and dependent on mechanistic reasoning that is ahistorical and thus of little use for historical understanding. Conversely, many historians who consider themselves scholars in the social sciences see historical work grounded in the humanities as theoretically wanting and thus lean on any explanatory power and ultimately insight about the social world. In many respects, this is like the long-standing debate in the history of the social sciences (the debate between the measurement tradition, such as design experiments, and the interpretive tradition, such as ethnography) played out in the historical community. Of course, as with all narratives about “camps,” there are some at the far edges of an approach, but most tend to employ theory somewhat pragmatically. For instance, some scholars simultaneously contribute to our understanding of narratives that are grand in scale, such as the history of European imperialism and colonization, while also engaging in fine-grained analysis of texts with the aid of specific conceptual tools, such as those focused on understanding processes of racialization.

As with all inquiry, embedded in the methodological questions about how theory is used in history are political questions about the ways historians think about their scholarship and political commitments. In more recent years, for instance, there has been a strong push from “critical” positions in the field that take explicitly political stances, which many, often including those sympathetic with it, seek to soften in their own work. For example, much like Tyack, many historians see interpretive frames as tools to help make sense of historical events. While the historian may have explicit political commitments, it is important to place such views aside as much as possible to decrease potential “bias” and thus increase “objectivity.” In this sense, theory is viewed as a tool of inquiry and must be understood as distinct from politics.

Scholars who take a “critical” perspective, however, embrace their political stance instead of putting it aside. This is often an attempt to acknowledge the power and politics at play in

historical scholarship and to foreground those concerns. In such cases theory is not simply a tool for description and explanation; rather, following the stance most famously made by Max Horkheimer in his 1937 essay “Traditional and Critical Theory,” it should be descriptive, explanatory, *and* normative. Theory and inquiry itself is thus a political tool, a way of making meaning of the world with the express intention of transforming unjust social conditions.³

In addition to claiming a political stance, there have also been recent moves for historians to clearly state their positionality. This concerns identities and social locations, such as those along the lines of race, class, and gender that shape the historian as a person and scholar. This move, which emerges out of an engagement with feminist standpoint epistemology and ideas about intersectional identities in the social movement and community work of women of color, has led to an explicit naming of the ways that a historian’s identity shapes an approach to historical inquiry as well as interpretive frames and political commitments.

Increasingly there are also positions taken by historians of education that consciously force conceptual grappling with ideas about space and place, time and periodization, and the relationship between power and knowledge construction. These perspectives, which almost always recognize the methodological as political, have come from a range of philosophical positions. These include poststructuralist and postmodernist perspectives grounded in the work of Michel Foucault and indigenous scholarship, such as the work of Linda Tuhiwai Smith, challenging Western conceptions of knowing.⁴ Though these positions still start from a social world that is knowable through the collection and interpretation of evidence, they have fostered considerable conversation in the field about the range of ways we come to know and make meaning of the social (and natural) world. They have also enhanced conversations about the way we see our work as part of broader intellectual and political commitments.

While rarely explicitly engaged in conversations about the philosophy of history, methodological and political questions are central to scholarship in the field. In fact it is this centrality that has helped scholarship in the field become so diverse, vibrant, and increasingly dynamic in its engagement with historical and contemporary questions of great importance.

Historians of education draw upon a variety of theoretical frameworks, such as Marxist political economy, theories of human and social capital, new institutionalism, feminist theory, critical theories of race, theories of colonialism and empire, indigenous studies, and transnationalism. Each of these approaches raises methodological and political questions of central concern to historical scholarship.

MARXIST POLITICAL ECONOMY

Marxist approaches to the history of education examine schools as a principal site for the creation and reproduction of class stratification in capitalist society.⁵ Bowles and Gintis’s *Schooling in Capitalist America*, which is among the most widely read interpretations of educational history both inside and outside the field of education, is the classic text that takes a Marxist approach. A product of the radical politics of the late 1960s and 1970s and the Marxist orientation of its economist authors, the book was greeted with both fanfare

and criticism. Bowles and Gintis argued that schools are intentionally designed to reproduce the existing capitalist economic order through reproduction of the division of labor (a process they described as a theory of correspondence), and that successful school reform could thus happen only in conjunction with a mass democratic socialist movement against capitalism. Conversation about the book in the history of education community included a special forum at the annual meeting of the History of Education Society in the U.S. in 1976, with papers later published in *History of Education Quarterly*. Numerous commentaries on *Schooling* challenged its claims, noting a failure to look inside the “black box” of schooling (what goes on *inside* schools and classrooms) and a deterministic approach that seemed ahistorical, among other points. On the other hand, the book was often praised for its clear political stance and blunt critique of capitalism.

Since the publication of *Schooling*, little work in history of education has been written with such an explicitly Marxist perspective, one of the primary exceptions being the work of David Hogan, who offered a critique of Bowles and Gintis from a position of solidarity. Instead, the Marxist scholarship in the field of education, which is abundant, has occurred in subfields such as curriculum studies and sociology of education, particularly among scholars taking a “critical” approach to education, such as Jean Anyon, Michael Apple, Mike Cole, Antonia Darder, and Dave Hill. Still, *Schooling* continues to be read widely and remains influential. For many in the history of education, it is among the first examples of an explicitly theoretical framework in the field, and it is a touchstone for most conversations about the role of capitalism in the history of schooling in the twentieth century.

HUMAN AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

In contrast to a Marxian approach to capital, many scholars have moved toward frames grounded in theories of human and social capital.⁶ In short, human capital is the collective attribute, from dispositions to technical skills, that makes an individual a productive member of the labor force in a capitalist economy. Human capital theorists in education focus on understanding how schools produce human capital and the degree to which the history of schooling has been influenced by the production of human capital that contributes to economic growth.

In the 1990s the U.S. economist Claudia Goldin and her frequent collaborator Lawrence Katz began using human capital theory, a neoclassical economic theory developed by U.S. economists Jacob Mincer and Gary Becker (members of the Chicago school of economics) in the 1950s and 1960s, to explain the history of the growth of public schooling in the United States. Engaged in conversation with the work of Goldin and Katz, historians of education, particularly in Europe and mostly located in economics departments, such as the Swedish economist Florian Waldow and the Italian economic historian Gabriele Cappeli, began using human capital theory as a framework for describing and explaining the growth of national systems of schooling. At the same time, many of these scholars, including Goldin and Katz, also began drawing upon the work of U.S. sociologists James Coleman and Robert Putnam, who in the 1980s and 1990s, respectively, theorized an idea of social capital that concerns the networks, relationships, and associations that help individuals acquire wealth and status and participate in governance in a liberal, capitalist democracy. As Goldin and Katz argue, social capital is “the handmaiden” of human capital.

In addition to a human capital approach that is more sympathetic to the health of capitalism, some scholars have used the ideas of human and social capital more as a tool of analysis to detail the formation of schooling and capital than as a position of advocacy. Such is the case of Nancy Beadie's work, which uses human and social capital theory to follow the money and networks of social relationships that led to the formation of schooling in upstate New York in the early American republic.

THE NEW INSTITUTIONALISM

Like many historians of education, the U.S. historian David Labaree views the social reproduction theory of Bowles and Gintis and the human capital theory first developed by Mincer and Becker and later drawn upon by Goldin and Katz as too functionalist and thus ill suited to understanding a world of human agency.⁷ For Labaree, who was trained as a sociologist in the 1980s, this led to an engagement with Max Weber and the study of education as a significant institution situated within a market economy. Given this orientation, Labaree began thinking of schools as attracting relatively rational actors who make educational decisions to gain a credential more for purposes of social status than for the acquisition of knowledge.

Though focused on credentialing, Labaree's work illuminates a much broader theoretical perspective in economics, sociology, and political science often labeled the new institutionalism. Emerging in the 1970s and 1980s, scholars of this perspective, such as U.S. sociologists Paul DiMaggio, John Meyer, and Walter Powell, advance a study of individual and collective engagement with institutions as the starting point for understanding behavior within social organizations. This type of institutional analysis has become particularly attractive to historians of education who seek to make meaning of complex relationships between educational policy systems and school-level policy implementation and reform.

Moving from a focus on P-12 educational systems, in more recent years an approach both sympathetic to and critical of the new institutionalism has been undertaken by sociologists to explain shifts in higher education. For instance, the U.S. sociologist Steven Brint and colleagues argue that an analysis of undergraduate curriculum from 1975 to 2000 shows gaps in the ability of new institutionalism to predict convergence between incentives and working within dominant models. Instead, they argue, general education is an example of nonconvergence because there are numerous competing choices and no incentives to comply with dominant models. As with much of the work in the history of education by economists, work on the history of education by sociologists such as Brint is grounded in quantitative analysis of large data sets and thus leans heavily on economic and sociological theory, such as human capital and the new institutionalism, to model and interpret data.

FEMINIST THEORY

In the 1960s and 1970s in the United States, women historians such as Gerda Lerner and Joan Kelly brought feminist tools to the study of history to place the lived experience of women into the historical narrative.⁸ Historians of education, particularly women in the

field, participated in this effort, which, as noted earlier, led to special issues focused on women and the history of education in *History of Education Quarterly* in 1974 and 1979. The 1974 special issue, for instance, opened with an essay by the Canadian historian Jill Conway, who offered a broad critique of the failure of scholarship in the field to engage the lives of women.

Since the 1970s, feminist scholarship has become central in the history of education. As noted by the Australian historian Marjorie Theobald in the late 1980s, feminist scholarship has “decisively challenged male bias in the history of Western education.” Feminist scholarship has also moved historians of education to consider how social identities, such as gender and race, intersect to create educational experiences. For instance, in the early 1990s the U.S. historian Linda Perkins offered an examination of the educational experiences of black women from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth century, a move that helped push conversations in history of education to consider the unique experiences of black women as opposed to the dominant focus in the literature on the experiences of white women.

In more recent years, a range of scholarship in the field has been grounded in feminist thought, including work that has pushed conversations in the history of higher education, the history of gender and sexuality, and the history of labor. In the U.S. the historian Mary Anne Dzuback, for instance, guided by the work of historians Joan Scott and Gerda Lerner, argued that gender is a central issue in the history of higher education. Focusing on the experiences of women faculty in the social sciences, Dzuback illuminated the gendered assumptions and power dynamics that underpinned higher education. The historian Karen Graves offered an overview and critical reading of scholarship on the history of gender and sexuality in education and raised critical questions about the relative absence of work in the history of education that focuses on LGBTQ issues and experiences. Graves ultimately posited that an engagement with queer theory may prove fruitful for historians of education. The Mexican historian Oresta Lopez documented the process of feminization and the acts of everyday resistance of women teachers in Mexico from the mid-1920s to mid-1940s. Grounded in a review of thousands of teacher files and the theoretical work of French philosopher Michel Foucault and U.S. anthropologist James Scott, among others, Lopez identified many of the structural conditions that contributed to struggle in the workplace.

RACE

Though scholars of education in the United States such as Carter G. Woodson took a historical lens to questions of race in the early twentieth century, it was not until the late 1970s and the work of scholars such as V. P. Franklin and James Anderson that historians of education, in the United States and elsewhere, shifted their analytical focus to the experience of communities of color.⁹ In the initial wave of scholarship focused on race, most focused on education in the black community in the United States. The most influential text in this regard was Anderson’s *The Education of Blacks in the South*, published in 1988. Anderson placed black schooling within an array of complex, overlapping contexts, with special attention to the interests of white elites, including northern philanthropists, who largely dictated the institutional structure of the educational system. The book, which received several major awards, including the Outstanding Book Award from the American

Educational Research Association, is one of the most important texts in the history of the field, for its content as well as its sophisticated conceptual framing.

Despite the wide praise of Anderson's work, it would take another decade before there was a substantial body of scholarship in history of education that focused on race, including studies pushing against a black/white binary in scholarship that dominated work in the United States. Victoria-Maria MacDonald's 2001 historiographic essay on the history of Hispanic American educational history, which built on the work of earlier scholars such as Guadalupe San Miguel Jr., was thus a landmark. In her essay, MacDonald argued for a new body of scholarship on the history of the Latino educational experience, including one that shifts the focus to the U.S. West (including colonization and empire in relationship to Mexico) and complicates binary understandings of race in history of education narratives.

Since the publication of Anderson's and MacDonald's work, a range of sophisticated theoretical scholarship has approached the study of race, racism, and processes of racialization in the history of education in the United States. Complex engagements with race have also been undertaken by scholars outside of the United States, though much of this work has adopted lenses more explicitly drawn from studies of colonialism, empire, and indigenous studies. Examples of scholarship in the United States illuminate the theoretical innovations of what is increasingly being referred to as critical race approaches to history of education. The historian David Garcia, the sociologist of education Tara Yosso, and the historian Frank Barajas, for instance, took a critical race theory approach to the study of school segregation among Mexican American youth in Oxnard, California, in the early to mid-twentieth century. Critical race theory, which has become an influential theoretical framework in educational research writ large, has been especially adept at teasing out the ways in which racism is embedded in schooling policies and practices. Instead of critical race theory, Roland Coloma drew upon postcolonial theory to make meaning of the ways in which white and brown bodies were racialized, gendered, and sexualized in the United States and Philippines in the early twentieth century. Postcolonial theory has become an especially prominent scholarly approach to engaging questions of race, racism, and racialization (in addition to questions of gender and sexuality) in Asia and Africa, including in the history of education. Other examples of approaches to the study of race that are increasingly common in history of education include the historian Zevi Gutfreund's comparative exploration of the role of schooling in the processes of racialization and Americanization within Japanese and Mexican immigrant communities in Los Angeles in the first half of the twentieth century and the historian Eileen Tamura's use of cultural capital and community cultural wealth (an idea theorized by Yosso) as theoretical tools to examine a multi-ethnoracial urban setting in Seattle in which staffers in a social service center became educated as community builders.

COLONIALISM AND EMPIRE

Since the 1990s, education has been a significant focus for historians studying European colonization and empire.¹⁰ For historians of education outside the United States, this has been the dominant framework for studying race, racism, and processes of racialization as well as intersections between race, gender, and the expansion of the capitalist economic order. Approaches to the study of colonization and empire draw significantly from the postcolonial

theory of scholars studying the colonization of India by Britain, such as Dipesh Chakrabarty and Gayatri Spivak; the writings of anticolonial scholars from the Eastern Caribbean, such as Frantz Fanon and Aimé Césaire; and the literary scholarship of Edward Said.

A broad range of work adopts colonization and/or empire as a framework. The British historian Catherine Hall, for instance, examined the role of education in creating colonial subjects in British-colonized Sierra Leone in the 1790s and India in the 1830s. The French historian Rebecca Rogers inquired into French colonization of Algeria through the interpretive lens of British women. The Portuguese historian Ana Isabel Madeira examined “civilizing agents” in missionary work as part of Portugal’s colonization in Africa. The U.S. historian Desmond Ikenna Odugu examined local responses to colonial education projects under British rule in Nigeria. The Spanish historian Gabriela Ossenbach and the Columbian historian Alberto Martinez Boom critically examined large-scale modernization and development projects in Latin America. And the Korean historians Soon-Yong Pak and Keumjoong Hwang considered Japanese colonial education in Korea, thus offering a juxtaposition of the idea of “civilizing” with European colonial education projects in Africa during the same period.

INDIGENOUS STUDIES

In Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States, indigenous studies has significantly influenced the study of colonialism, race, and gender in the history of education.¹¹ Though often focused on the history of boarding schools, such as the landmark work of David Adams, central to the field are questions about colonization and resistance to colonization that extend far beyond the study of specific sites of schooling and are almost always framed as contemporary as well as historical struggles. As the indigenous Canadian historian Michael Marker notes in his work, indigenous youth resistance to colonial educational practices continues in the present.

In recent years, much scholarship taking an indigenous studies approach has been framed by the idea of settler colonialism—colonization through mass, permanent settlement that is made possible by forced removal of indigenous communities—which, through the scholarship of Jodi Byrd, Audra Simpson, and Patrick Wolfe, among others, has become a central theoretical focus in indigenous studies. In addition to work on the history of colonization in specific places, such as the Native Hawaiian historian Julie Kaomea’s work on “education for elimination” in nineteenth-century Hawai‘i, settler colonialism has been helpful in comparative history, such as the U.S. historian Margaret Jacobs’s Bancroft Prize-winning *White Mother to a Dark Race*, a comparative history of the forced removal and assimilation of indigenous children in the American West and Australia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Scholarship grounded in indigenous studies has also raised significant methodological questions for historians of education, blurring more traditional boundaries between theory and method and challenging mainstream ideas about the relative objectivity of the historian. For instance, the Canadian historian Helen Raptis, who wrote a book with members of the Tsimshian Nation about the educational experiences of their community in western Canada, begins with an extended discussion of what it means for white scholars to study

and conduct research in indigenous communities. In a similar fashion as, and often in concert with, scholars engaged in ideas about standpoint and positionality from the perspective of feminist theory or the work of black, Latinx, and Asian critical theorists of race, historians of education engaged with the methodological questions raised by indigenous studies are significantly pushing the field to grapple with the role of historical inquiry in ongoing struggles for just social relations.

TRANSNATIONALISM

Scholarship adopting a transnational framework intends to make meaning of the movement and exchange of ideas and people across nation-state boundaries, and the role of education and implications for it in the process.¹² This work also seeks to trouble these boundaries, showing how the movement and exchange of ideas and people demonstrates levels of interconnectedness and illuminates complex relationships of power that are frequently veiled in national (and nationalist) histories. As such, scholarship on transnationalism overlaps considerably with scholarship on colonialism and empire, including similarly engaging the intersections of race, gender, and capitalism. Interdisciplinary in its theoretical foundations, scholarship taking a transnational approach draws heavily from cultural and social anthropology; postcolonial, literary, and cultural studies; and the work of scholars such as Benedict Anderson, Arjun Appadurai, James Clifford, Stuart Hall, Aihwa Ong, and Saskia Sassen.

As one might expect, given the diverse theoretical influences on conceptualizations of transnationalism, historical work in education adopting a transnational lens tends to be dense, if not often eclectic. The German historian Eckhardt Fuchs, for instance, offered a broad look at the idea of networks as a conceptual tool for scholarly work in the study of transnational relationships in the history of education. The Australian historians Lynne Tretheway and Kay Whitehead offered a comparative focus on two “teacher/suffragette” histories between England and Australasia. The Australian historian Tim Allender examined the movement of ideas from Great Britain and colonial India. The English historian Joyce Goodman analyzed the Japanese educational scholar Kosuya Yoshi’s comparative educational experience in England, Germany, the United States, and Japan. The Australian historians Julie McLeod and Fiona Paisley studied a 1936 international education conference in Hawai’i on the “educability” of native peoples. And the Brazilian historian Diana Vidal examined the circuits that connect a single artifact that could be found in schools in Brazil, Portugal, and France.

CONCLUSION

The care and purpose that Tyack brought with him to the field continues to be felt in the development and use of rich, sophisticated, and innovative ways of seeing the history of education. The field is animated and informed by an array of theoretical perspectives. No doubt there will be many additional such contributions in years and decades to come. It is thus possible to say that, in theory, the history of education has a promising future.

NOTES

1. David Tyack, "Ways of Seeing: An Essay on the History of Compulsory Schooling," *Harvard Educational Review* 46, no. 3 (1976): 356–389.
2. On the landscape of historical theory in the twentieth century, see George G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge*, 2nd edition (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2005). On history and theory more generally, see Kerwin Lee Klein, *From History to Theory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); Sarah Maza, *Thinking About History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017); William H. Sewell Jr., *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).
3. Max Horkheimer, "Traditional and Critical Theory," in *Critical Theory* (1937), trans. M. J. O'Connell and others (New York: Seabury Press, 1972), 188–243. For further discussion of "critical" approaches in educational inquiry, see Isaac Gottesman, *The Critical Turn in Education: From Marxist Critique to Poststructuralist Feminism to Critical Theories of Race* (New York: Routledge, 2016).
4. For a recent discussion of approaches to history of education that are influenced by the work of Foucault, see Thomas S. Popkewitz, ed., *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013). On indigenous critiques of Western epistemology, see Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (1999), 2nd edition (repr. New York: Zed, 2012).
5. Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life* (New York: Basic Books, 1976); Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, "Schooling in Capitalist America Revisited," *Sociology of Education* 75, no. 5 (2002): 1–18; David Hogan, "Capitalism, Liberalism, and Schooling," *Theory and Society* 8, no. 3 (1979): 387–413; Gary McCulloch, "A People's History of Education: Brian Simon, the British Communist Party and Studies in the History of Education, 1780–1870," *History of Education* 39, no. 4 (2010): 437–457; Brian Simon, *Studies in the History of Education* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1960). On Karl Marx, the best collection in English remains *The Marx-Engels Reader*, ed. Robert C. Tucker, 2nd edition (New York: Norton, 1978).
6. Claudia Goldin and Lawrence F. Katz, "Human Capital and Social Capital: The Rise of Secondary Schooling in America, 1910–1940," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 29, no. 4 (1999): 683–723; Florian Waldow, "Measuring Human Capital Formation in Sweden in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung* 27, no. 4 (2002): 1940–1956; Gabriele Cappelli, "Escaping from a Human Capital Trap? Italy's Regions and the Move to Centralized Primary Schooling, 1861–1936," *European Review of Economic History* 20, no. 1 (2016): 46–65; Nancy Beadie, *Education and the Creation of Capital in the Early American Republic* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

On human capital theory, see Gary Becker, *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis, with Special Reference to Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964); Jacob Mincer, *Schooling, Experience, and Earnings*, Human Behavior and Social Institutions No. 2 (Washington, DC: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1974). For purposes of comparison with Bowles and Gintis, see Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, "The Problem with Human Capital Theory—A Marxian Critique," *American Economic Review* 65, no. 2 (1975): 74–82. For a formative analysis of human capital theory in relation to education, see Theodore Schultz, "Capital Formation by Education," *Journal of Political Economy* 68, no. 6 (1960): 571–583. On social capital, see James S. Coleman, "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital," *American Journal of Sociology* 94, suppl.: "Organizations and Institutions: Sociological and Economic Approaches to the Analysis of Social Structure," (1988): S95–S120; Robert D. Putnam, "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital," *Journal of Democracy* 6, no. 1 (1995): 65–78. For a discussion of the use of social capital as a lens in social history, see Ben Fine, "Social Capital versus Social History," *Social History* 33, no. 4 (2008): 442–467.

Though Pierre Bourdieu's work on social capital in the 1970s predates the work of James Coleman, Bourdieu's work has received relatively little attention by historians of education. Whereas Coleman and Putnam see social capital as something that is desirable, if not necessary, for everyone to obtain in a liberal, capitalist democracy, Bourdieu sees social capital as a mechanism for social inequality and thus something that must be understood as part of a broader critique of capitalism. Central to many conversations in sociology and anthropology of education, and thus of special note for historians of education using a social capital framework, Bourdieu's ideas about social capital are frequently discussed alongside his ideas of cultural capital. On Bourdieu, see Pierre Bourdieu, "Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John Richardson (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1986), 241–258; Loic Wacquant, "The Sociological Life of Pierre Bourdieu," *International Sociology* 17, no. 4 (2002): 549–556. For an example of an engagement with cultural capital in the history of education, see a special issue of *Journal of African American History* (volume 87, Spring 2002) titled "Cultural Capital and African American Education."

7. David Labaree, *How to Succeed in School: The Credentials Race in American Education* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997); Steven Brint, Kristopher Proctor, Scott Patrick Murphy, Lori Turk-Bicakci, and Robert A. Hanneman, "General Education Models: Continuity and Change in the U.S. Undergraduate Curriculum, 1975–2000," *Journal of Higher Education* 80, no. 6 (2009): 605–642.

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8. Jill K. Conway, "Perspectives on the History of Women's Education in the United States," *History of Education Quarterly* 14, no. 1 (1974): 1–12; Marjorie R. Theobald, "The Accomplished Woman and the Propriety of Intellect: A New Look at Women's Education in Britain and Australia, 1800–1850," *History of Education* 17, no. 1 (1988): 21–35; Linda M. Perkins, "The Role of Education in the Development of Black Feminist Thought, 1860–1920," *History of Education* 22, no. 3 (1992): 265–275; Mary Ann Dzuback, "Gender and the Politics of Knowledge," *History of Education Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (2003): 171–195; Karen Graves, "'So, You Think You Have a History?': Taking a Q from Lesbian and Gay Studies in Writing Education History," *History of Education Quarterly* 52, no. 4 (2012), 465–487; Oresta Lopez, "Women Teachers of Post-Revolutionary Mexico: Feminisation and Everyday Resistance," *Paedagogica Historica* 49, no. 1 (2013): 56–69.

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PART II

PREMODERN
ROOTS

CHAPTER 5

EDUCATION IN GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITY

MARK JOYAL

UNTIL the 1970s, study of ancient Greek and Roman education was focused mainly on teachers and students and on those systematic elements that most resemble or have most influenced education in the Western tradition, especially curricula, canons, pedagogical methods, teaching and learning materials, and schools. For good reason have those interests continued to occupy a large share of the research on ancient education, but an expansion in what is now understood as “education,” combined with the influence of social history and anthropology on traditional classical studies, has led to a more intensive examination of other features of Greek and Roman childhood, adolescence, and early adulthood (for both males and females), such as rites of passage, initiation, and civic education. The field must now be viewed as an exceedingly broad and fertile one, covering more than two thousand years, with clear implications for the fifteen hundred that came after.¹

SOURCES AND EVIDENCE

Our understanding of Greek and Roman education is formed from the scholarly application of many kinds of ancient source material.² Only a few of the written sources are principally analytical or theoretical in nature or purpose. The most informative example of such an educational treatise is Quintilian’s (c. 40–c. 100 CE) *Training in Oratory*, which is unique in ancient literature for its detailed focus on education as it was actually practiced by many contemporary Romans and Greeks. This work is tremendously valuable, but an inherent shortcoming is its concentration on elite education, that is, the intellectual training of upper-class youths, who constituted only a small minority in both Greek and Roman societies. Most written evidence, however, is not descriptive, analytical, or comprehensive. The bulk consists of incidental accounts or remarks in literary works such as poetic, dramatic, historical, philosophical, and rhetorical compositions, though important exceptions include the long theoretical discussions in Plato’s *Republic* and *Laws* and in Aristotle’s *Politics* and *Nicomachean Ethics* about the proper forms and social roles of education. All these sources have to be interpreted

and applied with historical understanding and sensitivity to considerations of literary genre, dramatic context, and authorial prejudice.

Historians of ancient education long relied mainly on literary evidence of these kinds to construct their narratives. Yet a significant proportion of written evidence for Greek and Roman education consists of the “documentary” materials that students and teachers produced in the course of their activities, usually on papyrus but also on wooden or wax tablets and on pieces of broken pottery (*ostraca*). Most of these items have been unearthed at various sites in Egypt, preserved in its dry sands. They are products of the day-to-day work of teacher and learner, composed by students in response to instructions, or by the teacher either as simple models of handwriting or as handbooks or instructional manuals. Examples of students’ work are especially plentiful; the use made of them in recent research on Greek and Roman education has helped to transform the field. Remains of teachers’ materials are much less abundant, but their dates range from the third century BCE through all of antiquity and into the Middle Ages. Other documentary evidence includes the letters written to parents by children who were pursuing their education away from home, and from parents to children. Many contracts for apprenticeships have also been unearthed in Egypt; these shed light on conditions for the learning of skilled trades.³

Thousands of official decisions and public benefactions are recorded in Greek and Latin inscriptions on stone that survive in either complete or fragmentary condition. Many inscriptions provide evidence for educational practices or the place of education within a community, including students’ successful participation in the education or training provided by a city, a citizen’s or king’s material support for a state’s educational institutions, or a person’s service to students, teachers, or schools. Another, different kind of inscription appears on tombstones, which regularly record and comment on the deceased’s occupation; these inscriptions can provide valuable information about the status of teachers in contemporary society. Since their use is geographically widespread, inscriptions provide valuable evidence for the diffusion of Greek and Roman educational practices. Graffiti and *dipinti*, which are highly ephemeral but no less valuable, can shed light on local levels and kinds of literacy, and sometimes their content relates to educational experiences.⁴

Not all direct evidence for Greek and Roman education is textual. For instance, tombstones sometimes feature relief sculptures that depict teacher and student(s). Much Greek painted pottery from the sixth century and, especially, the fifth century BCE portrays various scenes that relate to education, as do wall paintings from later periods. These all require informed interpretation, which often exposes disagreement among scholars. Archaeological excavations have revealed the remains of many gymnasia; from the third century BCE until late in the Roman Empire, these buildings formed cultural and, sometimes, educational centers in Hellenized and Romanized towns and cities. Archaeological evidence exists for schools themselves, but it is far less abundant.⁵

Most literary evidence is the product of upper-class Greeks and Romans or reflects upper-class assumptions, and the same can be said of much inscriptional evidence. These materials, however, capture a wide geographical territory, far beyond Athens and Rome. In contrast, documentary evidence can be taken as better representative of socially widespread practice because of the random nature of its preservation. Its shortcoming is that it was produced almost entirely in Egypt and reflects the practice of Greeks and Romans who lived there from the third century BCE until the Arab conquest in the seventh century CE. The question must therefore be asked whether conclusions derived from these materials can be generalized

beyond Egypt. In fact, the evidence from Egypt demonstrates a remarkable continuity of practice regionally and is broadly consistent with the picture from literary sources. The two kinds of evidence are therefore complementary. In important respects, however, the documentary material from Egypt produces a more nuanced impression of education than the literary sources generally allow.

THE BRONZE AGE AND THE ARCHAIC PERIOD

The earliest Greeks who produced written records were inhabitants of the Bronze Age (Mycenaean) settlements of Mycenae, Pylos, Thebes, Tiryns, and other sites on the Greek mainland, the Peloponnese, and some Aegean islands, especially Crete. For people in the period c. 1450–1200 BCE, proof of literacy consists solely in the clay tablets, shaped like either palm leaves or pages, on which they inscribed an ideographic, syllabic Greek script that modern scholars call “Linear B.” It is a complex writing system, comprising around two hundred signs, so special training must have been required in order to learn its use. Study of the tablets shows that it was employed for record-keeping in the palaces from which the Mycenaean communities were administered; there are no references in them to educational practices, though in a few tablets older boys are said to accompany their fathers in order to receive training in their fathers’ trades. Apparently literacy was itself a rather rare acquisition, and unlike contemporary and earlier Egyptian and Near Eastern scribes, who enjoyed considerable prestige, the Mycenaean who produced these tablets never refer to themselves, and no word that might be translated as “scribe” has been found on any tablets. In contrast with the pedagogical purpose of thousands of the surviving Sumerian and Hittite cuneiform tablets, which clearly were produced for scribal practice in educational settings, not a single Linear B tablet has been identified as representing a student’s effort. Study of finger and palm prints on the tablets shows, however, that they were often formed by children, which may suggest the existence of a scribal apprenticeship.⁶

Ancient written sources include hardly any reference to students, teachers, schools, or curricula that predate the end of the Greek Archaic Period (c. 800–480 BCE). The historian Herodotus recounts the destruction from natural causes of a school on the island of Chios in 496 BCE and the loss of all but one of its 120 students (*Histories* 6.27.1–2); in 492 BCE, according to Pausanias (*Description of Greece* 6.9.6–7), an Olympic boxer caused the collapse of a school on the Aegean island of Astypalaia, which led to the deaths of about sixty children inside; and the Athenian politician Aeschines, in a speech in 346 BCE (*Against Timarchus* 9–12), describes regulations supposedly introduced by the Athenian lawmaker Solon early in the sixth century BCE that deal mainly with opening and closing times for schools and the minimum number of students required to attend at any given time (formulated to prevent teachers from taking physical advantage of their young charges). It is simply a fact that our evidence for teaching and learning and for upbringing in general up to the early fifth century is mostly indirect, disparate, and challenging.

What we can infer about the Archaic Period, however, is often suggestive and fascinating. For instance, Homer describes the upbringing of the legendary Greek hero Achilles as

having been under the supervision of the now-elderly Phoenix, who was Achilles's constant companion from early childhood until the war in Troy, where he continued to be Achilles's mentor (*Iliad* 9.438–445, 485–495). Phoenix's role is depicted as essentially that of a pedagogue (*paidagogos*), a figure who would later take on a key position in the upbringing and education of many children in both Greek and Roman society. Achilles's association with Phoenix is a kind of apprenticeship, and it is assumed that through prolonged association, observation, and practice the young man will learn to distinguish himself in high company and avoid disrepute. Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* both demonstrate other relationships of this kind, but these two poems are not the only evidence for them in the Archaic Period. The poet Theognis encourages a young man's continuous association with those older men who show outstanding character, and both he and the poet Pindar see goodness (*areté*) as something attained through membership in the right family. The emphasis in these relationships is on personality and its effects upon others rather than on content or method, since the ultimate goal is not the production of a technical expert but of an outstanding man (*aristos*) and leader, someone who could achieve prominence in the city state (*polis*). Upper-class Romans, especially in the period of the late Republic, saw preparation for adulthood in a similar way. The jurist and politician Cicero, for example, acquired much of his legal training and know-how as a young man early in the first century BCE by accompanying the eminent elderly lawyer Quintus Mucius Scaevola on his daily rounds of business.

There were also, of course, specialists in practical skills in Archaic Greece, just as there had been, for instance, in Egypt and Mesopotamia. In the *Odyssey* (17.381–386) Homer tells of *demioergoi*, literally “workers for the people,” who hire out their services to the paying public and practice trades in high demand; they include seers, healers, carpenters, and bards (like Homer himself). These tradesmen must have learned their craft through an apprenticeship. As they did in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and elsewhere in the Near East, young males usually acquired their skills from their fathers, most frequently in the realm of agriculture. Indeed the Athenian Solon is reported to have established a law around 600 BCE that freed sons from the obligation of supporting their fathers in old age if their fathers had failed to teach them a trade (Plutarch, *Life of Solon* 22.1). There can be no doubt that the practical instruction that girls needed, mainly domestic, was similarly supplied by their mothers or other close female relatives.

As far as we know, none of these educational activities were organized by the state but were pursued instead through private arrangements. Yet there was one Greek community in the Archaic Period that treated the education of its young as a public concern. The system of upbringing in the Peloponnesian city of Sparta that was undertaken by all its male citizens (a small minority of the population), and that many ancient sources refer to as the *agoge* (lit. “rearing”), is probably the most famous feature of that enigmatic society. There is considerable dispute among modern scholars over the reliability of the surviving written evidence for the *agoge* on which modern reconstructions of the system are based, but certain ingredients of it can be confidently attributed to the structure it possessed in the Archaic Period. These ingredients include the removal of males from their families at about seven, the division of youths into age groups (“herds”), the promotion of toughness and self-reliance through deprivation and rigorous training, the appointment of a *paidonomos* to administer strict discipline in loco parentis, membership in a common mess, and the acceptance of pederasty as playing an educational role. Taken as a whole, the system was certainly unique in the Greek world, but some of its elements can be identified in many other Greek states. In Crete the similarities

are especially striking: here too boys are organized into “herds” but not separated from their families to the same degree as in Sparta; they are subjected to intense physical training, though not extreme forms of deprivation; they are supervised by a *paidonomos*; they eat and socialize in a common mess; and pederastic relationships are viewed favorably for their educational potential. The fact that the Spartans and the Cretans of the Archaic Period both belonged to the Dorian tribe of Greeks may account for some of the similarities. However, the common element with the furthest-reaching implications for Greek education is the practice of pederasty.

PEDERASTY AND RITES OF PASSAGE

Since the 1970s there has been an enormous increase of scholarly interest in the nature and origins of the pedagogical relationship between older and younger males in ancient Greece. That it often possessed a homoerotic dimension is beyond doubt, and some evidence indicates that it was more institutionalized in elite circles than might be suggested by the poems of Homer, Theognis, and Pindar. According to Ephorus, who records a remarkable custom on Crete (Strabo, *Geography* 10.4.16–21), members of “herds” of young men become the objects of desire for older men (“lovers”), and in pairs they participate in an elaborate series of prescribed events. It has long been recognized that the custom that Ephorus describes is a rite of passage, the initiation of a younger male into adult society. The prior “conspiratorial” agreement between the lover and the boy’s friends, the lover’s abduction of the boy, his segregation of the boy from his community, their hunting in the countryside, the lover’s gift of a military outfit, the reintegration of the boy into the community, and the boy’s subsequent wearing of distinctive clothing are all ingredients of initiatory rites of passage. That the rite had the sanction of the community is proved by its designation as a *nomos*, that is, an accepted, traditional “custom.” The origins of this *nomos* may be traced back to the Bronze Age, if we can be confident that a stone cup of roughly 1600 BCE found on Crete depicts the rite whose later existence Ephorus attests. In that case, the rite would have non-Greek antecedents.⁷

That theory about the origins of the *nomos* cannot be considered unassailable, but a different kind of witness to the very early existence of a pedagogical rite of passage is provided by myth. Chiron, Homer tells us, taught Achilles the use of healing herbs. What is more, in Greek art Chiron is frequently depicted as Achilles’s mentor, and in the countryside Achilles and other legendary heroes learned from Chiron how to fight and hunt. Although Chiron is a centaur, part-human and part-horse, he has overcome his nature and can exert a civilizing force upon the young; the transition from youth to rational adulthood is symbolized by his very essence as animal-human. The relationship of Chiron to Achilles and other heroes is now widely seen as a mythical reflection of the performance of male rites of passage that originated long before the emergence of Greek literature. A persuasive case has been made recently that the pedagogical role that Chiron plays in myth and ritual is apparent in material evidence that dates as far back as the twelfth century BCE.⁸

A regular feature of these pedagogical relationships is the justification of pederasty on the basis of its ability to benefit the younger partner by providing a good role model. That rationale is presented explicitly by Plato in his dialogue *Symposium* (182a–b, 184b–e) where a character identifies a crucial similarity between contemporary Spartan and Athenian pederastic

practices: in both cities the relationship may be either good or bad, to the extent that it aims at education and improvement. For their part, the school laws that Athenians attributed (falsely) to Solon countenanced pederastic relationships of the “bad” kind, much to be avoided. The distinction, however, was not between sexual (bad) and nonsexual (good); both had a physical dimension.

The connection in ancient Greek culture between pederasty, education, and rites of passage and initiation is highly controversial and susceptible to speculation. These relationships may be viewed as the “public” or “social” dimension in the upbringing of Greek males, distinct from education that parents may have secured for them privately. Less is known of those rites of passage for Greek females that possessed an educational element, but a good deal can be said with confidence. The clearest evidence is in the division of girls into age groups and their participation in choruses.⁹ Those at the age of about thirteen, not long before marriage, trained in choruses and later performed publicly. They learned to sing and dance, but the experience was specifically educational, not simply because they took part in athletic training and competition but especially because the poems they sang provided important lessons about future relations with males. Their membership therefore helped to prepare them for their imminent roles as wives and mothers. Furthermore, music and dance were considered by Greeks to condition responses to pleasure, pain, and other irrational impulses, and thus to create a harmonious condition in the soul. Since choral performances were associated with a particular god or goddess, and since the selection of chorus members was made by the person paying the cost of training and performance, participation must have been restricted rather than universal.

THE *EPHEBEIA*

There has long been an inclination to contrast the “primitive” preparation for adulthood in the Archaic Period with the more “advanced” education in reading and writing, music, and athletics that relatively well-off Greeks adopted in the fifth century BCE, as well as with the literate education that became common throughout the Hellenized Mediterranean, Europe, and the Near East from the end of the fourth century BCE to the end of antiquity. The fundamental problem with this contrast is not only the fact that the *agogé* persisted in Sparta well after the end of the Archaic Period, but also that rites of passage continued to be practiced among both Greeks and Romans, long after something approximating an educational “system” had emerged. A clear example of such a rite is the military service that, beginning in the fourth century BCE, most Greek cities imposed on their male citizens at about the age of eighteen. The length of this service ranged in these cities from one to three years; in many it went by the name *ephebeia*, a word that refers to the age at which a male is at (*epi*) his youthful prime (*hēbē*), upon the threshold of adulthood (hence *ephebos*). Modern research has demonstrated that these periods of military service possessed features prominently associated with rites of passage: division of groups according to age; segregation of these groups from the community for a fixed period of time, often while they did garrison duty in the countryside; their wearing of distinctive clothing; and their reintegration upon completion of service. We find similar organizations among the Romans, especially in their *collegia iuvenum* (associations of youths), paramilitary organizations that had some of the same characteristics as the *ephebeia*, though the *collegia* sometimes included females.

The *ephebeia* had a long life. Its inception as an independent institution in Athens is usually dated to 334 BCE, and it took root in other cities not long after. Over time the Athenian *ephebeia* changed in significant ways: in 307 or 302 BCE its duration was shortened to one year, and around the same time it ceased to be compulsory. Beginning in 119 BCE some young men who could afford to do so came from Rome, Alexandria, northern Greece, and other distant places to attend the *ephebeia*. By now it was increasingly a school for the elite. Its original purpose of providing the young with military training was never abandoned, but it gradually came to emphasize its intellectual, athletic, and social elements; for instance, by 122 BCE a requirement was established that *epheboi* attend lectures given by teachers from the city's main philosophical schools. Its character as an essentially Hellenic institution is evident in the role that it played in the unsuccessful attempt to convert Jerusalem into a Greek city in 175 BCE (2 Maccabees 4:7–15). In many cities, including in Egypt, North Africa, Asia Minor, the Near East, and further distant still, the *ephebeia* survived as an institution until late in the Roman Empire, though not past the fourth century CE.¹⁰

CURRICULUM IN THE FIFTH AND FOURTH CENTURIES BCE

From the early fifth century BCE, reading and writing (*grammata*) and music (*mousiké*) were seen as forming either a curriculum or part of one, with students beginning their lessons at about the age of seven.¹¹ Literary education seems to have been fairly well established by this time: the 120 students who perished in the school on Chios were learning *grammata*; Herodotus calls them *paides*, “children,” which suggests that they were at an early stage in their education. Training in *grammata* and *mousiké* was carried out at a family's personal expense, and, despite Herodotus's story, students usually learned them through private tuition at home, at a teacher's house, or in another convenient place—even outdoors—rather than in a school. By the second half of the fifth century, references to the standard set of disciplines, especially in Athens, usually include physical training (*gymnastiké*), but it is unbelievable that it did not constitute an important element in a young Greek's education long before that.

Most of those who could undertake the study of these subjects for more than two or three years must have come from relatively prosperous families. Physical training served obvious purposes in ancient Greek cities, but in what was primarily an oral culture, the ability to read and write had less practical value for the kind of fifth-century citizen whose family could afford a literate education. Homer's poems, however, were the basis of literary study, so the cultural centrality of the *Iliad* (especially) and the *Odyssey* goes some way to explain the role assigned to literacy in this curriculum. As a discipline, music consisted of still less practical pursuits, not only the playing of stringed and wind instruments but also singing and dancing. It was destined to lose its privileged position in the curriculum by the end of the fourth century BCE, though children, both Greeks and Romans, would always learn to perform at least some of these activities.

The level of literacy attained in ancient Greek and Roman societies is a complex question, ever controversial in modern scholarship. The definition of “literacy” is itself the subject of much disagreement, and throughout all of antiquity the degree of skill acquired in reading

and writing varied considerably according to time and place among both Greeks and Romans. Some Greek women, especially in the Hellenistic Period, and perhaps rather more Roman, acquired the ability to read and write. Many tradesmen possessed the skill at a functional level. Certainly many slaves in both Greek and Roman households were taught *grammata* in circumstances where it was useful to their owners, and some slaves themselves taught the basics of reading and writing to the young people of families to which they belonged. Although there were probably few, if any, ancient Greek or Roman states or cities ever where a majority could read and write, by the fourth century BCE verbal dexterity had become the core element of the formal education that young Greeks, mostly males, received in many centers in the Mediterranean world and beyond. The roots of this development lay in fifth-century Athens and the emergence of its democratic form of government at the end of the sixth century. This “direct” democracy provided Athenian citizens, males eighteen and older whose parents were both Athenian, with the opportunity to speak in outdoor meetings of the assembly of citizens (*ekklesia*), to participate in other deliberative bodies whose membership was chosen by lot, and to hold magistracies that lasted one year. One of the main paths to distinction in the city was through the exercise of persuasive speech. The traditional elements of formal education, however long that education might be pursued (at most to the age of fifteen or sixteen), addressed the acquisition of this skill only incidentally or by happenstance, or not at all. It was left to entrepreneurial non-Athenian Greeks, to whom Plato and his contemporaries gave the name “sophists,” to teach the art of speaking, *rhetoriké*, to those willing to pay their substantial fees. (Each sophist taught additional subjects as well.) The service they provided therefore opened the way to political influence for those who were not born into hereditary privilege.

The term *sophistés* means literally “practitioner in or purveyor of wisdom,” and in its earliest uses “sophist” had been applied to cultural teachers who were credited with transmission of traditional, received wisdom. These were mainly poets, Homer above all. In applying the same name to themselves, the sophists of the fifth and later centuries were advertising the fundamental, permanent value of the knowledge they transmitted and of the skills they could teach. They were criticized and distrusted by many for the secondary role that objective truth played in their teaching of rhetoric and for their elevation of moral relativity. Socrates (469–399) seems to have been one of their strongest critics, if the testimony of his companion Plato (427–347) is to be accepted. And yet, although their aspirations and motives were different, the sophists and Socrates shared the crucial belief that our world can be understood through the exercise of reason rather than by appeal to divine causation, and they are rightly seen as proponents of a fifth-century humanism.

THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN CURRICULUM

Humanism proved to be a permanent feature of Greek and Roman education, even after the advent of Christianity in the Mediterranean world and its adoption as the official religion of the Roman Empire in the fourth century CE. It is reflected in the position that rhetoric would continue to hold as the pinnacle of elite education, even when it no longer retained

its political usefulness under Roman emperors. It is evident also in the emergence of a literate “curriculum” in the third century BCE that was more formally structured than anything that had previously existed. The appearance of this curriculum was closely tied to the expansion of Greek occupation and influence under Alexander the Great and throughout the three subsequent centuries of the Hellenistic Period (c. 325–30 BCE), an expansion that stretched from Libya to Afghanistan. From the time of Alexander’s death (323), Greek culture and language increasingly coexisted with peoples whose pasts included little if any contact with Greeks. The Greeks who settled in Egypt, Asia Minor, the Near East, Persia, and elsewhere had to overcome cultural isolation in order to preserve the life they had known in their homeland. They therefore reproduced a system of literate education that took on a recognizable pattern throughout the Hellenized world. For these Greeks, education became a matter of identity.

The nature and content of this system are known in detail to us especially through the survival in Egypt of many students’ and teachers’ educational materials, ranging in sophistication from exercises in the rudiments of reading and writing to the study of poetry and the composition of speeches. Since the 1990s especially, the analysis of these materials has emerged as one of the most productive lines of research in Greek and Roman education. The beginning student—mainly boys, but some girls as well—usually learned first how to recognize, form, and pronounce individual letters of the alphabet, syllables in all possible permutations of letters, and then monosyllabic, disyllabic, and trisyllabic words. These words included those useful in the reading of poetry, such as the names of gods, goddesses, and mortal characters, as well as some words that were unusual or difficult to pronounce. Simultaneously the student was taught to identify numbers, an exercise that was not distinct from the learning of *grammata*, since the Greeks used letters to represent numbers. This stage and each that followed involved a prodigious quantity of memorization, reinforced by strict discipline and corporal punishment. When it came time to read and write complete sentences, care was taken to use material considered culturally instructive or morally edifying, especially through single-sentence maxims called *gnomai*, rather longer anecdotes called *chreiai*, and fables. Few girls advanced beyond this level. The next stage was the reading and study of literature from a canon that included Homer, the didactic poet Hesiod, the tragic author Euripides, the comic dramatists Aristophanes and Menander, and the Athenian orator and politician Demosthenes. The cornerstone of this canon was Homer’s *Iliad*, especially its first six books, rather than the *Odyssey*, which had the pedagogical disadvantage of presenting humans and gods in many scandalous circumstances. All this labor provided a foundation for the study of rhetoric. Students learned in stages to tell stories, frame arguments, take positions on the basis of morality or expediency, formulate full-scale speeches (ultimately *ex tempore*), and apply intricate verbal techniques of persuasion. Often the subject matter was drawn from the dramatic situations and problems found in their readings. Some students, though not many, studied with a philosopher as well, usually an adherent of one of the main philosophical schools, Academic/Platonic, Peripatetic/Aristotelian, Stoic, or Epicurean.¹²

In its basic structure, this is the curriculum that Romans began to adopt early in the first century BCE. Previously the ideal Roman education had the goal of instilling such traditional moral virtues as patriotism, loyalty to family and state, piety, courage, and tenacity. The responsibility for this education lay mainly with a child’s family (including its slaves) and friends. In the third and second centuries BCE an additional influence was beginning to be exerted on Roman education, in competition with its original conservative goals. For Romans came increasingly under the cultural influence of the Greeks, including the Greek

system of literate education. This influence was the consequence of exposure to monuments that Romans saw on military and diplomatic missions in the Greek world, and then came from growing contact with individual Greeks. Although prominent Romans such as Marcus Porcius Cato (234–149 BCE) denounced Greek culture, the widespread attitude of the Roman upper classes was more ambivalent. Many had apprehensions about, for instance, Greek rhetoric and its potentially corrupting effect on Roman youths; in their eyes an orator should not be a morally neutral agent. But they acknowledged the superiority of Greek artistic, architectural, and literary achievement, and they saw the content and goals of Greek education as more appropriate for the governing class of a people whose domination was extending throughout the Mediterranean world and beyond. By the first half of the first century BCE, some famous Romans were even traveling to Greek cities to receive an advanced education in rhetoric and philosophy.

This educational “system” came to be known in Greek as *enkuklios paideia*, a much-studied and controversial term that has been described as a “central concept” in European culture,¹³ even though the name itself appears in no source earlier than the late first century BCE. By that time it referred mainly to the subjects studied after a student had covered the rudiments of letters and numbers. These included, above all, grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, geometry, musical theory, and astronomy, as well as less widely taught subjects such as law, sculpting, painting, and medicine. From the sixth century CE throughout the Middle Ages in western Europe, the first three of these subjects constituted what was called the *trivium*, the next four the *quadrivium* (*tetraktys* in the Greek East). The seven subjects together constitute what the Romans labeled the *artes liberales* or *studia liberalia*. These Latin phrases make sense as the designation of studies suitable to a free (*liber*) person, in contrast with more practical training in trades. The meaning of the Greek phrase, however, has proved much more difficult to explain.

“Education (*paideia*) in a circle (*enkuklios*)” is the literal translation, and common interpretations include “basic education,” “broad education,” and “complete education.” Recently Raffaella Cribiore has argued for a meaning that does greater justice to the literal translation while also clarifying a fundamental characteristic of the system it designates. As each of the system’s goals was met, students returned repeatedly to the same texts, but each time at a higher level of sophistication: “In climbing the hill of learning, the ‘athlete’ did not go straight up the slope but proceeded in slow circles. Each circle expanded and enriched the compass of the preceding—in addition to introducing some new material—and embraced authors and exercises that were introduced previously, but were now used with a different purpose and in greater depth.” This description of *enkuklios paideia* and explanation of its meaning helpfully emphasize the system’s content and the approach taken to it rather than some posited structural norm. In contrast, the traditional assumption has been that Greeks, and from the first century BCE Romans too, began formal education at seven and for three or four years were taught the basics of reading, writing, and arithmetic by an elementary teacher called a *grammatistés* or *grammatodidaskalos* (Gr.) or *litterator* (Lat.). Those children who carried on then proceeded to the school of the *grammaticus* (a Greek term used in both languages), a more advanced teacher who taught the minute study of literary works. At the age of sixteen, those boys who could continue were taught oratory by a *rhetor*.¹⁴

This pattern, though superficially attractive to us for its suggestion of elementary, secondary, and higher stages, is an oversimplification. Some students, it is true, followed it closely, but for large numbers there were significant deviations. Many learned to read and write at

home, not in a school, and not from a *grammatistés* or *litterator* but from family members or from a pedagogue (*paidagogos*). The pedagogue was usually a household slave; in Roman homes he (rarely she) was very often a Greek who was largely responsible also for the child's learning of the Greek language, a common attainment in upper-class families, though not only among them. These students would probably bypass the *grammatistés/litterator* altogether and proceed straight to the *grammaticus*. The *grammatistés* did not always confine himself to elementary studies but frequently encroached into subjects typically associated with the *grammaticus*. His reason might be professional ambition, since his status was low, or the lack of a qualified teacher at advanced levels, especially in less populous areas. For similar reasons the *grammaticus* might try to provide a good deal of the training that the *rhetor* would be expected to furnish. Likewise the range of subjects that a student covered was often limited by the abilities of his teacher. Even the titles that are usually associated with these teachers were not entirely fixed. Given this fluidity in the educational process, it makes better sense to think in terms of the way that a standard curriculum was presented, and the goals of that curriculum, than to assume a fixed structure.¹⁵ In research since the 1980s this orientation toward the evidence has proved its value: in seeking to explain the choices that Greeks and Romans made over the curriculum's reading materials and subject matter, a number of scholars have demonstrated that the goal of elite education in particular was to produce citizens who preserved and perpetuated the values of their culture's past.

Henri-Irénée Marrou devotes two-thirds of his influential book to Hellenistic and Roman education; the former he calls "the very heart of our subject," the part that is "truly rewarding," while the latter he considers to be "only an adaptation of Hellenistic education to Latin circumstances." His teleological perspective is open to justifiable criticism, but there is no question that an explosion in the quantity of relevant source material, especially for the Roman Empire, permits a much more secure and nuanced narrative than is possible for earlier periods. One of the important developments that we identify from this evidence is the state's involvement in the delivery of education, not through public funding but through the state's active interest in children's upbringing. In the fourth century BCE Plato had expressed his belief that education should be provided by the state and compulsory for both boys and girls; Aristotle likewise thought that education needed public regulation, and he commended the Spartans on this account. In the Hellenistic Period and the Roman Empire local benefactors in some states provided large sums of money to promote the education of freeborn children, both boys and girls; Roman emperors sometimes financed the appointment of teachers of rhetoric, philosophy, and law; and laws were passed to regulate the educational system. In addition to all else, these initiatives may well have had a positive effect on overall rates of literacy.¹⁶

Christians, and the empire under Christianity, were no less interested in education than their predecessors had been. The content of the traditional curriculum, especially the poets' portrayals of multiple, deeply flawed gods, posed grave problems for them. It might have been expected that a new curriculum would be devised, based on the Bible and other Christian texts, but instead early Christians adopted the existing one, which had proved its effectiveness. Christians too, after all, needed adherents who were articulate and able to persuade. One striking illustration of continuity is a Christian papyrus notebook of the fourth century that displays many important similarities to a third-century BCE teacher's notebook in both content and presentation. The African apologist Tertullian famously asked, "What does the Academy [i.e., Plato's school] have to do with the Church?" (*Prescriptions against All Heresies* 7), but

the question was disingenuous. The Christian approach to the curriculum and its contents, including philosophy, was to treat them not as an end in itself but as a preliminary education (*propaideia*), preparatory to the acquisition of true wisdom, defined as “knowing God.”¹⁷

CONCLUSION

Marrou’s belief in the supreme position of Hellenistic education and its Roman counterpart was not original to him; at the time that he voiced it, and for long after, it represented a widely accepted opinion. Nor is it an unreasonable position, especially if the main purpose in the study of ancient Greek and Roman education is to trace some of the major formative influences on subsequent educational practices and systems. That is a goal that is obviously important and inherently interesting: we can study, for instance, the role of the *quadrivium* and *trivium* in medieval western Europe and its relation to the ancient Roman *artes liberales*, as well as the persistence and continuity of *enkuklios paideia* in the Greek East until the sack of Constantinople in 1453. These are topics of historical significance, and from that perspective it seems merely a matter of convenience to draw this discussion to a close here. But Greek and Roman education implies much more than Marrou was prepared to accept. Like the traditional areas about which historians of education have been most concerned, the other elements, such as apprenticeship, civic education, rites of passage, and initiation, are a reflection of what society considered important for its young to know and to have instilled in them both in a given moment and over all times and places. They too reflect continuity, but in different ways.

NOTES

1. The classic example of the traditional focus is Henri-Irénée Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*, 7th edition (1948; Paris: Editions de Seuil, 1975), which is also the fundamental work in the field. See also Jean-Marie Pailler and Pascal Payen, *Que reste-t-il de l'éducation classique? Relire le Marrou, Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (Toulouse: Presses Université du Mirail, 2004); Yun Lee Too, *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 1–21. For an orientation to and critical assessment of the modern scholarship on Greek and Roman education, see Mark Joyal, “Education,” in *Oxford Bibliographies* (Classics), 2011, www.oxfordbibliographies.com.
2. For the presentation of a large range of source evidence (about three hundred separate items), see Mark Joyal, Iain McDougall, and J. C. Yardley, *Greek and Roman Education: A Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 2009), as well as the collections of sources discussed in Joyal, “Education” (under the heading “Sources”).
3. For reliance on the literary evidence for Greek education, see F. A. G. Beck, *Greek Education, 450–350 B.C.* (London: Methuen, 1964); for Roman education, see Aubrey Gwynn, *Roman Education from Cicero to Quintilian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1926). The first to utilize the full range of documentary evidence (but with limited analysis) was Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (1975). For prominent examples of the application of students’ materials, see Raffaella Cribiore’s *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1996), *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), and “Education in the Papyri,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 320–337; Teresa Morgan, *Literate*

- Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Teachers' materials range from an extraordinarily well-preserved third-century BCE teacher's notebook on papyrus (see Joyal, McDougall, and Yardley, *Greek and Roman Education*, 124–127) to medieval Latin-Greek bilingual readers which originated probably in the second century CE (see 169–170).
4. See, e.g., J. L. Franklin Jr., "Literacy and the Parietal Inscriptions of Pompeii," in "Literacy in the Roman World," ed. Mary Beard, Alan K. Bowman, and Mireille Corbier, special issue of *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, suppl. 3 (1991): 77–98.
 5. For a notable example of controversy over artistic evidence (the implication of images on Greek red-figure vases for determining levels of literacy among Athenian women in the fifth century BCE), see Allison Glazebrook, "Reading Women: Book Rolls on Attic Vases," *Mouseion* 5 (2005): 1–47; Matthew P. J. Dillon, "Engendering the Scroll: Girls' and Women's Literacy in Classical Greece," in *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World*, ed. Judith Evans Grubbs and Tim Parkin with Roslyne Bell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 398–404. For recent excavation of an ancient school, see R. Cribiore, P. Davoli, and D. M. Ratzan, "A Teacher's Dipinto from Trimithis (Dakhleh Oasis)," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 21 (2008): 170–191.
 6. For evidence of Mycenaean scribes, see Thomas Palaima, "'Archives' and 'Scribes' and Information Hierarchy in Mycenaean Greek Linear B Records," in *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions: Concepts of Record-Keeping in the Ancient World*, ed. Maria Brosius (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 173–177; also his "Scribes, Scribal Hands and Palaeography," in *A Companion to Linear B: Mycenaean Greek Texts and Their World*, ed. Yves Duhoux and Anna Morpurgo Davies (Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2011), 121–123, and 87, 113–121 for evidence of scribal practice on the Linear B tablets. For study of finger- and palm-prints, see Jeremy Rutter, "Children in Aegean Prehistory," in *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece: Images of Childhood from the Classical Past*, eds. Jenifer Neils and John H. Oakley (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 48, with references in n90; Palaima, "Scribes, Scribal Hands," 83–85.
 7. For this rite as a *nomos*, see Jan Bremmer, "An Enigmatic Indo-European Rite: Paederasty," *Arethusa* 13 (1980): 283–287; for its possible non-Greek origins, see Robert B. Koehl, "The Chieftain Cup and a Minoan Rite of Passage," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 106 (1986): 99–110, and his "Ephoros and Ritualized Homosexuality in Bronze Age Crete," in *Queer Representations: Reading Lives, Reading Cultures*, ed. Martin Duberman (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 7–13.
 8. For the centaurs' amalgamation of nature and culture, see G. S. Kirk, *The Nature of Greek Myths* (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1974), 207–212; for their place in Bronze Age rites of passage, see Susan Langdon, "The Awkward Age: Art and Maturation in Early Greece," in *Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy: Hesperia*, supplement 41, ed. Ada Cohen and Jeremy B. Rutter (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007) 175–180; and for evidence of Chiron in Greek art, see F. A. G. Beck *Album of Greek Education* (Sydney: Cheiron Press, 1975), 9–13, with plates 1–4.
 9. Claude Calame, *Les chœurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque*, vol. 1 (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo e Bizzarri, 1977) is the seminal work on this topic.
 10. For the connection between the *ephebeia* and rites of passage (utilizing both mythological and anthropological evidence), see Pierre Vidal-Naquet, "Le chasseur noir et l'origine de l'éphébie athénienne," *Annales, Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 23 (1968): 947–964; for the Hellenistic *ephebeia*, see Andrzej S. Chankowski, *L'Éphébie hellénistique: Étude d'une institution civique dans les cités grecques des îles de la Mer Égée et de l'Asie Mineure*, Culture et cité, 4 (Paris: de Boccard, 2010); for the *ephebeia* in Athens, see C. Pélékidis, *Histoire de l'éphébie attique, des origines à 31 avant J.-C.*, École française d'Athènes, Travaux et Mémoires 13 (Paris: de Boccard, 1962); for the *ephebeia* during the Roman Empire, see Nigel M. Kennell, "The Greek Ephebate in the Roman Period," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 26 (2009): 323–342; for the source material in general, see Nigel M. Kennell, *Ephebeia: A Register of Greek Cities with Citizen Training Systems in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, Nikephoros Beihefte 12 (Hildesheim: Weidmann, 2006); for the *collegia iuvenum*, see H. W. Pleket, "Collegium iuvenum nemesiorum: A Note on Ancient Youth

- Organizations,” *Mnemosyne* 22 (1969): 281–298; Mark Vesley, “Gladiatorial Training for Girls in the *Collegia Iuvenum* of the Roman Empire,” *Echos du Monde Classique*, n.s. 17 (1998): 85–93.
11. See Joyal, McDougall, and Yardley, *Greek and Roman Education*, 46–47; A. D. Booth, “Douris’ Cup and the Stages of Schooling in Classical Athens,” *Echos du monde classique/Classical Views*, n.s. 4 (1985): 274–280; David Pritchard, “Athletics, Education and Participation in Classical Athens,” in *Sport and Festival in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. David J. Phillips and David Pritchard (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2003), 306–308.
 12. For close analyses of ancient educational materials from Egypt, see Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*; Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*; Morgan, *Literate Education*. For corporal punishment, see A. D. Booth, “Punishment, Discipline and Riot in the Schools of Antiquity,” *Echos du monde classique/Classical News and Views* 17 (1973): 107–114.
 13. L. M. de Rijk, “Εγκύκλιος παιδεία: A Study of Its Original Meaning,” *Vivarium* 3 (1965): 24.
 14. The quotation is from Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 129. For an example of the “traditional assumption,” see James Bowen, *A History of Western Education*, vol. 1: *The Ancient World* (New York: Methuen, 1972), 43–216; on a smaller scale, see L. A. Hughes, “Education,” in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Classical Civilization*, ed. Graham Shipley, John Vanderspoel, David Mattingly, and Lin Foxhall (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 301–303.
 15. For the Romans’ learning of Greek, see J. N. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 9–15; for fluidity in the subjects taught at different stages, see A. D. Booth, “Elementary and Secondary Education in the Roman Empire,” *Florilegium* 1 (1979): 1–14, and “Litterator,” *Hermes* 109 (1981): 371–378.
 16. See Henri-Irénée Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (1948), trans. George Lamb (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1956), 95, 96. On Plato, see Cynthia B. Patterson, “Education in Plato’s *Laws*,” in Grubbs, Parkin, and Bell, *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World*, 365–380; on Aristotle, see Randall R. Curren, *Aristotle on the Necessity of Public Education* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000).
 17. The third-century BCE notebook is cited in n3 above; for the fourth-century CE notebook, see Paul Collart, *Les Papyrus Bouriant* (Paris: Champion, 1926), 17–27; Joyal, McDougall, and Yardley, *Greek and Roman Education*, 233–234. For a balanced critique of Marrou’s approach to the goals of early Christian education, see Hervé Inglebert, “Éducation et culture chez les Chrétiens de l’Antiquité tardive,” in Pailler and Payen, *Que reste-t-il de l’éducation classique?*, 333–341.

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CHAPTER 6

EDUCATION IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE

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THE Middle Ages in Europe did not have a single educational system with a clearly defined course. Instead multiple kinds of schools flourished at various times and in various places. Yet there was a considerable continuity of objectives, as both the Christian religion and several traditions of classical antiquity influenced the processes of learning in ways befitting the priorities of the medieval world. Over a span of nearly a millennium, educational life experienced both innovation and stagnation, encouraged both preservation and condemnation of a variety of ideas and pedagogical methods. Some of these developments continue to resonate in different ways today.

THE CLASSICAL AND LATE ANTIQUE HERITAGE

Medieval education built upon its antique and late antique heritage in a variety of ways. Two aspects of this legacy were particularly important. First, it provided a set of texts, authors, and subjects that would frame study throughout the entire Middle Ages. The words of these “authorities” (*auctoritates*) carried weight in medieval explorations of any topic and were treated as the basis for further understanding. Even when medieval scholars found, through rigorous examination, inconsistencies in this tradition or pursued new directions in their thinking, they retained immense respect for the authorities of the past. Their attitude was best described by the twelfth-century scholar Bernard of Chartres who, according to his former student John of Salisbury, compared himself and his colleagues to “dwarfs sitting on the shoulders of giants.”¹ These giants included both pagan and Christian writers. Especially important for medieval schools from the pagan side (though at different times) were the works of Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca, and the Neoplatonists. In addition to the Bible, the church fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries, Augustine chief among them, cast a long shadow from the Christian side. In terms of subjects, Martianus Capella’s fifth-century work *On the Marriage of Philology and Mercury* established the framework of the seven liberal arts, which

remained influential even beyond the Middle Ages. These arts included the trivium of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic and the quadrivium of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. Other key subjects, such as medicine and law, also drew liberally upon ancient sources, as did theology.

The second critical part of medieval education's inheritance was the very tension that arose from efforts to reconcile the discordances found within the authorities of the past, tension from the attempt to harmonize pagan with Christian voices and from among the great variety of Christian voices. Scholars developed techniques of accommodation, in some cases rendering less insuperable conflicts that seemed inevitable. Yet this pressure was persistent for those who viewed the love of God, rather than the mere acquisition of knowledge, as education's primary aim. Jerome's well-known dream, in which he found himself accused before the bar of Judgment as a Ciceronian rather than a Christian, exemplified the severity of the conflict perceived by many who pursued learning throughout the Middle Ages. Others navigated these perilous waters more successfully, making numerous pagan works and ideas part of the tradition shared by all who might make some pretension to education.

CAROLINGIAN EDUCATION

Most of the schools founded in antiquity were floundering by the fifth century. Over the next few centuries, new schools that were explicitly Christian in their orientation arose in their stead. Many were in monasteries, which were crucial for preserving the classical tradition of learning, and soon dotted the landscape of continental Europe and the British Isles. Bede, an eighth-century monk educated at his monastery of Jarrow, located in Northumbria, and an important contributor to intellectual life in his own right, reported that these schools served both monastic and lay students. But the most significant innovations in education during the early Middle Ages occurred under the Carolingian Franks, who came to power in the middle of the eighth century.

Building in part upon his predecessors, Charlemagne (r. 768–814) implemented a series of innovations, helping to foster an intellectual and cultural efflorescence. Educational reform was at the heart of this effort, and it aimed at renovating all sectors of society. The two principal “manifestos” of this reform were the *Admonitio generalis* and a letter entitled *De litteris colendis*.² The first was a capitulary (an administrative document written in the form of chapters, or *capitula*) disseminated to all lay and ecclesiastical leaders throughout Charlemagne's lands in March 789. The *Admonitio* covered a wide variety of administrative matters but placed special emphasis on religious concerns. Chapter 72 was devoted to education, obliging every monastery and diocese within the realm to establish a school where children could learn to read, write, count, and sing. *De litteris colendis* was composed in the 790s and addressed specifically to Carolingian monasteries. It pointed out the poor quality of written Latin in monks' letters and urged more zealous study in the basics of the language to improve their power of expression and understanding of the Bible. Along with other capitularies, these documents signaled the intent to standardize the texts and religious practices of Carolingian society and to ensure that every ecclesiastical leader, bishops and abbots in particular, was literate. By providing a more accessible basic education, targeted at

present and future clerics, Carolingian reforms aimed at unifying the empire through an “original” Christian model.

The impetus behind many of these reforms came from a group of intellectuals brought to Charlemagne’s court. Some, like Peter of Pisa, were coerced after successful military campaigns, while others, like Alcuin of York, were attracted by the opportunities Charlemagne made available for people with intellectual gifts. In addition to serving as advisers, these learned individuals offered instruction to royal and aristocratic children. This educational environment has sometimes been called the “palace school.” Its teachers did not usually remain at court, however, but tended to leave for schools attached to monasteries or cathedrals.

Despite their mission to standardize texts and practices, Carolingian reforms were implemented in diverse ways, depending upon local resources and personalities. Nevertheless there were many successes. One of the more noteworthy was the dissemination of Caroline minuscule script, a form of writing first developed at the monastery of Corbie and later revived in the Italian Renaissance, forming the basis of modern script. Another was a prodigious output of manuscripts, which assisted the expansion of educational practices. The primary educational achievement of this era, however, was the expansion of permanent schools. The most rudimentary schools operated at the parish level. Established throughout the empire for priests to teach their parishioners in the essentials of Christian living, parish instruction concentrated on fundamentals like the Lord’s Prayer and the Creed, as well as the elementary skills of reading, writing, and chanting. The Psalter was useful for all three tasks and was the first text every student had to master.

Students who had the means could further their education at a school located in a monastery or cathedral. Most such students likely came from well-connected families, though some provisions were available for poorer students. Opportunities existed for female students as well, particularly in monasteries, though these have unfortunately left behind far fewer traces. Contemporaries occasionally expressed anxieties about schooling girls and boys together, and girls at monastic schools received instruction from women. Some teaching occurred informally as well, as women taught principles of household management to each other and to males in their families. The most prominent example of a formally educated female from this period is Dhuoda, a noblewoman who wrote a manual of moral instruction for her son sometime in the early 840s. Her *Liber manualis* reveals her familiarity with a rich array of pagan and Christian sources. But Dhuoda was not alone; scholars have argued persuasively that education was quite common for females (both religious and lay) of aristocratic background.³

For boys, the secondary level of school usually began at the age of seven for monastic schools or the age of nine or ten for cathedral schools. Initially both types of schools may have catered to the same clientele. Subsequent measures instituted by Benedict of Aniane, a monk and adviser to Charlemagne’s son, explicitly prevented nonmonks from attending monastic schools. The divergent orientations of these two institutional types were obvious by the middle of the ninth century. As the monk Hildemar of Corbie pointed out, monastic schools focused on the cultivation of monastic discipline, whereas cathedral schools specialized in the liberal arts.

Despite these diverse developments, a common educational culture emerged. The bedrock subject was the liberal art of grammar. Students received training in Latin grammar, but also in other languages, including the vernacular. Grammatical study began with a focus on the mechanics of language. Here the works of Donatus (*Ars minor* and *Ars maior*) and

Priscian (*Institutiones grammaticae*) were key, alongside more recent manuals prepared by Bede and Alcuin. Glossaries were added to the curriculum as vocabulary aids. These texts provided organized lists of words, drawn from a wide variety of works. Teachers also brought a grammatical focus to the study of authoritative texts ranging from the secular to the sacred. Classical literary works, along with the Bible and the writings of church fathers, supplied appropriate models. This prescriptive approach to language helped fulfill the goal of *De litteris colendis* by bringing written Latin in the Carolingian world into greater conformity with its classical forms. But it also widened the gap between written Latin and the Latin-derived languages spoken throughout the empire.⁴

The other components of the trivium—rhetoric and dialectic—also found a place in Carolingian schools. Rhetoric taught figures of speech and the ability to construct a persuasive argument. These skills enabled their possessor to participate in this era's rich literary culture, which included letters, histories, and treatises on a variety of topics. Dialectical study drew upon Aristotle's *Categories*, along with works by Boethius and Augustine. Glosses on these texts by Carolingian masters survive in considerable numbers. Dialectic provided training in the art of reasoning, using such analytical tools as the syllogism to enable precision in argumentation. These techniques proved valuable for engaging in debates that arose during this period on such issues as the nature of God, the Eucharist, and predestination.

The quadrivial arts also received attention. Mathematical competence was envisioned in the *Admonitio generalis* and addressed such important tasks as calculating the date of Easter and charting the course of heavenly bodies. Yet Carolingian schools did not restrict themselves to Capella's seven liberal arts. Instruction was also offered in other areas according to the interests and abilities of the teaching masters. Practical arts such as masonry were studied in some places, as were more textually grounded subjects like astrology, law, and medicine.

While Carolingian education was diverse in its interests and applications, it remained an overtly Christian affair. The Bible was the central text, and greater Christian understanding and living the chief goal. But the use of pagan texts was also pervasive in most disciplines. For some, this integrated study of secular works alongside the sacred provoked a renewal of the crisis felt by Jerome. But many points of friction were smoothed out, even if appreciation was sometimes mixed. Perhaps Alcuin provides the most exemplary view. He envisioned the liberal arts as the seven pillars of the temple of Christian wisdom—indispensable but in a subsidiary position.

The Carolingian Empire was broken up after the death of Louis the Pious. Invasions by Vikings, Magyars, and Saracens further weakened the political stability of its remnants. This had an understandably negative impact on intellectual and educational life, though the example of John Scotus Eriugena, a brilliant scholar from Ireland at the court of Charles the Bald, proves that the devastation was far from total. In structural terms, monastic and cathedral schools continued to serve as the centers of education. But revivals like the "Ottonian Renaissance" (936–973) witnessed the foundation of many more cathedral schools. These new cathedral schools prioritized manners (*mores*), emphasizing the personality and conduct of the teaching master rather than the content of the teaching, and primarily focused on preparing students for service as administrators and at the court.⁵ Even bishops trained in these schools brought a different set of skills to their roles in the church than had their predecessors. This model of cathedral school lasted well into the twelfth century.

But by then Europe was undergoing another, more dramatic series of economic, social, and cultural changes, with tremendous consequences for education.

EDUCATION IN THE TWELFTH-CENTURY RENAISSANCE

Changes to European culture and society in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, which many scholars have termed the “twelfth-century Renaissance,” both renewed educational life and pushed it in new directions. A massive increase in the population stimulated a period of urban expansion. New settlements appeared and existing ones enlarged to accommodate this growth. These urban settings served as favorable venues for schools. The resources for this development derived in part from a revival of trade and monetization of the economy that resulted in the commercial revolution. An increased use of money led to increased participation in fee-based education then beginning to flourish in the towns. It also meant that a diversified range of skills became useful for the new economy, which could be learned from experienced teachers. Finally, the expansion of secular and ecclesiastical bureaucracies dependent upon written documents offered advancement and prestige to those who managed to obtain relevant skills. The availability of these career paths prompted demand for higher levels of education.

At the bottom of the educational ladder during this period were song and reading schools. These schools instructed children how to chant and imparted a basic knowledge of Latin. This primary level of education has left behind only limited documentation. Considerable numbers of laypeople possessed basic skills of literacy, however, suggesting that these schools may have enrolled substantial numbers. Grammar schools were a step above, but not always clearly delineated from them in practice. By the fourteenth century, many grammar schools simply incorporated the functions as those schools declined.⁶ In some places, endowments were established for young children with limited resources to receive this rudimentary education.

Monasteries continued to serve an important role in educating both young oblates and nonmonks, though the latter group was waning. In some instances, as in the case of Abundus of Villers, monastic schools even succeeded in persuading lay students to adopt the monastic life. Many monks, including women (like the abbess Hildegard of Bingen), also made valuable contributions to the educational revival. Monks contributed both as intellectuals and as scribes. While most monastic schools were not centers of innovation, they continued to provide a sound education in the Bible and liberal arts. One important exception was the monastery at Bec in Normandy. The star at Bec was Anselm, who had traveled from northern Italy to study with Lanfranc. Anselm wrote a series of works that established him as a leading theologian of the Middle Ages. He was also a pioneer in the use of dialogue and dispute in the classroom, methods central to late medieval education. Anselm placed a high value on teaching students by posing questions, believing that this technique was “clearer and more acceptable to many minds, especially slower minds.”⁷ The pedagogy of debate would flourish best, however, in schools outside the monastic orbit.

Cathedral schools prospered in the twelfth century. Focused more on texts, particularly the Bible and writings for the seven liberal arts, and on the exercise of reason rather than manners, these schools profited from the period's social and economic changes. Some of the most important schools were located in northern France, but they were also found in England, Germany, Italy, and Iberia. The best ones attracted students from long distances, benefiting from better conditions brought by commercial revival. The school where Anselm of Laon taught, for example, hosted students from England and Germany eager to learn from its venerable master. Laon's cathedral school was important for further refinement of the scholastic method of using questions but also for initiating an important gloss on the Bible, known as the *Glossa ordinaria*. This gloss incorporated authoritative opinions and comments on passages within its text and was foundational for classroom study of the Bible.

Rising demand for education outpaced the supply of monastic and cathedral schools. In response, some cathedral chancellors began to offer teaching licenses to independent masters who set up schools based on their ability to attract paying students. The competition could be intense, giving rise to many distinct schools of thought. Masters frequently advertised not only their own merits but also their rivals' demerits. As contemporary testimonies indicate, many students spent time in the schools of multiple masters. The most memorable of these independent masters was Peter Abelard. The son of a minor nobleman, Abelard devoted himself to learning rather than the martial pursuits to which his status entitled him. Possessing both an incisive mind and an extraordinary self-confidence, Abelard rejected many of his teachers, including Anselm of Laon. In turn, he set up his own schools, eventually teaching in Paris, where he taught Heloise, a remarkable scholar with whom he pursued an ill-fated love affair.

Abelard also made a valuable contribution to pedagogy. In the *Sic et non*, he posed a series of questions, for which he provided statements culled from authorities that could be used to either affirm or deny the proposition under discussion. Abelard left the questions unresolved, expecting students to work through apparent inconsistencies and come to their own answers. He explained that it was through this process of uncertainty that one could arrive at the truth. This method of putting authoritative statements on both sides of a question came to maturity in Peter Lombard's *Sentences* and Gratian's *Decretum*, textbooks in theology and canon law that would be used at universities.

Abelard's work and his personality provoked opposition from various quarters. His most famous critic was Bernard of Clairvaux, who was responsible for Abelard's condemnation by the pope in 1140. Bernard opposed many of the new educational trends, arguing that they were tainted by the deadly sin of pride. Instead, he claimed, the cloister offered the more suitable environment for learning, and he actively sought to persuade students to abandon the new schools in order to pursue the monastic life. Bernard offered another perspective on the varied impulses that seemed to be driving the educational expansion during this "renaissance," where knowledge increasingly seemed like any other commodity for sale.⁸ As schools based on the new methods continued to grow in popularity, similar criticisms would grow even more insistent.

The seven liberal arts continued to provide a basic framework for most studies, but other organizations of knowledge also appeared during this time. One of the more interesting came from Hugh of St. Victor, a teacher and theologian at St. Victor, a house of Canons Regular located on the outskirts of Paris. In his *Didascalicon*, Hugh divided knowledge into four philosophical arts: the theoretical arts, the practical arts, the mechanical arts, and the

logical arts. He listed twenty-one separate arts in all, including the traditional seven liberal arts as well as several others that were not ordinarily considered as preparation for learning about God, such as fabric making, armament, commerce, agriculture, hunting, medicine, and theatrics. Hugh's expansive vision of education did not long survive at St. Victor, however, as some of the house's later teachers were highly suspicious of the value of the liberal arts for theology.

Mistrust for the liberal arts was motivated by some of the innovations that had occurred during the twelfth century, in particular the translation into Latin of many of Aristotle's works. On one hand were the previously unknown logical treatises, referred to as the "new logic" (*logica nova*). This group included the *Topics*, *De Sophisticis Elenchis*, *Prior Analytics*, and *Posterior Analytics* and revolutionized the liberal art of dialectic. While the growing interest in these texts had some far-reaching consequences that angered observers who were particularly upset about the influence of logic on theological issues, the "new logic" was generally accepted as worthy of study. More problematic were Aristotle's natural philosophical works (known as the *libri naturales*). These works contained several assertions that seemed to contradict Christian doctrines on issues like the creation of the world and the fate of the soul after death. Their study was prohibited at the University of Paris until the middle of the thirteenth century (though they were studied elsewhere and were certainly read and discussed informally at Paris before the ban was lifted).

As greater numbers of people received an education throughout the twelfth century, and as opportunities for educated individuals diversified, the lines between several disciplines became sharper. But new problems began to emerge. Many teachers lived a precarious existence, as they constantly needed to attract students to ensure a livelihood. Tensions arose between the inhabitants of towns that hosted prominent schools and the students and teachers who came from different social, economic, and cultural backgrounds. The response to these problems came in the form of the most important, and enduring, educational legacy of medieval Europe.

THE AGE OF UNIVERSITIES

The university remains one of the great institutional achievements of the Middle Ages. Its emergence led to such important features as a structured degree program and a set curriculum for its various fields of study. It also facilitated stronger connections between educated individuals and other medieval elites, as both secular and ecclesiastical authorities fostered important links with universities and their scholars. However, neither the development nor the long-term success of the university was inevitable, and some universities did not survive very long. Only after a considerable amount of time did universities gain a secure place in medieval society. Until then it was not always clear what the university would mean for education, nor what shape the institution would take. Yet what began as a series of responses to primarily local pressures eventually became the dominant model of higher education.

Any attempt to pinpoint a precise date for the emergence of the university is fraught with difficulty. Instead it is better to say that this occurred in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Bologna and Paris loom especially large in this history, as they were certainly the most influential universities and their different courses of development represent important

contrasts in how such an institution could operate. The term “university” did not initially refer to the educational institution as a whole, for which the term “studium” is more appropriate in the earlier stages of development, but rather to a corporate organization of masters or students who enjoyed the recognition of certain legal rights. Moreover, contrary to some claims that the institutional roots of the university lay elsewhere, whether the Islamic world or even central Asia, the university’s rise is best explained as a response to developments specific to Europe. Nevertheless late medieval intellectual life was certainly enriched by its reception of Islamic thought.

Bologna, probably the earliest university, was located in a favorable commercial position and already had a tradition of legal studies when Frederick Barbarossa, the Holy Roman emperor, provided support for education throughout the Italian peninsula. The *Authentica Habita*, issued at the Diet of Roncaglia in 1158, was designed to ensure the safety of those who traveled for study. This measure was important because students who were not citizens of the town hosting the school were outsiders with limited legal privileges. It was this precise situation that later led to the creation of the “student university” for which Bologna is renowned. At Bologna there were two “universities”: the Cismontane university was for students from the Italian peninsula, while those from beyond the Alps belonged to the Ultramontane university. Each university was further divided into geographically determined administrative groups called nations. Since these universities were for law students, a third university developed in the 1260s for students of arts and medicine.

In the early years, a main implication of the “student university” was that most educational procedures favored the students rather than the teachers. For example, teachers were required to teach for the entire class period; they were obligated to cover the entirety of the class syllabus; they would be fined if fewer than five students attended a lecture; and they also needed to leave a deposit in order to guarantee their return if they left Bologna temporarily.⁹ Such rules were meant to ensure that fee-paying students learned precisely the skills that would help them find gainful employment afterward. By far the most important advantage that students held was the right to strike. Students and teachers sometimes threatened to leave the town if their privileges were ignored, causing economic hardship to those who benefited from their presence. Several university strikes occurred during the Middle Ages. Some strikes even led to the establishment of new universities, such as the one that appeared at Padua after a strike at Bologna in 1222, or the Oxford strike in 1209 that led to the creation of Cambridge. However, student ascendancy at Bologna was short lived. The commune took over payment of professors’ salaries during the 1280s and the balance of power began to shift. Later innovations introduced other influences, such as the creation of a theology faculty in 1364, which drew upon the model at Paris. Bolognese university education in the later Middle Ages is therefore best described as a hybrid rather than a student model, one that drew inspiration from a variety of sources and innovated in response to competition from other universities and towns.¹⁰

Bologna’s influence beyond its walls was felt most strongly in the study of law. Every university in the Middle Ages offered legal training, and Bologna set a standard that was followed elsewhere in areas ranging from curriculum and lecturing practices to examinations and degree ceremonies. The study of law was separated into civil (Roman) and canon (church) law. Competence in one area, however, demanded at least passing familiarity with the other, leading some students to complete both and earn the title “doctor of both laws” (*doctor utriusque iuris*). The basis of civil law was the *Corpus iuris civilis*, the codification of

law by the sixth-century emperor Justinian. The foundations of canon law were of more recent vintage. Initially the basic text was the *Concordance of Discordant Canons* (*Decretum* for short). As its more verbose name implies, this text treated specific legal cases by reconciling various decrees of church councils and venerable authorities that appeared to be in conflict. But canon law was also a living, evolving body of law, and legal education adapted to incorporate these changes. In 1234 Pope Gregory IX authorized the consolidation by Raymond of Peñafort of new church law into the *Decretales*. Together the *Decretum* and the *Decretales* made up the *Corpus iuris canonici* as the basic materials for canon law study. Over time, new collections of papal decrees came into existence, such as the *Liber sextus* of Boniface VIII issued in 1298, and were added to the legal curriculum.

Men with university legal training enjoyed a great deal of prestige within late medieval society, whether or not they had received a degree, and numerous opportunities became available to them. For example, Alfonso the Wise, the mid-thirteenth-century monarch of Castile (r. 1252–1284), recruited men trained at Bologna to draft the *Siete partidas*, a highly influential law code that also included provisions for university education. Such opportunities made law a popular subject, especially for those from well-off families. Available evidence indicates that law students made up a considerable percentage of the student body of any university. In the late fourteenth century, for instance, 83 percent of the university students at Avignon were engaged in legal studies, while the University of Salamanca in Spain saw slightly more than 50 percent of its enrollment devoted to law. Numbers in the northern universities were proportionally lower but still substantial.¹¹

The University of Paris arose as an organization of teaching masters designed to protect their interests as a corporate body against interference from local ecclesiastical and secular authorities. Such protections covered both educational life and matters of legal jurisdiction. While the extension of these privileges sometimes occurred in response to crises, it also resulted from cooperation between university masters and external authorities, especially the papacy or its representatives. An example of cooperation comes from the university's earliest extant statutes, promulgated in 1215 by the papal legate and former Parisian theologian Robert of Courson, based upon negotiations with other members of the university.¹² These statutes included regulations on curriculum, scholarly conduct, and various customary procedures. Two early, and pivotal, instances of conflict erupted in 1200 and in 1229–1231, when attacks on university scholars by secular enforcers resulted in the conferral and reaffirmation of the right of university scholars to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, along with other key privileges. The most important outcome was Gregory IX's papal bull *Parens scientiarum* of 1231, which ended a strike initiated in response to the murder of several scholars at royal hands. Sometimes referred to as the *magna carta* of the University of Paris, Gregory's bull addressed matters of curriculum and the university's right to enforce its own regulations and confirmed the university's right to strike if its privileges were violated in the future. Privileges granted in the first half of the thirteenth century increased the university's autonomy, gave it greater power over the license to teach, and helped it endure institutional crises that would periodically occur throughout the rest of the Middle Ages.

The schools at Paris offered a much more comprehensive slate of subjects than did Bologna. With the exception of civil law, banned there in 1219, forcing interested students to travel to nearby Orléans, the University of Paris granted degrees in every discipline found in medieval universities. Royal chroniclers such as William the Breton hastened to advertise the diverse array of studies available there, as well as the favorable conditions that scholars could enjoy.

While William surely embroidered the truth, Paris provided an exciting locale for the ambitious and adventuresome, while its schools were particularly renowned for excellence in the arts and theology even before the university emerged. The city attracted individuals from all across Europe; indeed only a small proportion of its students were of Parisian origin. The community of Parisian scholars numbered between 3,000 and 3,500 by the early fourteenth century, constituting an essential part of the economic and social life of the city.¹³

The arts faculty at Paris had the most members, giving it considerable administrative clout despite the fact that its masters were the youngest collectively. The minimum age for study in the arts was fourteen and the minimum age for graduation was twenty. The length of study for degree was six years, though the majority left before completing these requirements. The faculty itself was divided into four nations, based on geographic origin, each of which conducted its own internal affairs. As the leading center for arts study, the Parisian schools heavily influenced faculties at other universities. The most notable exception was in the case of Aristotle's natural philosophy, which was taught at Oxford in the early thirteenth century while formally prohibited at Paris. These works were formally approved for arts students at Paris in 1255, though evidence from student notebooks indicates they had entered arts classrooms several years earlier. Arts students continued to study the trivium and quadrivium, but the legitimation of Aristotle's previously censured works ensured that philosophy, in three branches of natural, moral, and metaphysical, also became a key subject of study. The arts were often viewed as a preparatory course for study in theology, medicine, and sometimes law, meaning that those in the "higher" faculties often took a paternalistic stance toward their younger colleagues.

At times, anxieties over the influence of certain trends within the arts faculty led to formal action. Such was the case with the recriminations against the alleged influence of the work of Averroes, the twelfth-century Muslim commentator on Aristotle's works. Similar fears prompted the well-known condemnation of 1277, issued by the bishop of Paris, Stephen Tempier, after consultation with a group of theologians and ostensibly in response to concerns raised by Pope John XXI. Although many of the condemned propositions did not match what masters in the arts faculty were actually teaching (or at least the personal opinions of the arts masters themselves), ecclesiastical authorities were worried that any failure to explicitly prioritize theological truth over philosophical speculation would confuse young and impressionable students. A similar condemnation followed at Oxford that same year, and another in 1284.

Theology stood at the pinnacle of medieval education, and throughout much of the late Middle Ages, Paris was where the most talented minds went to pursue its study. As with the arts, Paris already had a strong reputation for theological education before the emergence of the university. Yet the prowess of the city's theological schools was a critical factor for the university's long-term health. Measures like those outlined in *Parens scientiarum* provided the university with stability in its local environment, and it was the hope that Parisian theologians would make valuable contributions to the church that lay behind the papacy's support for the new institution. The university's success, however, depended upon a degree of solidarity among its members, in contrast to the competitive atmosphere among the independent teachers of the twelfth century. The evidence of such solidarity is apparent in the standardization that theology masters imposed on their discipline. Although Peter Lombard's *Sentences* had been subject to much criticism in the twelfth century, it became a basic theological textbook for several centuries. Again, like the *Decretum* in canon law,

this twelfth-century work brought together the opinions of various authorities to arrive at conclusions about the most important questions of theology. Every theology student had to lecture on both the Bible and the *Sentences* before he could become a master himself. Other degree requirements included a minimum age (thirty-five) and a minimum period of study (eight years, at least five of which had to be in theology). Theologians often disagreed, however, both about theological matters, where disputations could be as intense as they were precise, and about their responsibility to the institution. Theologians from mendicant orders did not always take the same approach to administrative matters; for instance, their refusal to join their colleagues on strike in 1252 helped precipitate a conflict between mendicant and secular masters that resonated well beyond the university. But on the whole, theologians from all backgrounds succeeded in making of their group a recognized voice of authority in late medieval society.¹⁴ Many of the most well-known thinkers from the later Middle Ages, including Thomas Aquinas, John Duns Scotus, and William of Ockham, all studied theology at the university level.

The final course of study available at Paris was medicine. While Paris was one of the more important centers of medical education in the later Middle Ages, it had a few rivals. Initially the leading medical schools were in Salerno and Montpellier, though the former, established by the eleventh century, faded in importance with the advent of the universities. Bologna, and later Padua, also hosted major medical faculties, and the discipline was studied, if on a much smaller scale, at the majority of medieval universities. University medicine was centered on a tradition of classical Greek and recent Islamic texts, especially those of Galen, Hippocrates, and Avicenna. The same movement of translations that benefited the arts therefore also benefited medical studies. What is more, previous arts training was deemed useful for medical study, and those who had it were able to shorten their time to degree. In its theoretical orientation, the study of medicine resembled its peer disciplines at the universities. Yet most, if not all, university students in medicine undertook this training with an eye toward practice. Among all practitioners, however, they were probably a minority, as many other medical traditions had some purchase among medieval Europeans. Some female practitioners, who were formally excluded from universities, were nevertheless familiar with university texts. Tensions between learned and more traditional forms of medicine eventually resulted in a decline in status, and occasionally prosecution, of those who practiced the latter.

The length of university studies, coupled with the high cost of living in expensive university towns, meant that the vast majority of students could afford only a brief period of study before undertaking other pursuits. In response to prevalent financial need, several mechanisms arose to enable the most talented, or at least the best-connected, students to remain and complete a degree. At some universities, a significant minority of students found support through endowed colleges, most prominent at Paris, Oxford, Cambridge, and many new universities that appeared later. Colleges provided lodgings and a library to students, often from a particular region or studying a particular subject, like the College of the Sorbonne, established in 1257 by Robert of Sorbon for theology students. By the end of the Middle Ages colleges assumed a much larger role in instruction. Students at an advanced stage in their education could also earn funds by holding an income-bearing church position called a benefice. These positions were typically free of pastoral responsibilities, and a formal dispensation from residence in the parish where the position was located enabled these students to continue their studies. The process of attaining such a position could be

highly competitive, and the university regularly sent petitions, called *rotuli*, to the pope requesting benefices for its members.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw waves of new foundations as universities began to appear all across Europe. By 1500 they could be found from Portugal to Poland and from Aberdeen to Avignon. This expansion diminished the need for student travel, and many of the new universities were primarily regional in orientation. Political tensions arising from the Hundred Years' War and the Great Schism also contributed to the regionalization of universities, as many students found themselves no longer welcome at schools where the host recognized a different claimant to the papal throne. The rise of humanism in Italy and elsewhere posed a different challenge to the traditions of the university. Yet despite all of these changes, the late medieval university remained a vibrant institution where many elite members of society were trained by academics who spent a considerable amount of time engaging with the pressing issues of the day.¹⁵

The importance of the university should not overshadow the many other kinds of schooling available in late medieval Europe. Both cathedral and monastic schools persisted, though their reach had diminished. Mendicant schools offered training in the arts and theology for friars who would participate in pastoral work, as well as a select few who would go on to study theology at a university. The curriculum at mendicant schools was similar to what was taught at universities, though study in the arts was more thoroughly underpinned by theological concerns. These schools were also more parochial in emphasis than universities, in the sense that teachers and students were expected to maintain their order's official position on important questions (Dominicans were expected to uphold the thought of Thomas Aquinas, for example) rather than provide innovative solutions, as was the case at the university.¹⁶ Vocational training through apprenticeships was widespread. Elementary levels of education continued to thrive in many places. Yet the university exerted a powerful influence on these schools as well. Many teachers had spent some time at university themselves, and the bulk of instructional time at the elementary level was devoted to learning the skills in Latin that would help students succeed if and when they attended a university for further study. This patchwork of schools provided a basic education to a significant segment of the population. Late medieval literacy rates fluctuated from place to place, with estimates ranging from 13 to 14 percent in York and at least 14 percent in Regensburg to 33 percent among Florentine boys.¹⁷ Female literacy tended to be lower than male rates, reflecting the number of those who were able to attend schools.

While they were formally excluded from universities, numerous women participated in late medieval educational life. This included work as scribes, as donors to colleges, and as accomplished writers. For instance, Christine de Pizan, the daughter of a professor at Bologna, authored several important works in the French vernacular in favor of female education. On that specific point in *The Book of the City of Ladies*, Christine related the experience of a certain Novella, a Bolognese law professor's daughter who was so learned that she occasionally lectured in her father's place, though she apparently sat behind a curtain so as not to distract the students.¹⁸ Another advocate for female education was the lawyer Pierre Dubois, who proposed sending educated women to Christian families in areas with high Muslim populations. Dubois anticipated that these women would then marry Muslim men and convert them to Christianity. Some educational opportunities also appear to have been available at beguinages, urban communities for laywomen who pursued a form of

religious life without taking permanent vows.¹⁹ Non-Christians were likewise excluded from universities, though the Jewish minority in medieval Europe established their own schools and cultivated a very active educational life, especially in larger cities. These schools focused on Hebrew and the Bible. At about the same age that their Christian contemporaries were enrolling in arts faculties, the best Jewish students were entering yeshiva to study the Talmud. A tradition of Jewish medicine also developed, and some Jewish students audited courses at the University of Montpellier in the fourteenth century.²⁰

NEW DIRECTIONS

Many of the most productive new insights into the role of education in different parts of the medieval world have come from smaller-scale considerations that focus on a particular religious order or that locate a given trend or method or school more thoroughly within a local context. Yet the advances made by these specific studies have also often reflected more general trends in the historical profession. For instance, the increased attention given to issues of class, gender, and ethnicity since the 1970s has driven work into these particular contexts of medieval education, such as the extent of female participation in monastic book production or into the social and geographical background of students at medieval universities. Yet this subfield has not been a mere follower of larger trends. For example, scholars of education and intellectual life were interested in the interaction between Christians and non-Christians and the ways that it enriched late medieval intellectual life, well before activity on this theme began to flourish in the early twenty-first century. Further work in this area should continue and enhance our awareness of the ways in which education, and the transmission of ideas, influenced interactions between medieval Christians and non-Christians.

One of the more promising developments in the study of medieval education has been the increased tendency to see educational institutions, or even “scholasticism,” not as isolated from but rather as inextricably entwined with contemporary political, social, and economic developments. This trend has furthered our understanding not only of the shape of education in the Middle Ages but also of the significant achievements made by medieval intellectuals in their respective fields of inquiry. Moreover, the ongoing reconfiguration of late medieval thought and religion, which sees the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries not in terms of decline and corruption but rather as a dynamic and fruitful period in its own right, is also helping to enlarge our knowledge about the role that education (and universities in particular) played within this crucial period. Among the more pressing needs in this last area is for a synthetic study of the university that will draw upon the many great studies of individual universities or regions during that time. The regular appearance of new work in all of these areas (as well as several others) by not only historians but also medievalists in related fields like literature suggests a bright future for continued work on the subject.

Although only a minority of people ever received some kind of formal education in the Middle Ages, many of those were able to attain a significant level of learning, and many more than is often assumed. By the later Middle Ages, there were multiple pathways to receiving the kind of training one needed to succeed in an increasingly complex social structure, though opportunities for education were often subject to social and geographic factors or to one’s position in the church. The ability to receive all the education desired

or needed also depended upon a great deal of chance. If some of the main concerns that motivated the acquisition of education during this period seem foreign today, it offers a reminder that educational content and access usually reflect the aims of the societies they serve.

NOTES

1. John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, trans. J. B. Hall (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2013), book 3, chapter 4, p. 257.
2. John J. Contreni, "The Pursuit of Knowledge in Carolingian Europe," in *"The Gentle Voices of Teachers": Aspects of Learning in the Carolingian Age*, ed. Richard Sullivan (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1995), 106–141. See also his excellent survey "The Carolingian Renaissance: Education and Literary Culture," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2: c. 700–c. 900, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 709–757.
3. See Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 223–227; Valerie L. Garver, "Learned Women? Liutberga and the Instruction of Carolingian Women," in *Lay Intellectuals in the Carolingian World*, ed. Patrick Wormald and Janet L. Nelson (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 121–138.
4. See Julia M. H. Smith, *Europe after Rome: A New Cultural History, 500–1000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 23–27.
5. See C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994).
6. Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Schools: From Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 64–65.
7. On Anselm's particular contribution to this development, see Alex J. Novikoff, *The Medieval Culture of Disputation: Pedagogy, Practice, and Performance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 34–52. The quotation, from Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo*, is from 46.
8. On knowledge as a commodity, see Jacques Le Goff, *Intellectuals in the Middle Ages*, trans. Teresa Lavender Fagan (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992).
9. See Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936), 1:195–197.
10. Peter Denley, "Communes, Despots and Universities: Structures and Trends of Italian *Studi* to 1500," in *Communes and Despots in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, ed. John E. Law and Bernadette Paton (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010), 295–306.
11. James A. Brundage, *The Medieval Origins of the Legal Profession: Canonists, Civilians, and Courts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 268.
12. Stephen C. Ferruolo, "The Paris Statutes of 1215 Reconsidered," *History of Universities* 5 (1985): 1–14.
13. Nathalie Gorochoff, "L'Université recrute-t-elle dans la ville? Le cas de Paris au XIII^e siècle," in *Les Universités et la ville au moyen âge: Cohabitation et tension*, ed. Patrick Gilli, Jacques Verger, and Daniel Le Blévec (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 257–296; William J. Courtenay, *Parisian Scholars in the Early Fourteenth Century: A Social Portrait* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 26. For William the Breton's appraisal, see John W. Baldwin, "Masters at Paris from 1179 to 1215: A Social Perspective," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable with Carol D. Lanham (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 138–172, here 40.
14. Ian P. Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris: Theologians and the University, c. 1100–1330* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Elsa Marmursztejn, *L'Autorité des maîtres: Scolastique, normes et société au XIII^e siècle* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2007); Spencer E. Young, *Scholarly Community at the Early University of Paris: Theologians, Education and Society, 1215–1248* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014). On Peter Lombard, see Marcia L. Colish, *Peter Lombard*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 1:79–90; Clare Monagle, *Orthodoxy and Controversy*

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 16. See the introduction and essays in Kent Emery Jr., William J. Courtenay, and Stephen M. Metzger, eds., *Philosophy and Theology in the "Studia" of the Religious Orders and at Papal and Royal Courts* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2012). Useful introductions to education within the Dominican and Franciscan orders are M. Michèle Mulchahey, *"First the Bow Is Bent in Study...": Dominican Education before 1350* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1998); Bert Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education (c. 1210–1517)* (Leiden: Brill, 2000); Neslihan Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect: The Rise of Learning in the Franciscan Order, 1209–1310* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012).
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 18. Christine de Pizan, *The Book of the City of Ladies*, trans. Earl Jeffrey Richards (New York: Persea Books, 1982), II.36.3, p. 154.
 19. Tanya Stabler Miller, *The Beguines of Medieval Paris: Gender, Patronage, and Spiritual Authority* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 105–109.
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CHAPTER 7

EDUCATION IN PREMODERN CHINA AND JAPAN

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BOTH China and Japan developed sophisticated and extensive traditions in education from very early times. China's major educational thrust was centered on educating the heart-mind for moral and proper conduct, a process of total education and self-cultivation. The thrust of this education was seen in the primacy of Confucianism and the examination system. Japan, heavily influenced by Confucianism from China, nevertheless adapted it to suit a unique culture and set of institutions. Temple schools, government schools, and nongovernment academies flourished in premodern Japan, educating both samurai and commoners.

CHINA: INTRODUCTION

Education in China can be traced back to the birth of civilization in the second millennium BCE. Earliest written sources are inscriptions on the shoulder blades of deer and turtle shells divining the future. Someone must have taught those scribes. We lack information on who those teachers were, but archaeologists have uncovered practice bones used by beginners learning their craft. The ancient graphs evolved into standard characters, but drawing them continued to require long practice before the results were acceptable. If learning figured in the very gestation of Chinese civilization, the same was thought to hold for individuals. The tradition of prenatal education (Ch *taijiao*, J *taikyō*) was already evident during the Former Han (206 BCE–6 CE) when Lu Xiang (c. 77–76 BCE) praised the exemplary mother of a revered ancient emperor for exemplary conduct during her pregnancy:

In ancient times a woman with child did not lie on her side as she slept, neither would she sit sideways or stand on one foot. She would not eat dishes having harmful flavor; if the food was cut awry, she would not eat it; if the mat was not placed straight, she would not sit on it. She did not let her eyes gaze on lewd sights nor let her ears listen to depraved sounds. At night she ordered blind musicians to chant the *Odes*; she spoke only of proper things.¹

This behavior assured that her child would be healthy not only in body but in moral disposition and cast of mind.

Fascinating as these practices are, the concern here is neither with child raising nor with the birth and the early history of education, but with the mature product. That still takes us back about a millennium to the Song dynasty (960–1279), when printing first made books accessible to a wider public and the crucial intellectual, institutional, and economic foundations were laid for the subsequent premodern centuries. The ideas of moral disposition, as exemplified by prenatal education, were rooted in antiquity and drew on the classic and authoritative past.

CHINA: INTELLECTUAL FOUNDATIONS

Confucius (Kongzi, 551–479 BCE) was but one teacher during the formative period of Chinese classical thought that culminated in the “hundred schools,” but he uniquely came to be venerated as “the teacher of ten thousand generations.” Long before Song, the teachings associated with his name became the educational mainstream. Confucian texts dominated the curriculum. Beginning in the thirteenth century, these included, as the core of the core, *The Four Books*, followed by the ancient classics traditionally thought to predate Confucius, although now considered not to have taken their final form until the Han dynasty. One of these classics, *The Record of Rites (Liji)*, tells us that as soon as infants could feed themselves, they were taught to use their right hand.² Next they were taught proper manners. The importance of early behavioral training was echoed and reinforced by the most influential of the Song Confucians, Zhu Xi (1130–1200), who taught that education should begin by teaching the children, among other things, how to speak and walk properly. Much concerned with education, he compiled his own influential and not so “elementary” *Elementary Learning (Xiaoxue)*. It was also Zhu Xi who gave *The Four Books* their primacy in the curriculum.

The focus on proper conduct was deeply rooted in the origins of Confucianism. Responding to what they perceived as a civilizational crisis, Confucians, and other early teachers and theorists, were prompted to emphasize action rather than words. They were primarily concerned with how to live rather than how to understand the nature of the universe. This was built into the language itself, for *jiao* (as in *taijiao*), “teach or teaching,” designated transforming the learner morally rather than just imparting information. Thought was not separated from action in a tradition that did not divorce mind from the body.

It was a tradition that had a great deal to say about the mind that it located in the chest and to which it attributed affection as well as cognition, dispassionate thinking but also gut feelings. Although they got the anatomy wrong, the Chinese understanding of the mind was more compatible with current neuroscience based on functional magnetic resonance imaging than with the classical Cartesian separation of body and mind once prevalent in the West. Nevertheless there remains the problem of how to translate *Xin*, the Chinese word for “mind” as well as “heart.” For example, the famous Buddhist “Heart Sutra” surely concerns the “mind.” More accurately, but also more awkwardly, the Chinese word is often translated as “heart-mind” or “mind-heart.” Another alternative is to transliterate

rather than translate. Thus *Kokoro*, the Japanese pronunciation of *xin*, is the English as well as Japanese title of the most beloved novel by Natsume Soseki (1867–1916), one of Japan's greatest writers.

Educating the heart-mind entailed internalizing the lessons of the sages, absorbing their teachings until they formed part of oneself—learning them “by heart.” The ideal was total education or self-cultivation. This signified not only learning the principles of morality and mastering the rules of conduct intellectually but learning how to perform the solemn rituals that structured life, how always, every day in public and at home, to act in accord with the demands of propriety that defined civilized life and were handed down in *The Record of Rites* and the other revered texts, and how to live by them until they became second nature. Education was as much about developing good habits as about learning how and what to think.

The rituals and rules of proper behavior were what separated the civilized from the barbarian. In its formative stages Chinese (and East Asian) civilization developed without contact with any comparably literate or sophisticated societies. There was only one Way to be civilized, and that Way had to be taught and learned. We are not born knowing how to mourn, how deeply and long to bow, or how to dress properly. We must learn. But it was more than that.

The dog guards the night
The cock heralds the dawn
If you do not study
How can you become a person?
The silkworm exudes silk
The bee makes honey
If you do not study
Are you not like an animal?³

These verses are from *The Three Character Classic* (or more accurately *Trimetrical Classic* or *Three Characters per Line Classic*, thirteenth century), a primer traditionally memorized in China and Japan by children beginning to learn how to read and write. Education is not only what makes us fully human—it is what makes us human in the first place.

Ideally erudition and moral wisdom reinforced each other in a lengthy process that enabled an individual to become an exemplary person and even aspire to sagehood. A sage was one whose thoughts, feelings, and actions were always perfectly aligned and completely appropriate for the situation in which he found himself. It took even Confucius seventy years until he had internalized the rules to the point that he could let himself go without fear of transgressing. Confucius never claimed to be a sage, but he was later regarded as such on a par with the ancient sage-rulers who had taught humankind civilization. Though latter-day sages were few and far between, sagehood remained the Confucian ideal, comparable to sainthood in Christianity.

Tradition had Confucius distinguishing between three types of people. At one pole were the ancient sages, so brilliant at birth that they did not need instruction, and at the opposite extreme unfortunates inherently too stupid to be capable of learning. In between were those, like Confucius himself, who could learn. Fortunately, most people were assigned to

the teachable majority. Although the two greatest classical interpreters of Confucius disagreed, in that Mencius (c. 372–289 BCE) defined human nature as good and Xunzi (c. 312–230 BCE) maintained that it is bad, both men held that everyone was endowed with the same nature and the same heart-mind.

Later Confucians agreed on this and on the crucial need for education. According to Mencius, human nature has to be cultivated just as sprouts need nourishing if they are to grow into healthy plants. Xunzi stressed intense, concentrated, and lifelong learning as essential for turning inherently bad, unsocial, selfish people into civilized, moral human beings. Both Mencius and Xunzi taught that everyone has the potential of growing into a sage. Everyone is teachable: “From the Son of Heaven down to the common people, all without exception should take self-cultivation as the root.”⁴ These words are from *The Great Learning*, a chapter of the *Record of Rites*, singled out to become one of the *Four Books*.

During the Song dynasty, Mencius finally won his argument with Xunzi, and the optimistic view of human nature prevailed henceforth. His book, *The Mencius*, became one of the *Four Books* influencing ideas about education as well as what was taught. At the very beginning of *The Three Character Classic* the child learns of the goodness of human nature and the need for education:

People at the start
are by nature good
By nature close
they diverge in practice

If they are not taught
their nature will shift
The Way of teaching
Values concentration.

Mencius would have applauded the first stanza. Xunzi would have objected but heartily endorsed the second, for he urged students to be single-minded like earthworms and not slither sideways all over the place like crabs. A frequent metaphor compared self-betterment to the grinding and polishing of jade.

The Confucian Way, always subject to interpretation, was not the only way in either China or Japan. In China, Daoists mocked Confucius and saw book learning as an obstacle to understanding and coping with the world; Legalists and Moists challenged Confucian values; and Buddhists wanted to release people from suffering rather than having them cultivate themselves. Buddhist and Daoist temples did train monks and nuns, and for a great many people in premodern China, Confucian ethics were reinforced by Buddhist and Daoist doctrines of retribution as set forth in the “morality books” (*shanshu*) that first appeared during the Song and the “Ledgers of Merit and Demerit” (*gongguoge*) of Late Ming and Qing. These texts had an educational mission and function; their values were Confucian, but they did not enter the school curriculum. Confucians did not have a monopoly on schooling, but their values constituted the mainstream of educational thought and dominated the discourse on education.

CHINA: THE BASIC CURRICULUM

Infants, girls as well as boys, were taught to defer to seniors, sit and stand properly, and behave themselves. Girls and boys were taught to favor their right hand, but the differences in their instruction started early. Girls were required to show greater deference. The *Record of Rites* advises that boys be taught to speak forcefully and clearly, girls submissively and low. At seven *sui* (about five years of age) boys and girls were separated. Because of the nature of the sources, but also because of traditional East Asian practice, most of the following discussion will focus on male education.

The Han dynasty *Classic of Filiality* taught the primacy of filial piety. Model emulation was emphasized. *The Twenty-Four Paragons Filial Piety* (Yuan dynasty, 1271–1378) featured striking examples of devotion to parents.

There was no corresponding list of model students, but still today, even people not steeped in *The Three Character Classic* know of Kuang Heng boring a hole in the wall to let in light from next door and of Che Yin reading by the light of fireflies and in winter using moonlight reflected by the snow. If tea did not do the job, one could keep awake by emulating Sun Jing, who tied his hair to a crossbeam, or follow the example of Su Qin, who pricked himself with an awl. Child prodigies were praised, but the success of the octogenarian Liang Hao demonstrated to the child reciting the *Three Character Classic* that persistence pays and it is never too late.

Reading and writing were basic, and reading came first. Learning how to recognize characters began with wordbooks, some with pictures illustrating each character. Next came primers. During the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) dynasties, bookshops offered a profusion of primers, of which the three most widely used were known collectively as the *Three, Hundred, Thousand*. *Three* refers to the *Three Character Classic*. *Hundred* stands for a very different primer. *The Hundred Surnames* contains no sentences and tells no stories but consisted of 438 surnames, later expanded to a total of 504, arranged in eight-character rhyming lines. This must be one of the most tedious texts ever assembled anywhere. The closest Western equivalents that come to mind are the accounts of who begot whom in the *Bible*. The *Thousand Character Classic*, the oldest of the three primers (c. 540 CE), was designed to teach characters by not repeating any graph, although one does reappear. Like *The Three Characters Classic* and many other primers, it provided basic moral instruction and introduction to the physical world, humanity, civilization, and history.

Such primers merit investigation as repositories of shared values, information, ideas, and lore. Mastering all three enabled students to recognize about two thousand individual characters. That they were introduced in poetic form not only aided memorization but also eliminated the need for learning how to punctuate, a far from obvious skill that required good comprehension of the text.⁵

Learning to write began with instruction on grinding ink and holding the brush. Next came tracing out simple characters and writing them in squares before proceeding to more complex graphs. The ancient practice bones were succeeded by heaps of paper. During these early years children were also learning basic arithmetic, but use of the abacus was left for later instruction for those who would need it occupationally.

Command over this elementary curriculum provided baseline literacy and numeracy sufficient for ordinary folk to make their way through life and prepared some for apprenticeships in workshops or commercial enterprises. At the top of the scale in cities and towns

prosperous merchants needed to read and write to conduct their business and perhaps indulge in some of the fiction and other publications that made modest demands on their readers.

However, such an education was only a beginning for those who aspired to the elite education that opened the door to the civil service examination. Few candidates made it all the way to a “presented scholar” degree, but even partial examination success could lead to employment—perhaps as a teacher or tutor. Medicine, proffering legal advice, and astronomy/astrology entailed specialized training but offered reasonably attractive career opportunities. Even setting up as a village scribe and letter writer released a man from the drudgery of working in the fields and paddies.

At the core of the examination curriculum were *The Four Books: The Great Learning* (a chapter of *The Record of Rites*) that linked individual self-cultivation and world governance; the *Analects*, revered as conveying the purported conversations, sayings, and actions of Confucius; *The Mencius* and *The Doctrine of the Mean*. The latter was another chapter of *The Record of Rites*, which supplied classical grounds for the Neo-Confucian philosophy and morality that dominated the examination system until it was abolished in 1905.

Although in Ming and Qing memorizing all 99,010 characters of *The Rites* became optional, examination preparation demanded filling an enormous memory bank: 621,206 characters, reduced to 518,000 in 1796, all written in a classic nonvernacular language. Beginning at age eight and completing this foundational curriculum by fifteen required memorizing around two hundred characters daily.⁶

Beyond the core texts, examination candidates needed to familiarize themselves with Zhu Xi’s commentaries, with lengthy histories, and with China’s vast literature. In addition, they studied model examination essays and, beginning in Ming, practiced composing the highly stylized and artificial “eight-legged essays” demanded by the exams. From 1370 to 1756 candidates were not required to write poems, but competence in poetry was expected of a gentleman, as was elegant calligraphy. The exact mix varied over time, but the load was always a heavy one.

The chances of ascending all the way up to a “presented scholar” degree were minimal, but even incomplete examination success brought status and prestige. Under these circumstances the demands of the examinations molded the curriculum. While some dedicated teachers admonished students to study for the sake of self-cultivation, there was a strong tendency for the students to dream of acing the exams. Careerism tended to trump disinterested scholarship. Students who wished to pursue their own intellectual interests and chafed at the examination system curriculum were told that they owed it to their parents to pursue examination degrees. Defying one’s parents and dropping out was not an option.

The sons of criminals and boatmen were excluded, but the examinations theoretically and legally were open to the vast majority of males. Wealthy families could hire a tutor to supervise home schooling, but even those who disdained the schools might want to attend an academy or study at the university.

CHINA: SCHOOLS

China is as diverse as it is vast, and sources were much sparser for the less prosperous areas than they were for the flourishing Yangtze region, yet all regions did share a common

classical heritage. *The Record of Rites* reports, "A jade uncut will not form a vessel; a man who does not study will not know the Way. Therefore when the ancient kings were establishing their states and governing the people, they gave priority to instruction and schools." The text then names the schools established in hamlets, neighborhoods, districts, and state capitals. It outlines the contents of the nine years of schooling and describes the ceremonial opening of "The Great College" (*daxue*), complete with the presentation of vegetable offering, the singing of three odes, and the beating of drums. It is less important to speculate about the historicity of this account than to recognize that it was widely accepted and not only provided classical sanction to government schools but insisted on the ruler's duty to educate the people. Also widely accepted by Song was the meritocratic idea that the well-educated should be privileged. State and society agreed with Mencius that mind workers should be supported by those who do physical labor.⁷

As *The Record of Rites* specifies, schools were sites of Confucian ceremonies, and this remained the case for nongovernment as well as government schools. In schools that could not afford a separate shrine, solemn ceremonies were performed in front of a tablet or sometimes a sheet of paper representing Confucius, Zhu Xi, or another Confucian worthy. Zhu Xi himself approved of pictorial representations but ruled out statues.

During the Song there was a government attempt to open schools for all males. Going still further, the founding emperor of the Ming, a man of overwhelming ambition, decreed that there be a government school in every country and prefecture. Reaching down to the very base of society, he also decreed that a community school be established in every village. His aim was to "transform by education" (*jiaohua*) "all under heaven." However, Sarah Schneewind, after careful scrutiny of local gazetteers, reports a lack of correlation between imperial orders for schools and what was actually done.

The Ming founding emperor tried to divorce community schools (*shexue*) from examination preparation, but that did not work. What they did do was to combine moral, ritual, and basic literary instructions. Their agenda as well as their names invariably reflect their Confucian aspiration to "transform by educating." Significantly "Nourishing Rectitude Community School" was the most popular name for these institutions.⁸

The vicissitudes of community schools provide a fascinating barometer of numerous interrelated aspects of the history of the Ming dynasty. These include religious tensions pitting Confucian schools against Buddhist temples and the shrines of local cults whose buildings and grounds faced the threat of confiscation for the benefit of local schools. By the sixteenth century community schools were most often founded by government officials stationed in a locality serving their tour of duty, but the schools were locally financed.

Politically the failure of the founding emperor's school program reflected the tension between center and locality in which the local elite gained the upper hand. Alternatives to community schools included home schooling for those wealthy enough to employ a tutor and lineage schools that provided instruction to promising boys from humble homes to promote lineage solidarity and in the hope that their academic and examination success would benefit the whole lineage. Such lineage schools flourished especially in the lower Yangtze region and were a source of new blood for officialdom.

Another alternative to community schools were charity schools (*yixue*), similar in function and in depending on local financial support, so that in the seventeenth century the line between the two kinds of schools became indistinguishable. Still more disconcerting evidence from Guangdong indicates some "community schools" became "schools" in name only while engaged in various other local activities.

CHINA: TEACHERS AND PEDAGOGY

The passage below was quoted by Ye Cai (fl. 1248) in his commentary to “The Way to Teach,” chapter 11 of the *Jinsilu* (*Reflections on Things at Hand*), a Neo-Confucian anthology enormously influential in Japan as well as in China. It begins by restating the importance of education and agrees that education needs to start before the infant is capable of comprehension.

Mencius said: The noble person has three delights, and being ruler over the world is not among them. That his father and mother are both alive and his older brothers present no cause for concern—this is his first delight. That he can look up and not be abashed before Heaven, look down and not be ashamed before others—this is his second delight. That he can get the most eminent talents in the world and educate them—this is his third delight.⁹

Confucius himself was a teacher. Teaching was the most noble calling, and those engaged in it were to be treated with the utmost respect. As a Han source put it:

Be certain you are respectful and reverent, keep the expression on your face harmonious, examine your language and commands, be quick in leaping forward and in jumping back, and be certain you are serious and decorous. This is how one honors teachers.... This is because: Teaching is the most important of our moral duties, and learning is the culmination of wisdom. The greatest of moral duties is to benefit others, and nothing is of more benefit to others than teaching.¹⁰

Confucius was recorded as saying different things to different disciples according to their needs. Ideally a teacher was a life coach imparting “situational learning.” But a coach needs to discipline, and the passage quoted above from the *Record of Rites* includes in its account of the beginning of school the introduction of the disciplinary rod (*xianchu*) that formed part of a teacher’s stock in trade. The *Three Character Classic* echoes the *Rites*:

To raise but not teach
that is the father’s fault
To teach but not be strict
that is the teacher’s laziness.

In China as in the West, there is no way of knowing how many teachers spared the rod.

Like a coach supervising calisthenics or an army drill sergeant, much of the teacher’s work consisted in drilling the students in the chanting the texts. Some teachers did explain the meaning of the characters, agreeing with Wang Yun (1764–1854) that children are not

dogs or pigs and should not be forced to memorize texts without explanation like chanting sutras or chewing wood.¹¹ Many primers did tell stories to interest children, but it was universally accepted that children up to age fourteen were good at memorization but had little understanding, whereas later their abilities were reversed. It followed that emphasizing rote memorization at the start of schooling was appropriate.

Perhaps a text really need not be read aloud a thousand or even a hundred times, but a strong case for repeated practice can be made for training the hand to write correctly, while leaving students to figure out on their own why some of their characters failed to pass muster but honed their capacity for visual analysis. When it came to wielding the brush, he who hesitated tended to be lost. A similar principle applies today in teaching foreign languages by having students memorize pattern sentences before introducing rules of grammar and syntax. Whatever the arguments in favor of rote learning, listening to the sing-song recitation of a text over and over again surely was trying for all within earshot.

Then as now, being a teacher was not an unmitigated delight. A teacher might be diligent yet have discipline problems, as depicted in *The Dream of the Red Chamber* (or *Story of the Stone*), when a substitute lost control over a room full of unruly boys from a great lineage. Teaching provided stopgap employment for a man preparing for the civil service examinations, but a teacher's lot was not necessarily a happy one. If he assigned too little work, the parents complained, but the pupils hated him if he made them work too hard.

As always, circumstances varied in the status of the teacher and in pedagogy. Wang Yangming (1472–1529), next to Zhu Xi the most influential Neo-Confucian, played down book learning: “If words are examined in the mind and found to be wrong, although they have come from the mouth of Confucius, I dare not accept them as correct.”¹² He advocated a more lenient pedagogy with emphasis on singing, but his actual influence is difficult to ascertain.

CHINA: HIGHER EDUCATION

The history of the Imperial University (*taixue*) goes back to Han, but by Ming two directorates of education (*guozijian*), one in Beijing and another in Nanjing, were the primary government “universities.” In the early years of the Ming dynasty, with thousands of students engaged in active academic life, they enjoyed an international reputation, but by the sixteenth century they lost their vigor and degenerated into institutes of higher learning in name only.

Similarly, early in the dynasty some government schools apparently functioned well and boasted impressive libraries, but by mid-Ming they had degenerated into places for men simply to register in order to secure their standing in the civil service examinations. Staffed by low-ranking and all too often senile educators who might show face only when required at Confucian temple ceremonies, they provided little instruction. Consequently higher education was predominantly private. Some men studied on their own, for preparing for examinations could occupy most or all of a lifetime. Some employed tutors. Others enrolled in academies that became centers of scholarship and intellectual life as well as examination preparation.

Most famous and widely emulated also in Japan was the White Deer Grotto Academy (*Pailutong shuyuan*, also White Deer Hollow or Cave), dating to the tenth century and restored by Zhu Xi while he was an official in Jiangsi. That its purpose was moral as well as academic education is clear from the sayings posted on the lintels of the academy's doors, based on *The Mencius* (3A:4):

Affection between parent and child
Rightness between ruler and minister;
Differentiation between husband and wife;
Precedence between elder and younger;
Trust between friends.¹³

Zhu Xi did not believe in detailed regulations, but this did not deter his followers from drawing up strict precepts instructing students “to stand erect” and not “stand on one foot or lean to one side,” to “speak respectfully,” to “keep clothing neat,” to “look and listen properly” without staring or cocking the ear, to “eat and drink temperately” and not “eat to the full or hanker after rare delicacies,” while “drinking only at festivals or when ordered by superiors,” and then not more than three cups and never to the point of drunkenness. The list ends in allowing them leisure after studying, to play the lute, practice archery, and play pitch-pot as long as they followed the rules. But board games were interdicted.

Judging by the three examination questions still extant, the curriculum covered the whole spectrum of formal Chinese learning. One question required students to analyze the thought of seven prominent Song scholars in terms of their relationship to the original teachings of Confucius, and another required an analysis of the persistence of heterodox theories calling for a comparison between the old heterodoxies of Yang Zhu and Mozi and those of Buddhism and Daoism that Zhu was intent on refuting.

Zhu Xi invited fellow scholars to lecture at White Deer, including Lu Jiuyuan (1139–1192). Zhu disagreed with Lu philosophically but surely appreciated his talk “The gentleman understands rightness, whereas the petty person understands profit.”¹⁴ Sounding rather like a topic for a sermon, this illustrates Neo-Confucian melding of moralizing and philosophizing. Originally, Song academies were temples of Neo-Confucian learning, but even before the end of that dynasty, they compromised with the demand for examination preparation. Beginning in the thirteenth century, when Neo-Confucianism prevailed in the exams, it paid for gentlemen to steep themselves in Zhu Xi's writings.

During the Ming the academies continued to serve as intellectual centers as well as institutions for examination preparation. In the Late Ming some also became political centers and suffered repression. Most famous was the Donglin Eastern Grove Academy of Wuxi that led a reformist movement that ended with the execution of many of its members and the razing of the academy in 1626. The ultimate fate of the academies was government co-optation in Late Ming and Qing.

Government was a male preserve, and at all levels government and education were deeply intertwined, nourished by the same Confucian roots. Education served the state by promoting state values. It channeled much of the intellectual energies of the people, but it also empowered people and equipped them to be critical of the government. Huang Zongxi (1610–1695), in his *Waiting for the Dawn*, envisioned an independent academy as a

counterweight to the imperial establishment. This never came to pass, but it does attest to the dual nature of Confucian education, legitimizing those in power but also prompting a dedicated few to speak truth to power.

CHINA: FEMALE EDUCATION

When Lan Dingyuan (1675–1733) wrote *Women's Learning* (*Nüxue*), thereby contributing to and participating in an “explosion” of didactic handbooks for women, he naturally drew on *Admonitions for Women* (*Nüjie*) by Ban Zhao (48?–c. 114?), China's most famous female scholar, who completed her brother's *History of the Han*. Ban Zhao's *Admonitions* acquired the status of a classic of proper female behavior, prescribing that women should practice “The Four Virtues”: “morality,” “proper speech,” “proper bearing,” and “diligent work.” Lan followed her and, following the example of Liu Xiang's *Biographies of Exemplary Women* (*Lienü zhuan*), included “idealized brief lives of women, often dramatic, always moralistic, sometimes either precious or perverse.” Lan wrote his book for women because he argued that what they needed to learn differed from what men needed to learn:

The content of education women receive should be different from that of men. It is because men should be learning all their lives, thus they have ample time to study classics, history and various schools of philosophy. As for women, they have only about ten years to learn before they committed themselves to household duties. Owing to the limitations of time, they should read books specially meant for them, otherwise it would not be easy for them to understand the subject thoroughly.¹⁵

Ban Zhou defined women's work as follows: “Learn how to weave with hemp and ramie, don't mix fine and rough fibers. Don't run the shuttle of the loom so quickly that you make a mess. When you see the silkworms spinning their cocoons, you must attend them day and night, picking mulberry leaves to feed them . . . Learn how to cut out shoes and make socks. Learn how to cut fabric and sew it into garments. Learn how to embroider, mend and darn.”

Girls had to learn not only proper conduct but also the frugality and diligence required for household management, and they were expected to develop skills in spinning, weaving, and needlework, painstaking embroidery of pillows, and, in Ming and Qing, wear tiny shoes to cover their tiny feet. Years of excruciatingly painful foot binding held lessons on how to endure suffering.

A significant number of scholars believed that women should be taught to read but limited to works pertaining to virtuous behavior and everyday practicalities. *The Instructions of Mother Wen* (*Wenshi muxun*) told its readers, “Women should learn only a few hundred words like firewood, rice, fish and meat. Knowing more would bring no benefit but harm.” Others wanted mothers to know enough to instruct their children, but there was a wide range of opinion. The *Three Character Classic* includes praise for Mencius's mother's devotion to her son's education, but also for Cai Wenji, famed for her musicality, and Xu Danyun,

famous for her poetry. Cai and Xu are there to show that even girls are capable of great achievement. There is no mention of the female virtues nor of needlepoint or household management. Less is known about female musicians, but there is much information about outstanding poets. Indeed there was an advantage of being excluded from the civil service examinations, for it also meant release from the curriculum. Truly scholarly women did master *The Four Books* and familiarize themselves with the classics, but they were comparatively free to pursue poetry and indeed the results quantitatively as well as qualitatively are impressive.¹⁶ There were those who held to the adage that female talent and virtue do not mix, but there was ample proof to the contrary.

JAPAN: INTRODUCTION

By 1600 Japan had been exposed to Chinese influence for over a millennium but differed profoundly in culture and institutions. The Tokugawa (1600–1867) was the third and most successful shogunate, that is, a government headed by a shogun (generalissimo) formally invested by the emperor but owing his actual power to the feudal loyalty of direct retainers who administered his considerable holdings, and of *daimyo* (hereditary lords) who enjoyed wide latitude in governing their domains.

During some two and a half centuries of peace, samurai were mostly turned into Confucian-style officials. “Taming the samurai” was a far-reaching process that varied over time and place. The shogun’s school in Edo (modern Tokyo), a fountainhead of orthodox Neo-Confucianism, served as a model for some twenty-seven domain schools before the shogunate ended in 1867. Political fragmentation and the absence of a Chinese-style examination system made for great regional diversity. For example, under the leadership of an exceptionally devoted daimyo, in Okayama by 1764 some 124 local writing schools (*tenarai-ijo*) provided elementary education for commoners.¹⁷

During the Tokugawa period, most samurai lived and worked in the castle towns that served as political capitals. Samurai alone were entitled to wear a sword and, at least theoretically, to lord it over merchants, artisans, and farmers—the remaining three officially recognized hereditary classes. Enterprising commoners, however, profited from the unprecedented economic growth that stimulated and financed an increasing demand for literacy not only in urban centers but also in the countryside, beginning with headmen responsible for tax collection. Inhabiting the interface between local society and the state, village headmen needed to read and respond to government paperwork. Other members of the village elite were motivated to acquire sufficient education to enable them to keep an eye on the headman and navigate the legal/economic system.¹⁸

JAPAN: BASIC COMMONER EDUCATION

The venue and finances for basic education varied widely. In Okayama the domain took the lead, but frequently the initiative was local. A wealthy village family teaching its own children might invite less well-off youngsters to join in. Doctors and retired family heads might

teach part or full time. Priests, physically disabled farmers, and *ronin* (masterless samurai) were another source of teachers. A seventeenth-century comic play (*kyogen*) pokes fun at such a priest. Asked about his writing skills, he admits, "I can't really write well. My letters look like worm trails or sparrow tracks." Assured by villagers, "We want you to be a writing teacher for our small children," he is delighted to accept the job.¹⁹

Private "writing schools," in urban centers as well as villages, were often called "temple schools" (*terakoya*), reflecting their origins but not the Tokugawa reality, when they were private secular institutions focused on teaching literacy, devoting most of their class time to writing practice. A set of school precepts begins, "To be born human and not be able to write is to be less than human. Illiteracy is a form of blindness." Since many teachers wrote their own primers, their number was legion; one scholar identified a total of 1,993 for the Tokugawa period. Many children began by copying *Teikin orai* (*Home Correspondence*), one of the three most widely used primers. It contained twelve letters, one for each month, covering a wide range of topics, beginning with ceremonials and ending with sickness. Written in old-fashioned Sino-Japanese with Chinese characters floating in a sea of phonetic squiggles (*kana*), as they do in modern Japanese, it introduced vocabulary that would have been useful had not so much of it been outdated. Two other popular primers, *Teaching for Children* (*Doji-kyo*) and *Words of Truth* (*Jitsugo-kyo*), were in Chinese. Optimistically attributed, respectively, to Bai Zhuyi (772–846), Japan's favorite Chinese poet, and Kobo Daishi (Kukai, 774–832), the founder of Japanese Shingon (True Word) Buddhism and a culture hero, both texts predate Tokugawa. They expounded Confucian values "although as part of a world-view that is fundamentally Buddhist." In time, however, the Buddhist elements were attenuated.²⁰

School discipline seems not to have been unduly harsh. A standard punishment was for a child to stand on a desk or in a corner holding an incense stick to mark the time. A precept declares that boys who mistreat girls or younger children are "animals in human form" but does not specify a penalty.

JAPAN: GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS AND PRIVATE ACADEMIES

Officially sponsored domain schools got a slow start but grew in the eighteenth century until 215 of the approximately 260 domains supported them. Although their purpose was to give samurai the moral training and knowledge of public affairs required for them as the official elite, a few (seventeen) admitted commoners as students, while others allowed commoners to some functions, such as public lectures. After all, as the thinking went, commoners too needed moral instruction.

Boys began their studies at age eight and spent the next seven years, sometimes under the supervision of more advanced students, immersed in Chinese texts that they read not in Chinese but in a hybrid Sino-Japanese style consisting of Chinese characters accompanied by Japanese particles and verbal inflexions.²¹ For learning characters, the Chinese *Thousand Character Classic* figured prominently, as did *The Classic of Filiality* and *The Great Learning*. The rest of *The Four Books* followed. Then came the Chinese classics. In premodern East Asia, as in premodern Europe, an elite education required mastery of a language one did not speak.

Since samurai were supposed to be warriors as well as scholars, there was general agreement that they should receive martial (*bu*) as well as civil (*bun*) instruction. Schools taught swordsmanship, how to use a lance, and other martial skills, but in the course of time these came to amount to “formal gymnastics and disciplined choreography.”²²

Domain schools ranged in quality but generally did fill the need for educated samurai. Some had distinguished teachers, but, as on the continent, the most stimulating and influential teaching took place in nongovernment academies. Some had predominantly samurai students; some admitted commoners as well as samurai. Osaka's Kaitokudo primarily taught commoners.

JAPAN: SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT

The Tokugawa period experienced the flourishing of various schools of Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism as well as warrior theory (*bushido*), a nativism associated with Shinto, and the introduction of Western ideas known as “Dutch studies.” The academies, centers for ideas as well as pedagogy, were as diverse as Japan itself. A few prominent examples suffice.

When Yamazaki Ansai (1619–1682), an ardent champion of Zhu Xi and of Shinto, established his academy in Kyoto, he adopted Zhu's White Deer Grotto slogans, word for word. His academy of mostly samurai students was known for its strictness and for Ansai's lectures. Lectures were also the mode of instruction at many academies, with students regurgitating the teacher's words. Such mindless parroting could not escape criticism. Ogyu Sorai (1666–1728), a major thinker and rare champion of vernacular Chinese, complained that some students even marked places in the text where the teacher stopped to clear his throat.²³

Fortunately, on the opposite side of the Kyoto street from Yamazaki Ansai was the very different academy of Ito Jinsai (1627–1705), who, himself from a distinguished commoner background, welcomed townsmen and taught through group readings and discussions. The two academies also differed in that Ansai promoted Shinto as well as Neo-Confucianism, whereas Jinsai, seeking to get back to original Confucianism, even rejected *The Great Learning*. He was also unusually open to the literary masterpieces of the Heian Period, disdained and condemned by strict Confucians as immoral.

A century and a half later another distinguished commoner, Hirose Tanso (1782–1850), presided over a large academy in Kyushu with only a 5.5 percent samurai enrollment but rigorous discipline. The day began at 5 a.m. and the students were instructed to sweep until 6, after which they read and explained passages in Confucian texts before being allowed to wash and eat at seven. After lunch and supper, they were allowed a walk, but the rest of the day was devoted to classes and testing (three hours every day!). Evenings were for studying until they could retire at 10. The curriculum was strictly Confucian, leaving little time for such frivolities as reading a novel. There were also specialized schools, including a few small schools offering “Dutch learning.” Much larger and more prominent was Osaka's Kaitokudo, home of Confucian merchant ideology. More broadly, Robert Rubinger has shown that by the middle of the nineteenth century, academies had “become agents of change” both in curriculum and in serving as social and political “escalators” for commoners and lower ranking samurai. Yet no matter how groundbreaking, enrollment in all academies remained strictly male.²⁴

JAPAN: FEMALE EDUCATION

Geographic and class differences limit all generalizations on this as on other topics. Although boys predominated, girls, including commoners, did go to school in Tokugawa Japan, but their numbers varied enormously, regionally and between city and countryside. Geisha needed sophisticated education. Large merchant families were more apt to educate daughters to help out in the shops than were farmers, but there were always exceptions. Just learning the simply phonetic *kana* syllabary was better than nothing.

Only one domain made special provision for commoner girls, but girls did attend some local “writing” or “temple” schools, and there were even some girls-only schools. As with boys, moral instruction was their first priority. Among the texts most widely used for this purpose was *The Great Learning for Women* (*Onna Daigaku*), instructing women to be good daughters and devoted wives, warning them against laziness, discontent, slander, jealousy, and especially silliness, but occasionally insisting “that these yielding qualities should be spiced with reserves of aggressiveness which would make her capable of defending her honor and her husband with the ferocious courage of some of the heroes of the *Lienu zhuan* (i.e., *Biographies of Exemplary Women*).”²⁵ The attribution of *The Great Learning for Women* to the Neo-Confucian scholar Kaibara Ekken (1639–1714), though questionable, reflects its prestige as well as Ekken’s own reputation and possibly also that of his wife, a scholar, calligrapher, and poet.

There were other books addressed to women, and sophisticated samurai women were encouraged to read the *Tale of Genji* and other Heian classics written predominantly by women. Tokugawa ladies were expected to be literate and accomplished in “the performing arts such as tea ceremony, stringed musical instruments, dancing and drumming, martial arts, visual arts (including tray painting), flower arranging, calligraphy, literary arts such as poetry, and the bodily training imparted by etiquette.”²⁶

Meanwhile in Japan as in China women had to be prepared to run the family household while men managed public affairs. Educating their children was high on their list of duties. In Japan today, “education mother” (*kyoiku mama*) has negative connotations, but in China as well as Japan, mothers contributed hugely to a record of remarkable educational achievement.

ISSUES AND PROSPECTS

As everywhere, education in East Asia was pivotal, connecting life and thought, the concrete and the abstract, through long centuries. Today scholars ask new questions, bringing to bear new concepts and new data.

A currently thriving area of investigation is the history of women in China and Japan, inseparable from the investigation of female education. Scholars now insist on recognition of female agency—and not only in childhood education—without, however, minimizing female subordination in patriarchal societies. They recognize that Chinese and Japanese cultures were immensely enriched by superb elite writers like Lady Murasaki (late tenth–early

eleventh century), while concurrently all too many illiterates, male as well as female, suffered harsh economic and social conditions.

Good work continues to be done on literacy and the diffusion of knowledge, suggesting late traditional China and Japan bear easy comparison with the contemporaneous West. The same holds for the history of publishing and the book. Literacy and social structure were closely related in a China where education was a prerequisite to examination success, but scholars now agree that the examinations predominantly provided mobility within rather than into the elite. In Japan birth was destiny, but economic developments stimulated commoner literacy while even within the samurai elite continental ideas of meritocracy found a strong echo.

Scholarship continues to deepen as well as complicate our understanding of the past as scholars go beyond the view from the center to uncover the immense diversity of China as well as within more politically fragmented Japan. Regional as well as local studies are giving us a better understanding of the cultural and political dynamics as China continues to transition from empire to state and Japan seeks a new role in a multistate world. In both cases the long history of education fosters a sense of the continuing importance of the past.

Along with investigations into the social aspects of education there continues to be lively reassessments of its intellectual content. Most noteworthy is China's turn to a positive evaluation of Confucianism, paralleled in the West by new appreciation of Confucian "virtue ethics." Education remains at the heart of what Confucianism is all about.

Ever since its publication in 2000, Kenneth Pomeranz's *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World* has stimulated lively and edifying debate about how and when the West grew more powerful than China. More recently, this has also raised the question "For how long?" The discussion has focused on economic, social, and political history, but students of educational history would do well to take note—and participate.

Fortunately comparative education is gradually taking its place along with comparative philosophy, comparative history, and transnational studies. Students of traditional East Asia are well equipped to participate in ongoing debates about rote learning and fostering creativity, about teaching values as well as encouraging critical thinking, about balancing general and specialized education, about developing the talents of individuals as well as a sense of social solidarity fostering meritocracy and ensuring equality, and in the process learning from the past while preparing for the future. The Chinese and Japanese past does not offer easy answers but does provide a wealth of experience and ideas.

NOTES

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CHAPTER 8

PRECOLONIAL INDIGENOUS EDUCATION IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE AND PACIFIC

ADREA LAWRENCE

IN his 2008 book, *Imagining Head-Smashed-In*, the archaeologist Jack W. Brink writes, “There is practically no limit to the depth of creativity human beings have brought to bear in order to make their world liveable.”¹ Indigenous education before widespread European colonization of the western hemisphere and the Pacific Rim in the fifteenth through twentieth centuries took on many forms, most of which have been recognized as political and anthropological—not educational—by those in the academy. This categorization has deafened the histories of education that do not conform to the school. In fact, there are only a handful of secondary sources about education in the western hemisphere and Pacific in the precolonial period. Certainly people in these places engaged in learning and were formally “educated” according to their community’s standards. Yet they remain relatively unknown to education historians in the early twenty-first century. How can this be?

Writing about the education histories of peoples whom colonizers have classified as “primitive” is not a straightforward task. For one, colonialist mindsets and research methodologies are pervasive and always already assumed, often leaving a host of evidence of education out of the range of perception. Too, much of that evidence has been occluded or lost because of the horrific number of lives lost in the colonization enterprise. And while much has been lost, much has persisted and been recovered. As an Anglo historian writing about indigenous education history, I am an outsider to indigenous groups and by legacy in the colonizer camp, a camp which I personally view as fraught, unreconcilable, privileged, and painful. Part of what comes with being in this ascribed camp is a set of culturally entrained assumptions about those who are not identified or do not identify as “white.” These assumptions, because they are epistemological guideposts, can function as a set of blinders, prompting me and others like me to invoke narratives that feel “tried and true,”

while obscuring questions, evidence, interpretations, and narratives that challenge away from perception. The historian Nancy Shoemaker advises, “The best solution [to such an epistemology that has blinding tendencies] is [to] be explicit about the origins and nature of categories as building blocks of human thought, to be aware of our own categories as we study the past, and to purposefully seek to discover what categories people in the past have used and why” to identify evidence of education among indigenous communities in the western hemisphere and in the Pacific before European colonization in the fifteenth century.²

Recovering indigenous education history is difficult for two reasons. First, the geographic reach of the western hemisphere and the Pacific is vast, as is the sheer number of human communities that have lived in it. Attempting generalizations is thus reckless, and attempting comprehensiveness is impossible, for the second reason: many of the peoples who lived in the western hemisphere and in the Pacific prior to European and Japanese colonization experienced devastating population losses because of the extremely rapid and virulent spread of diseases such as smallpox, measles, and diphtheria. Estimates of this loss are contested by demographers, but those estimates have climbed to approximately one-fifth—20 percent—of the world’s population succumbing to disease. With this apocalyptic loss came a profound loss of comprehensive knowledge, art, culture, even meaning, and certainly education. Uncovering, or recovering, what learning happened, how it happened, and how it changed the world necessitates an approach that is simultaneously oblique and direct, speculative and grounded in evidence, that cleaves across disciplines and, perhaps, is entirely wrong, recognizing that, as the Māori historian Nēpia Mahuika writes, “history is not an innocent discipline.”³

The evidence of learning that other scholars have written about is compelling. Not only were peoples in the western hemisphere and Pacific learned; they were creative, immensely generative, and sometimes destructive, often creating fundamentally different categories of understanding the world than their counterparts across the world. The ways in which peoples discovered, learned, and conveyed knowledge beget attention that swivels colonialist assumptions on their collective head. Before widespread colonization began in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, indigenous peoples of the western hemisphere and Pacific were agriculturalists and land and seaside managers who hunted and fished; they were brilliant scientists; they were artists and musicians; they were politicians; they were historians and geographers; they were adaptive economic players; and, importantly, they were exceptionally diverse.

METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

In studying indigenous history, one has to be prepared to jump time, to do loop-de-loops and high arcs that defy historians’ conventional training in working with the documentary record. This is disconcerting for those who are conventionally trained, as preconceptions of the past are shattered and assumptions about inquiry are dissolved. Rather than focus strictly on time as an orienting map of the past, indigenous histories often require a commitment to place as their primary orienting structure. In fact, place itself—the geography, flora, fauna, and climate—serves as an instructor, as a source of meaning-making, and as a

repository of learning. The legal scholar, social theorist, and historian Vine Deloria Jr. writes that indigenous communities in North America “combine history and geography so that they have a ‘sacred geography,’ that is to say, every location within their original homeland has a multitude of stories that recount the migrations, revelations, and particular historical incidents that cumulatively produced the tribe in its current condition.” Place thus serves as a type of curriculum, a guide for learning that grounds history, morality, scientific knowledge, and epistemology in experience, and that is recalled each time one sees or thinks about those place-worlds, as the anthropologist Keith H. Basso calls them.⁴ If this is true, then how does one go about learning how indigenous communities have learned over time?

Present-day indigenous communities and scholars from a variety of disciplines have been able to uncover and recover an astonishing range of information about how people learned and lived in the western hemisphere and the Pacific before widespread colonization took place from the late fifteenth century onward. For example, KuuNux TeeRIt Kroupa, an Arikara historian and anthropologist, has been able to recover Arikara language, architectural forms, ceremonies, songs, and histories through intensive work in archives, examining travel accounts and photographs, in language recovery programs, and within the Arikara and Pawnee communities. Likewise Jack W. Brink, an archaeologist at the Head-Smashed-In buffalo jump in southern Alberta, has worked with Blackfoot tribal members to excavate the buffalo jump, or cliff formation used to harvest bison, and reconstruct how it was used by many indigenous communities on the northern plains before the introduction of the horse in the eighteenth century. That the jump had been used for about 5,600–5,800 years indicates deep geographical and scientific bodies of knowledge in play. And Jonah La‘akapu Lenchanko, a Native Hawaiian scholar, reveals through published archival newspapers and close work with Native Hawaiian scientists how Hawaiians came to understand the scientific, geographical, and historical world around them as maintained through their *mele*, or chants. In his book *1491: New Revelations of the Americas before Columbus*, Charles C. Mann has synthesized a vast amount of research from indigenous communities, epidemiologists, anthropologists, archaeologists, historians, and legal scholars on life in the western hemisphere before Columbus and his crew arrived in the Caribbean.⁵

The bulk of this research has been published from the late 1980s through the first two decades of the twenty-first century. Why has it taken this long for such work to be published, when, for example, the U.S. government made a practice of hiring ethnologists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries? Fundamentally it would seem that scholars’ own assumptions about how people make sense of themselves in relation to time and space have served as their research blinders. Basso attributes such a lack of attention to place, for example, to non-Native writers’ commitments to place as a solitary, even romantic site of individual contemplation rather than the basis for history, scientific knowledge, and explanation for relationships within and between communities. Instead he suggests that scholars approach learning about indigenous communities by asking, “What must individuals believe about themselves and their surroundings for their metaphors [—and stories—] to ‘work?’” And how do people share and transmit those beliefs and understandings among themselves to sustain their bodies of knowledge and worldviews? As the archaeologist David J. Meltzer notes, after all, “learning is cumulative and ultimately can be sustained over multiple generations, even among people who rely entirely on memory and oral transmission of knowledge.”⁶ For this investigation, place is the starting point.

PLACE AS A REPOSITORY OF LEARNINGS

Unlike many Eurocentric histories of education, which take the school as the site of learning to be excavated, many indigenous peoples begin their education histories in, of, and through place. For many peoples, place explains their origins and how they have developed as a community; it reminds them of their values and common identity as it binds them together in the same shared space over time. Place is also evidence that the peoples' ancestors cared about their progeny's learning such that they named discrete landmarks descriptively and with gravitas so that when the people envision what happened at the sites, they recall the events as if they were there. In other words, places are repositories of learning and sources of wisdom for those who care to pursue it.⁷ Fundamentally place for many indigenous communities is a provider of nourishment and medicine, of knowledge, and of morality. This means that stories of place and a community's relationship to it are evidence of learning.

One such example is a story called "Dr. Field-Mouse," which comes from the Pueblo Indians of Isleta, a village in the northern Rio Grande Valley near Albuquerque, New Mexico. Recounted by Charles Lummis, a writer and adventurer of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the story of Dr. Field-Mouse was story told by the elder men of Isleta Pueblo to children during the winter months. It involves Coyote, a trickster figure who conveyed learning through his mishaps and the aid he gave to different creatures. In "Dr. Field-Mouse," supernatural beings charged Coyote to deliver a bag "to the Peak of the White Clouds" in the south. Under no circumstances was Coyote to open the bag. Coyote could not abide, though. On his journey Coyote grew hungry and could not find anything to eat, so he opened the bag. Instead of food, the bag contained stars, which flew to the sky as soon as they were loosed. As punishment for his misdeed, Coyote was afflicted with a contagious toothache, cursed to "wander up and down forever, howling with the toothache and finding no rest." This went on for a long time, long enough for other animals to contract toothaches as they tried to help Coyote with his. As the toothache became an epidemic, Prairie-Dog first approached Field-Mouse for help, eventually followed by Mountain Lion, who was a leader among four-legged creatures. Field-Mouse agreed to cure Coyote and the other animals by creating a poultice from the roots of the chaparral bush, which he had noticed and collected some time before. The cure was effective, and the animals recognized Field-Mouse as a healer and protected him from then on. Field-Mouse ultimately shared his knowledge of this cure with humans, and this is how they learned of herbal medicines.

The story of Dr. Field-Mouse serves as evidence of learning in several important ways. First, the story illustrates what can happen when one does not heed the instructions of those who know best. Coyote failed in this regard, and the repercussions of his actions rippled across the community. Second, the story underscores how beings can learn specific lessons from one another. Prairie-Dog, Mountain Lion, Coyote, and ultimately people learned a cure for the toothache from Field-Mouse. Third, according to Lummis, Isleta elders identify the "Dr. Field-Mouse" story as ancient, from the first days of the world as they knew it. This implies that the story had been shared from generation to generation, underscoring its importance within the Isletan community. Fourth, the specific information in the story about the Peak of the White Clouds, the chaparral bush, the relationships among animals, and how contagion spreads conveys how place can serve as evidence of

learning, both as a nourishing repository of knowledge and a wayfinding mechanism for the people who know it and respect it.⁸

Indigenous communities, anthropologists, archaeologists, and folklorists, among others, have explained how this process of learning a place—and sometimes literally constructing it—functions as the basis for learning history, geography, medicine, agriculture, and architecture. Meltzer writes that different groups of people learned their landscapes, or places, through direct experience with it, first by learning the general contours of a place and then by learning specific, nuanced information about a place's resources, climate, and patterns over centuries. This is clearly illustrated through the buffalo jumps that stipple the plains of North America. One that has been studied by archaeologists in collaboration with indigenous communities is called Head-Smashed-In, located in what is now southern Alberta, Canada. This particular buffalo jump has archaeological evidence dating back to nearly 5,600 years before the introduction of the horse in hunting in the early nineteenth century. The topography of the cliffs and rolling hills that are the foundation of the jump invite bison with different varieties of grasses that conceal the precipice over which a number of plains communities would drive herds of mostly cows and calves in the autumn and early winter months. To guide the selected herd toward the jump, people created drive lanes of rock cairns that they would enhance with scarecrow toppers. Runners disguised as bison calves and as wolves moved alongside the bison, creating the illusion of a boundary.

The knowledge people must have had in order to pull off the feat of harvesting and processing over one hundred bison at a time was deep and vast. Not only would they have to know what bison ate and fire's role in that diet's cultivation, but they would also have to know how bison grew and changed through the seasons, how the animals socialized, how they perceived terrain, what their weaknesses were, what their habits and strengths were, and what their fears were. People would have to know which animals were the most nutritious seasonally and at specific stages in their life cycles and how to identify them. People would likewise have to know how to work with large numbers of massive creatures surprised by a dramatic run and a sudden fall. Finally, people would have to know how to rapidly process and transport the carcasses of dozens of animals quickly. The learning that accumulated over time might now be identified as largely scientific. This knowledge was transmitted by generations of communities through daily and seasonal practices that reinforced the quotidian significance of and spiritual reverence the people had for bison. As Brink writes, humans' "intellect, their cunning, their ability to observe and learn" were the ways in which they created environments for living that were comfortable and meaningful, even in harsh climates.⁹

Plains peoples in North America were not the only ones to construct their environments; indigenous communities throughout North, Central, and South America built their environments, and their architecture is a testament to the learning they accreted over generations. Many communities developed housing structures and village designs based on what they had learned about the places where they lived. For example, communities that moved through seasonal rounds or who had distinct summer villages along the coast and winter villages inland often developed housing structures that were portable, such as the tipi and the wigwam. Non-Natives often mistook the portability of these homes as evidence of primitivism and a lack of scientific and technological sophistication rather than evidence of a finely tuned scientific and geographic understanding of a place. Those communities that practiced stationary farming often built houses and communities that were fixed in space.

Such examples include the city of Cahokia along the Mississippi River in North America, Pueblo Indian communities along the northern Rio Grande, Mayan cities and monuments in Central America, and Inkan cities with paved roads connecting them in the South American Andes. These stationary communities offer evidence of learning grounded in engineering a built environment in difficult places, under specific environmental circumstances. In other words, Cahokia, Indian Pueblos, and Mayan and Inkan cities use designs that attempt to work with constraints or divert them.

Both Cahokia and Mayan cities are examples of metropolises whose builders have reworked the natural environment around them. In the case of Cahokia, a prominent city near present-day St. Louis that existed between 950 and 1250 CE, the community rerouted Cahokia Creek and found a way to stabilize the moisture levels of the swelling clay underlying the monuments by laying down alternating layers of sand and soil. The rerouting of Cahokia Creek provided ample rich, arable land for growing corn (maize) as well as providing a reliable freshwater supply, but it also destabilized the bottom lands along the Mississippi River and its nearby tributaries by removing trees and their roots, which had wove the floodplain soils together. As the city grew to approximately fifteen thousand people, the forests did not reestablish themselves, though the cornfields continued to grow. This became problematic as heavy rains ultimately flooded the cornfields around the city of Cahokia and fuel sources became scarce. Coupled with this, a massive earthquake leveled Cahokia in the early thirteenth century (a similarly massive earthquake displaced the Mississippi Valley circa 1811), dispersing the community permanently. Noting the rise and fall of Cahokia, Mann highlights how eastern indigenous peoples learned from the Cahokians' overplanting error: as people claimed some forestland for corn agriculture, they planted orchards of hickory, chestnut, walnut, pecan, and hazelnut, among other trees, to stabilize the soils as well as provide foodstuffs for their communities.

The Maya of Central America, Pueblo Indians along the northern Rio Grande, and Inka in the Andes Mountains in South America also transformed the literal foundations underlying their communities. For the Maya, the bedrock itself was illusory. Instead of granite or basalt, the Yucatán Peninsula is made of limestone, presenting people living atop it the problem of trying to extract freshwater from an invisible, ossified, subterranean latticework. To remedy this, the Maya created "terrestrial islands" made up of crushed limestone, effectively preventing rainwater from rapidly draining into the limestone latticework below. These islands were topped by gardens, or milpas, which enriched the soil. Mayan communities likewise built reservoirs to hold fresh water and route it through extensive irrigation canals and ditches. In addition to sophisticated engineering and agricultural systems, the Maya erected fantastical buildings, tightly networked causeways, monuments, and ball courts, demonstrating their command of the mathematics needed to plan such works as well as the social and political organization needed to accomplish it all. Dating to 1800 BCE, Mayan civilizations built infrastructure that people today still find remarkable in its scope and stability.¹⁰ Clearly the Maya not only learned about the geological constraints of their homeland, but they figured out how to mitigate those constraints, cultivating complex forms of knowledge in the process.

Like the Maya, Pueblo Indians and the Inka built distinctive houses and public spaces, and they developed methods of irrigation to raise crops in arid environments. For the Pueblo Indians, villages followed the Rio Grande, with central plazas or streets banked by distinctive multistory adobe houses. Adjacent to the village, farmland among the eastern Pueblos

stretched perpendicular to the river, threaded by irrigation ditches. Western Pueblos, conversely, practiced dry farming, planting crops in the most hospitable conditions they could find in the desert, even if the sites were distant. Hopi men, for example, often ran upwards of one hundred miles a day to tend to their crops. Within many Pueblo Indian villages, both sexes built houses, with women replastering the buildings annually as men maintained the community's irrigation ditches. Similar to the Indian Pueblos of North America, the Inka created an extensive network of cities, roads, and farming terraces. Like the Pueblo Indians, Inkans created modular, multistory houses, which they plastered with adobe. In fact Inkan homes took on a dazzling white hue that reflected light across the mountaintops and valleys. And many Inkan communities enclosed their cities with massive walls made of precisely cut stone. Inkan cities, like the Indian Pueblo of Acoma, were built on top of mesas or buttes, creating strategic defensive positions that meant people also had to haul water, food, and supplies up to the population centers. Along with their stunning cities, the Inka built impressive temples. Describing the temple in Chavín de Huantar, Mann notes that the temple's architects created "a network of concealed vents and channels" through which priests could broadcast different sounds as temple visitors navigated the narrow corridors to high-ceilinged, torch-lit rooms, each with a stone sculpture of a god. The architecture of this temple and others became the basis for a full sensory experience for priests and worshippers alike. The built Inkan environment and the landscape surrounding it reverberated with meaning, a geography that held significance for the people who lived in it.¹¹

The transformation of a topography into a geography pregnant with meaning is a hallmark of indigenous learning throughout the western hemisphere and Pacific. From the Andes to Hawai'i to North America, place is the grounding feature of the past and present. Places, or the unique geographies and ecologies that people identify as sites of significance, have served as teachers and as springs for meaning-making. In his work with the White Mountain Apache in Arizona, Basso writes that named places are sites where important events happened and lessons were learned. Such places are the repositories of those events and learnings; they are the persistent reminder of the people's history; and they are a means of discourse for the people who live there. The names of the sites where a learning event happened function as a form of shorthand for and as a form of recognition of the ancestors who were the original learners in the story that unfolded there.¹² Stories deriving from the land explain how the people came to be and illustrate learning from mistakes stemming from improper or immoral action.

Jonah La'akapu Lenchanko recovers an understanding of the place of Oahu in the Hawaiian Islands through *mele*, or chants, and *piko* stones, which live at the geographic center of the island, marking the birthplaces of Hawaiian *ali'i*, or nobility. The *ka pōhaku piko* (formation of centering umbilical stones) at the place of Kūkaniloko on the island of Oahu connects all Native Hawaiians to the island and its history, orienting the land, the stars, and the ocean that surround it. Kūkaniloko is the geographic center of Oahu, and as such, it is the spiritual center for the people who have lived there for centuries. Kūkaniloko is the centering point for geographic orientation around the island, as the stones are aligned in each of the four cardinal directions. It is likewise the centering place for understanding celestial bodies and their movements. Hawaiian scholars trained in this knowledge understand this terrestrial and celestial knowledge, and they understand the historical meaning of the *piko* stones. Not only did the stones absorb the birthing pains of the *ali'i*, but they helped Hawaiian scholars learn the lunar cycles to plan for seasonal ceremonies and develop

the science of wayfinding across the ocean. Understanding this scientific knowledge and how it orients to the specific place of Kūkaniloko thus helps scholars make sense of the people who discovered and engaged this knowledge over time.¹³

For many indigenous peoples in the western hemisphere and the Pacific, places serve as texts, reminding people of those who came before them and the scientific and often moral lessons that were learned. Learning these places served as an interdisciplinary, layered curriculum. As Dudley Patterson, a White Mountain Apache elder, told Basso:

Wisdom sits in places. It's like water that never dries up. You need to drink water to stay alive, don't you? Well, you also need to drink from places. You must remember everything about them. You must learn their names. You must remember what happened at them long ago. You must think about it and keep on thinking about it. Then your mind will become smoother and smoother. Then you will see danger before it happens. You will walk a long way and live a long time. You will be wise. People will respect you.¹⁴

You might then be educated.

LEARNING AGRONOMY AND CREATING AGRICULTURAL FORMS

Perhaps one of the biggest misconceptions about indigenous peoples of the western hemisphere and Pacific, particularly those in North America, is that they were predominantly hunter-gatherers who had no scientific knowledge about the places in which they lived, had little in the way of sociopolitical sophistication, and were fundamentally “primitive” communities. These misconceptions are simply that: mistaken notions about indigenous peoples. This is particularly evident when considering the development of agriculture in the western hemisphere. In fact, nearly 70 percent of what is now the continental U.S. was devoted to agriculture in some form or another. Given that many staple crops such as corn (maize), beans, squash, cacao, tomatoes, and potatoes had their origins in the western hemisphere, widespread agriculture should not be surprising, and it is clear evidence of learning that involved genetics, climatology, ecology, geography, horticulture, and resource management. Such advanced scientific knowledge was coupled with extensive networks that facilitated idea exchange and commerce as well as multiple and nuanced cultural forms and ceremonial practices. Perhaps the crop that most clearly identifies such evidence of learning is corn.

Corn was—and still is—a cornerstone crop throughout the western hemisphere. That is, it is found widely and in many varieties that people have engineered for specific properties and climates. It is in many cultures’ foodways and ceremonial practices. It is also a crop that has a seemingly magical quality: it cannot self-propagate and thus would have to have been created by humans or, as many indigenous communities believe, by divine beings who shared the crop and knowledge about its growth, care, and uses with people.¹⁵ The careful cultivation of corn has laid the groundwork for the development of civilizations in the Americas for several thousand years.

Beginning with the migration story of the Arikara from the area around what is now the Gulf of Mexico to the upper Missouri River, Kroupa recounts how Mother Corn (Atná' Neéśu') was instrumental in guiding the community northward and identifying a place where they could flourish. Conceived of as a divine being, Mother Corn helped the Arikara transform themselves from a collection of wanderers to a prosperous community by showing them how to select, grow, care for, harvest, and show respect for corn. As the Arikara carried on these practices along the upper Missouri River, they thrived, creating a rich society that had highly developed forms of ceremonialism and commerce, which were grounded in their cultivation of corn. Central to this effort were women—they were the genetic engineers, the gardeners, and the teachers of proper corn cultivation. Women were, in fact, the embodiment of Mother Corn. As they worked their own crops, they, like Mother Corn, taught their daughters and nieces not only about corn's scientific and nutritional properties but also about its spiritual origins and its relationship to the community's history. The Arikara reinforced these teachings through the recounting of the community's creation stories, its ceremonial cycle with its attendant rituals, and through song.

The Mandan and Hidatsa, the Arikara's northern neighbors along the upper Missouri River, likewise developed cultural and commercial practices around corn. Much like the Arikara, the Mandan and Hidatsa established enormous caches of the grain that they used to expand and fortify extensive trade networks throughout North America's northern plains into what is now Canada. Also like the Arikara, Mandan and Hidatsa women were the primary farmers and genetic engineers, cultivating varieties of the crop that were nutritious and well-suited to the harsh climate of the region. The historian Elizabeth A. Fenn notes that the Mandan and Hidatsa corn stores were so extensive prior to widespread Anglo settlement that the storage pits at one former Mandan town, Double Ditch, could hold seventy thousand bushels of corn, enough to fill an Olympic-size swimming pool. Such vast stores spread across approximately twenty villages at the height of Mandan and Hidatsa populations in the sixteenth century near the Heart and Missouri rivers confluence suggest that the commercial power of both communities, as with the Arikara to the south, were significant as trade networks extended to present-day Oregon, California, the Gulf of Mexico, the northern Rio Grande, and throughout the Canadian interior up to Hudson Bay. And like their Arikara neighbors to the south, the Mandan and Hidatsa developed ceremonies that buttressed their knowledge of and devotion to corn, most notably through the Okipa ceremony, which was an annual four-day performance of their history.¹⁶

Corn traveled throughout the Americas and people adapted it to a wide variety of climates. One of the first things Europeans observed when they first encountered the surprisingly numerous indigenous communities in North and Central America was the abundance of those whose dietary basis was corn, coupled with beans and squash. Using indigenous sources as well as the notes and journals of European explorers, E. Lewis Sturtevant, an American medical doctor who studied the history of corn propagation for thirty years, traced the reach of corn and identified it as a bedrock influence among Native agricultural communities in the western hemisphere. Nearly all had origin stories tracing the delivery of corn to them and their learning of how to cultivate it. Evident in ceremonial and artistic renderings, the significance of corn echoed from the eastern seaboard and along the river systems of North and Central America as well as throughout the Inkan Empire in South America. A number of societies in what is now the American Southwest created elaborate irrigation systems for corn and other crops. Each adult male member of eastern Rio Grande

Pueblo Indian communities, for example, was expected to clean and maintain irrigation ditches according to the village's agricultural calendar. In order to cultivate the most abundant and nutritious crops, planting, tending, and harvesting had to happen at precisely the right times, necessitating a well-articulated calendar that was in sync with seasonal transitions. Instilling these regular patterns into the community ethos required regular ceremonial practices and leadership transitions in accordance with the calendar.

The reach of corn throughout the Americas establishes clear bodies of multigenerational learning that included genetic engineering, agronomy, ceremonial and artistic forms, commerce and diplomacy, and architecture. And much of this development occurred in ways that were symbiotic. In North America those many, many indigenous communities that farmed corn did so with companion plants. The environmental historian William Cronon writes, "It was not an agriculture that looked very orderly to a European eye accustomed to monocultural fields. Cornstalks served as beanpoles, squashes sent their tendrils everywhere, and the entire surface of the field became a dense tangle of food plants." Such a tripartite method of companion planting ranged throughout the Americas. Along the upper Missouri River in North America, communities added sunflowers to the mix; in what is now the American Southwest and Central America, melons, tomatoes, and chilis, among other plants, might be added to the garden to create plots known as milpas.¹⁷ As companion planting was used to fortify the soil, so too was fire.

From the northeast coast of North America, throughout the continent's interior and down through the Amazon River basin of South America, fire and the charcoal it produced added organic compounds to the soil to enhance crops planted by indigenous peoples. Dutch and English colonists along the Hudson River Valley and in the northern plains remarked on the regularity with which different indigenous communities used fire to create ideal habitats for game, to clear land for farming, and to create orchards. What European colonists feared and did not understand was that multiple indigenous communities had learned to use fire in ways that created conditions in which game wanted to graze, in which favored crops would flourish, and in which select trees would abound. One of the most interesting examples of this is *terra preta*, found in the Amazon River basin. *Terra preta* is soil created by smoldering organic material and mixing its charcoal residue into the soil. This process is different from swidden, or slash-and-burn, because the burning of the material for *terra preta* is incomplete, retaining the carbon in the material itself and then the soil, rather than releasing it into the air. By fixing the carbon in the soil, the soil's fertility is enhanced for at least one thousand years, possibly many, many more. In creating *terra preta*, indigenous communities were able to grow forest groves whose trees produced a wide variety of edible fruits; this in turn seemed to have encouraged sedentary settlements such that the Amazon basin was a very densely populated place. For example, Mann writes that between 200,000 and 400,000 people lived around the plateau of Santarém, about 350 miles inland from the Atlantic coast, before the fifteenth century.

Just as fire was used to enhance the soil for orchards and crops, it was used to create game parks. Throughout North America, indigenous communities used fire to create ecologies that would allow people to establish comfortable, abundant ways of life. To draw big game, such as bison, elk, and deer, to a place, people burned undergrowth to generate pastures of sweet-tasting grasses. Cronon writes that in the Northeast Woodlands, indigenous communities used fire to sculpt a mosaic of forest ecosystems in different stages of growth to attract specific game animals to harvest alongside a variety of berries and nuts from the trees those

communities planted. People across the continent used fire similarly. Much of the knowledge about using fire in ecological construction went dormant as disease and the effects of colonization overtook many Native communities. But recent scholarship in forestry, using layers of sediment, and history, using archival sources produced by Europeans in the seventeenth century, reveals that indigenous communities were systematic in their learning of how to develop environments in which they could farm and hunt. This suggests a nuanced understanding of place, with its attendant climate, flora, and fauna.¹⁸

DOCUMENTING LEARNING

As indigenous communities cultivated bodies of knowledge, they developed different ways of sharing their knowledge across generations. From the inscribed Maya stelae, or carved stone slabs, that recount the histories of different Maya leaders and communities, the Inka *quipu* that had to be read both visually and through touch, and the Hawaiian *mele*, to place names, oral tradition, and ceremony more generally, learning and education were systematically converted into forms of text that have been unfamiliar to those outside the western hemisphere and Pacific for centuries. Some types of texts, such as place names, oral tradition, and *mele*, have been accessible and knowable to their home communities; others, like the Maya codices and stelae, were deciphered only in the late twentieth century; yet others, like the Inka *quipu*, have yet to be rendered readable.

Known for their massive pyramids, stone buildings, and ball courts, the Maya created a permanent and commanding built environment that attests to their sociopolitical sophistication and movement between centralization and fractionalization, their established networks for the trade of ideas, goods, and technologies, as well as their complex notions of time, timekeeping, and writing. With this the Maya exemplified mathematical, scientific, horticultural, and sociopolitical learning for approximately 2,700 years (1800 BCE to 1600 CE, with a decline beginning in 900 CE), showing its manifestations in codices and carved stelae that document communities' histories and the buildings and monuments themselves beginning in 400 BCE. After the decline of the Maya in about 900 CE following a prolonged war between the Mayan cities of Kaan (Calakmul) and Mutal and a severe drought, residents left those cities, and the knowledge of how to read and interpret the codices and stelae disappeared. The codices and stelae, composed of pictographic glyphs, were not decoded until the 1970s and 1980s. What these texts reveal is a rich history of Mayan cities; the three interlocking Mayan calendars documenting the sacred (*tzolk'in*), the secular, and the Long Count; and mathematics. The Maya have documented knowledge creation itself.

Like their Mayan counterparts, the people of the plains in North America used pictographs to track important events through time by creating winter counts. By drawing or painting on hide each winter, different bands of Lakota, Blackfeet, Mandan, Dakota, and Kiowa peoples noted the most significant historical event of the year. The images painted or drawn function as mnemonic devices for the individual who created each winter count. That person, serving as the community's historian, could tell the story of each year, providing the context of place, of other natural phenomena, such as meteor showers, and of individual actors. Roughly one hundred winter counts are still in existence, though a number of these

are duplicates. Native Hawaiians likewise created texts that encoded their learning through *mele* performed by their community members.

Jonah La'akapu Lenchanko reveals how Hawaiian people living on the island of Oahu learned about the natural and human world around them via their *mele*. Through an interactive process of consultation with present-day Native Hawaiian scientists, archaeological studies, and archival newspapers created by Native Hawaiian scholars in the nineteenth century, and with an exegesis of Hawaiian *mele* and their possible meanings, Lenchanko demonstrates that Hawaiians systematically built scientific knowledge around and through their historical and day-to-day experiences on the islands and in the sea. The *mele* resemble a series of layered concordances of a sort. Not only do they trace the histories of Hawaiian ancestors and spiritual beings; they document the scientific knowledge about geology, celestial bodies, time, land management, hydrology, and ocean travel. Learning the knowledge that is compressed within these chants requires a specific and substantive education with particular pedagogical approaches that include observation, listening, reflection, and questioning to ensure students' proper understanding of a set of knowledge and the disciplined and respectful use of students' minds.¹⁹ Learning was a performance that demonstrated specialized forms of knowledge and personal growth.

Different types of performance likewise conveyed the learning. For the Mandan along the upper Missouri and Heart rivers in the plains of what is now North Dakota, the Okipa ceremony, performed each summer, recounted the community's history, affirmed its place in the world, and renewed the Okipa Maker's commitments to the Mandan village of which he was a part. The four-day ceremony required a year's worth of preparation and followed a specifically sequenced historical performance, beginning with a call of young men to the ceremony and culminating on the fourth day with several young men enduring a physically painful and exhausting demonstration of personal sacrifice, suspending their bodies from the beams of an earth lodge by loops of skin cut into their chests, with bison skulls hung from similar loops of skin cut into their backs, arms, and legs. By repeating this ceremony on an annual basis, individual members of the community were able to participate in different roles. As the people performed their understanding of their community's history and commitment to its values and expectations, individuals and the community at large performed a collective educative text that was permeated with learning, a shared experience of place, and a shared emotional and physical experience that bound the people together. Such a "ritually performed knowledge," as the ethnographer David Delgado Shorter calls it, is common to many indigenous communities throughout the Americas and is, in fact, a form of historical discourse that follows spatial contours and performative forms that adhere through the generations, creating texts that can be read and interpreted. As Kroupa notes, one of the most robust markers of an indigenous community's commitments to education is ceremony and its capacity to project, amplify, and affirm that community's worldview.

Ceremony and place are thus educative mnemonic reminders and elucidators of the past with its human, spiritual, and animal actors. Like the performance of a ceremony, place-making is inscriptive, though it does not necessarily appear in written form. The stories that emerge from the act of place-making, a description of the outward features of a place that invoke the story of what happened there and the learning that followed, become evidence of a sense of historicity and a code of morality to which the community that names a place subscribes. Place-making is a way for present people to imagine, or "place," themselves in the past as they see how an event unfolded as they envision the place where it happened.

Place-making likewise prompts people to notice change over time through changes in the landscape and weather patterns if the name of the place no longer describes its outward appearance. Place-making is making history, and place-making begets learning.²⁰

DIRECTIONS FOR RESEARCH

The western hemisphere and Pacific were populous, educated places before Europeans began their widespread colonization efforts in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. There have been many different ways of living in, learning about, transforming, and making sense of this world. The examples presented here capture only snippets of that learning and only suggest the depth and breadth to which it was systematized. For education historians, this presents an opportunity that the centuries-long colonization enterprise has masked: we can study past peoples' learning and systematic education endeavors by following multiple types of evidence of education. This may mean that we learn about the soil science and forestry of a geographic region and triangulate that research with archaeological findings, oral traditions, place names, and archival sources to understand how people who lived in that place learned and conceptualized the world around them. More fundamentally, it requires that we take seriously the premise that education manifests in many different ways, including those we might not yet recognize. This means in turn that we examine, as texts, that which is performed through ceremony or story or chant, is pictographic, and is written. Learning to interpret such texts requires a curiosity and humility that undergird modes of inquiry that are inclusive of how different communities have come to know the world around them. We have a lot of good work to do.

NOTES

1. Jack W. Brink, *Imagining Head-Smashed-In: Aboriginal Buffalo Hunting on the Northern Plains* (Edmonton, Alberta: Athabasca University Press, 2008).
2. Nancy Shoemaker, "Categories," in *Clearing a Path: Theorizing the Past in Native American Studies*, ed. Nancy Shoemaker (New York: Routledge, 2002), 56. For an elaboration on this notion, see the special issue of *History of Education Quarterly* (volume 54, issue 3, 2014) on American Indian education history.
3. As the science writer Charles C. Mann has framed it, "Disease claimed the lives of 80 to 100 million Indians by the first third of the seventeenth century." Charles C. Mann, *1491: New Revelations of the Americas before Columbus*, 2nd edition (New York: Vintage Books, 2011), 108; Nēpia Mahuika, "New Zealand History Is Maori History: Tikanga as the Ethical Foundation of Historical Scholarship in Aotearoa New Zealand," *New Zealand Journal of History* 49, no. 1 (April 2015): 5.
4. Keith H. Basso, "Stalking with Stories," in *Schooling the Symbolic Animal: Social and Cultural Dimensions of Education*, ed. Bradley A. U. Levinson (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), 41–52; Keith H. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 6; Vine Deloria Jr., *God Is Red: A Native View of Religion*, 2nd edition (Golden, CO: Fulcrum, 1992), 70, 122; Donald Lee Fixico, *The American Indian Mind in a Linear World: American Indian Studies and Traditional Knowledge* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 25.

5. KuuNūx TeeRit Kroupa, "Education as Arikara Spiritual Renewal and Cultural Evolution," *History of Education Quarterly* 54, no. 3 (August 1, 2014): 303–322, doi:10.1111/hoeq.12069; Brink, *Imagining Head-Smashed-In*, 19; Jonah La'akapu Lenchanko, "Kūkaniloko: A Hālau of Ākeaakamai of Kāne," M.A. thesis, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, 2015, <http://search.proquest.com.weblib.lib.umt.edu:8080/docview/1712662588/abstract/6593414940184A10PQ/1>; David J. Meltzer, *First Peoples in a New World: Colonizing Ice Age America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 231; Mann, 1491.
6. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places*, 68, 106, 109; Meltzer, *First Peoples in a New World*, 231.
7. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places*, 127, 145–146; Deloria, *God Is Red*, 72–73, 122; Lenchanko, "Kūkaniloko"; Manuali Aluli Meyer, "Indigenous and Authentic," in *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies*, ed. Norman K. Denzin, Yvonna S. Lincoln, and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2008), 217–232.
8. Charles F. Lummis, "Doctor Field-Mouse," *St. Nicholas: An Illustrated Magazine for Young Folks*, 1894. For additional examples of how indigenous communities used their extensive knowledge of place in surviving European colonization, see Andrew Cowell and Paul Moss, eds., *Hinono'einoōzitoono: Arapaho Historical Traditions, Told by Paul Moss* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2001); Rebecca Solnit, *River of Shadows: Eadweard Muybridge and the Technological Wild West* (New York: Penguin Books, 2003), 103–113.
9. Brink, *Imagining Head-Smashed-In*, 12–19, 32, 37–39, 40–42, 60–70, 86–89, 103–178, 179–194; Meltzer, *First Peoples in a New World*, 231.
10. Mann, 1491, 295–304, 310–311.
11. Edward P. Dozier, *Hano: A Tewa Indian Community in Arizona* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), 127–132; Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert, *Education beyond the Mesas: Hopi Students at Sherman Institute, 1902–1929* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), 109; Adrea Lawrence, *Lessons from an Indian Day School: Negotiating Colonization in Northern New Mexico, 1902–1907* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2011), 27–28; Peter Nabokov and Robert Easton, *Native American Architecture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 367–409; Albert Yava, "We Want to Tell You Something," in *Native American Testimony: A Chronicle of Indian-White Relations from Prophecy to the Present, 1492–2000*, ed. Peter Nabokov (New York: Penguin Books, 1999), 246–252; Mann, 1491, 258, 273.
12. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places*, 5–6, 23–24, 29–30, 47.
13. Malcolm Nāea Chun, *A'o Educational Traditions*, Ka Wana Series (Honolulu: Curriculum Research & Development Group, University of Hawai'i, 2006); Lenchanko, "Kūkaniloko"; Meltzer, *First Peoples in a New World*, 223.
14. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places*, 127.
15. Mann, 1491, 220–223, 367.
16. Kroupa, "Education as Arikara Spiritual Renewal and Cultural Evolution," 306, 310–318; Elizabeth A. Fenn, *Encounters at the Heart of the World: A History of the Mandan People* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2014), 19, 25, 99–101, 234. For equivalencies, see "The Measure of Things," *Bluebulb Projects*, accessed November 21, 2016, <http://www.bluebulbprojects.com/MeasureOfThings/default.php>.
17. William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*, revised edition (New York: Hill and Wang, 2003), 34–35, 43–46; Fenn, *Encounters at the Heart of the World*, 62–63; E. Lewis Sturtevant, "Indian Corn and the Indian," *American Naturalist* 19, no. 3 (March 1, 1885): 225–234; C. S. Plumb, "Edward Lewis Sturtevant: A Biographical Sketch," *Missouri Botanical Garden Annual Report* (1899): 71–84, doi:10.2307/2992167; Edward P. Dozier, *The Pueblo Indians of North America* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), 127–129; A. Ortiz, *The Tewa World: Space, Time, Being, and Becoming in a Pueblo Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 32–34, 89–90, 106, 165–166n4; Joe S. Sando, *Pueblo Nations: Eight Centuries of Pueblo Indian History* (Santa Fe, NM: Clear Light, 1992), 23–25, 35–37, 43; Gilbert L. Wilson, trans., *Buffalo Bird Woman's Garden* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1987); Mann, 1491, 225.

18. Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, 48–53; Mann, 1491, 283–287, 355–359; C. Steiner, W. G. Teixeira, W. I. Woods, W. Zech, “Indigenous Knowledge about Terra Preta Formation,” in *Amazonian Dark Earths: Explorations in Space and Time*, ed. W. I. Woods (Berlin: Springer Science + Business Media, 2004), 193–204.
19. Mann, 1491, 280, 316; Dennis Tedlock, trans., *Popol Vuh: The Definitive Edition of the Mayan Book of the Dawn of Life and the Glories of Gods and Kings* (New York: Touchstone, 1996); Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History and National Anthropological Archives, “Lakota Winter Counts: An Online Exhibit,” n.d., <https://americanindian.si.edu/exhibitions/horsenation/wintercount.html>; Tanis Thorne, “Anderson Wintercount,” accessed December 7, 2016, <http://faculty.humanities.uci.edu/tcthorne/wintercount/>; Chun, *A’o Educational Traditions*; Lenchanko, “Kūkaniloko.”
20. Fenn, *Encounters at the Heart of the World*, 100–101, 120–130; David Delgado Shorter, *We Will Dance Our Truth: Yaqui History in Yoeme Performances* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 207; Kroupa, “Education as Arikara Spiritual Renewal and Cultural Evolution,” 315–318; Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places*, 4–7, 13.

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PART III

THE RISE OF
NATIONAL
EDUCATION
SYSTEMS

CHAPTER 9

NATIONAL EDUCATION SYSTEMS

Europe

JAMES C. ALBISETTI

COMPARING maps of Europe in 1815 and 2015 makes very clear that the Old World has been anything but a stable place. Some states disappeared during the creation of the Kingdom of Italy and the German Empire between 1859 and 1871, but many more new ones have emerged. In the north and west, Belgium, Luxemburg, and Norway gained independence between 1831 and 1905, and Ireland did so after World War I. As the Ottoman Empire slowly lost control of the Balkan Peninsula, Greece, Serbia, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Albania also emerged before 1914. The collapse of Tsarist Russia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire as a result of the war brought restoration of a united Poland after a century and a quarter of division, plus independence for Finland, the three Baltic states, Czechoslovakia, rump Austria, a smaller Hungary, and Yugoslavia (centered on Serbia). After the Nazis' attempt to recast the map of Europe, their defeat in World War II brought reabsorption of the Baltic states by the Soviets, movement of Poland to the west, and a divided Germany, where the Allied Control Commission dissolved the leading state of Prussia in 1947. On the southern fringe of the continent, both Malta and Cyprus gained independence in the 1960s as part of the broader process of decolonization. The collapse of the Soviet Union around 1990 brought renewed independence to the Baltic states, as well as newfound freedom for Belarus, Ukraine, and several Eurasian entities such as Georgia and Armenia. With the disintegration of Yugoslavia, five states emerged. In 2014 Russia took Crimea away from Ukraine, and Scotland voted on but rejected independence. In light of this complex history of nations appearing and disappearing, to speak of a single "European" educational history over the past two centuries is a gross simplification.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

To discuss education as either "national" or a "system" before 1815 makes little sense. Educational institutions in Western and Central Europe, mostly associated with the Catholic

Church, date back to the Middle Ages. The Protestant Reformation and the translation of the Bible into vernacular languages led to increased interest in education in some areas; by the eighteenth century, Protestant Sweden, Scotland, and parts of Germany stood out for high relative levels of literacy. The Counter-Reformation, however, saw the rise of Catholic teaching orders—the most prominent being the Jesuits for secondary schools for boys, the Ursuline nuns for elite girls' schools, and the Christian Brothers for lower-level education. Yet not until the nineteenth century did anything approaching national school "systems" emerge and children of a certain age range become "schoolchildren."

Getting many children to attend school, much less to do so on a regular basis for an extended period, was a difficult and contested process. Parents who had not attended school themselves often questioned the need for their children to do so. Even willing parents might be unable to pay for the tuition that many elementary schools charged in the early nineteenth century, or they might need their children's work in the fields or at home or their wages from outside employment. The rhythms of agrarian life often limited the length of the school year or took pupils out of class for extended periods.

Just as many plantation owners in the southern United States believed that educating their slaves would be dangerous, many members of European political, social, and religious elites also viewed mass literacy as a potential threat. The vibrant press of the French Revolution, as well as radical contemporary groups such as the London Corresponding Society, demonstrated for many the dangers of educating the wrong people. For many clerics, even rudimentary scientific literacy could serve to undermine faith. As late as 1872 the Jesuit journal *Civiltà Cattolica* could argue, "To live a virtuous life, literacy is not necessary."¹ Despite the widespread opinion that Prussian elementary instruction contributed significantly to victories over Austria in 1866 and France in 1870, Dmitri Tolstoi, Russian minister of education during the 1860s and 1870s, stressed "the political dangers of education" more than "its political uses." Only after Russia's defeat in the Russo-Japanese War and the subsequent revolution could the reformer Sergei Witte argue that "education foment social revolution, but popular ignorance loses wars."²

Faced with obscurantists, advocates of expanded education could easily see their work as a battle of enlightenment against ignorance and superstition, especially in areas like the former Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, where a large majority of the population had never attended school as of 1861. Leaders of workers' movements in the nineteenth century certainly preferred education to ignorance, as illustrated by the famous slogan popularized by the German Wilhelm Liebknecht, "Knowledge is power."

Most historians during the first two-thirds of the twentieth century tended to echo this general perception of the beneficence of expanded schooling, even if they criticized certain curricula or policies. From the late 1960s onward, however, more critical scholars interpreted primary schooling as a means of disciplining youngsters to live by the clock, to behave, and to accept the social and political order. In a classic formulation dealing with industrializing England, Richard Johnson argues, "The early Victorian obsession with the education of the poor is best understood as a concern about authority, about power, about the assertion (or the re-assertion?) of control."³ This emphasis on social control was a useful corrective to overly rosy views of nineteenth-century schooling, even if in the case of England many factory owners resisted having their youngest employees undergo the disciplining experience of school.

For much of the century religion served as the main means for inculcating obedience and respect for the social status quo, although lessons in simplified "political economy" also

came into play in more industrialized parts of Europe. Nationalism or patriotism played virtually no role to begin with. As Stephen Harp noted in a fascinating study of Alsace-Lorraine under the rule of France, then Germany, then France again, "Before 1850 or so a 'good' school did not need to teach the national language, history, and geography, and the teacher did not necessarily need to speak the national language, much less play the role of a loyal patriot."⁴ By 1900 this was no longer true; republican France, monarchical Germany, and imperial Great Britain all stressed patriotism as a tool of social cohesion and political loyalty. In a multiethnic country such as the Austro-Hungarian Empire, of course, the spread of primary education in the native languages of ethnic minorities such as the Czechs served to dissolve one loyalty in favor of another.

Decrees establishing—on paper—compulsory schooling appeared in Prussia and Austria by the mid-1700s. Newly independent Greece in 1834 and Bulgaria in its initial constitution of 1879 also imposed compulsion. In all cases, though, many decades passed before reality approached this aspiration. Other countries focused on requiring towns of a certain size to build schools, without mandating attendance. This occurred in Spain with the short-lived constitution of 1812, in France under the Guizot Law of 1833 (for boys) and the Falloux Law of 1850 (for girls), in Sweden with a law passed in 1842, and in Piedmont with the Casati Law of 1857 (which soon was extended to the rest of Italy, where in many areas it remained a dead letter for decades). Even the English Education of Act of 1870 focused on gaps in the provision of schooling by the Anglican Church and Dissenters without demanding that parents send their children; compulsion came a decade later, eight years after it became the law in Scotland. Ireland did not mandate attendance until 1927.

Whether or not schooling was compulsory, its prescribed length varied widely. As of the 1850s Bavaria had the unusual situation of Catholic children attending for six years until first communion, Protestants for seven until confirmation. When Scotland absorbed rural parish schools into a public system in 1872, it mandated attendance from age six to twelve, similar to most English, French, Dutch, and German schools at the time. The Moyano Law, which introduced compulsion to Spain in 1857, prescribed just three years to age nine; so did the Coppino Law of 1877 in Italy, although in urban areas schools might offer two more years. Tsarist Russia never had compulsory schooling for the whole country; urban schools generally offered six years by the 1860s, but the scattered rural institutions had only three, with the unusual starting age of eight. Portugal also had only three years of compulsory instruction as of 1911.

Around 1900, levels of school attendance and literacy varied significantly across Europe, and in some cases within individual countries. In most places women trailed men in literacy, although by the turn of the century more than 95 percent of women in Prussia, Scotland, England, and France could read. The south and east lagged far behind in both literacy and school attendance.⁵ In Piedmont in northern Italy, literacy approached 90 percent on the eve of World War I, but Calabria in the south hovered near 30 percent. Perhaps as many as 50 percent of all Russian children attended school by then, but many of them did not finish the three-year course. Around 30 percent of the age group appears to have attended at any given time.

Early in the century, increased school attendance in combination with shortages of teachers and of funds to train and/or hire more led to pedagogical experimentation. The Christian Brothers used a system of hand signals and instructions to manage large classes. More common was the Bell-Lancaster method, or "monitorial" teaching, where a single adult managed huge classes by having older children instruct the younger. This method proved

popular not only in England but also in the nondenominational schools established in Ireland by the Kildare Society, in France, in Spain, in Greece after 1830, and in Bulgaria several decades before it gained its independence. A recent study by Marcelo Caruso emphasizes how German teachers, devoted to educating the mind (*Geist*) rather than simply imparting skills, showed very strong resistance to the Bell-Lancaster method.

Increased numbers of teachers as well as discontent with the results of monitorial instruction led to its rapid decline. Many countries began training and certification of teachers during the first half of the nineteenth century. In most places programs for males preceded those for females, especially in Catholic areas, where nuns ran many girls' schools. Throughout Europe, however, one can trace a rise in women primary teachers across the nineteenth century. As I pointed out over twenty years ago, however, a process often described by historians in very similar terms "produced markedly different levels of feminization."⁶ Around 1900 men still supplied 79 percent of primary teachers in Germany; Denmark, Austria, and Switzerland were not far behind. In contrast, women made up from 66 percent to 75 percent of such teachers in England, Sweden, Italy, and Russia, four very different places in terms of politics, economies, and religion.

Countries with a fairly even gender divide among teachers—France, Belgium, Spain, and Portugal—insisted most strongly that children learn from members of their own sex. The need for secular women teachers for girls, in fact, led France to allow married women to continue working, a very unusual policy. In Germany, Protestant areas of the Netherlands, and Scandinavia men clearly taught many girls, especially in the small, one- or two-room rural schools that had to be mixed; women got positions teaching girls in larger towns with separate schools. Women could teach boys in Russia and Italy not only because there were few men attracted to teaching but also because schooling ended at such a young age. In a similar fashion, English women worked in "junior" but not in "senior" departments for boys.

Churches remained central to most nineteenth-century primary education. Nearly everywhere priests and/or pastors played important roles in supervising and inspecting the schools. In the wake of the revolutions of 1848–1849, the Falloux Law in France, the so-called Stiehl Regulations of 1854 regarding the training and disciplining of teachers in Prussia, and the concordat with the Vatican signed by the Austrian Empire in 1855, all strengthened the ties of schools and churches.

Among predominantly Catholic countries, Ireland, where the Church was so tied up in national resistance to British "colonialism," stands out for not having a significant anticlerical movement. The Kingdom of Italy and the French Third Republic, in contrast, had long and bitter struggles after 1860 and 1880, respectively, to lessen or eliminate the role of the Church in the schools. A liberal political victory in Belgium in 1878 led to similar efforts, including abandonment of religious instruction and increased attention to science, but a conservative rebound in 1884 reversed these changes. Somewhat later the Portuguese Republic of 1911 and the Spanish Republic of 1931 dropped religious instruction from primary schools, only to have it restored under the dictators Antonio Salazar and Francisco Franco.

Religiously mixed countries had different issues. In much of Germany, public primary schools could be either Protestant or Catholic; the major exception was the small Duchy of Nassau, which from its creation in the Napoleonic era mixed the denominations in *Simultanschulen*. For decades England never found a similar solution to the conflicts between Anglicans and Dissenters, whose voluntary societies provided most funding for primary education until after 1870. For much of the nineteenth century the Netherlands

had secular public schools and private religious ones, both Protestant and Catholic; only with the new constitution of 1917 and subsequent legislation did all three receive equal public funding.

SECONDARY SCHOOLING FOR BOYS

Nowhere in nineteenth-century Europe did either authorities or parents view secondary schools as part of an educational ladder, appropriate for all or most members of a certain age group. On the contrary, secondary education was explicitly for the elite, often less than 10 percent of the age group. Even if it began somewhere between ages ten and twelve, most of its pupils did not come from public elementary schools but rather from separate classes, often attached to the higher-level institutions. In general, with Sweden being a main exception, secondary schools charged high tuition. Yet they also received some funding from the state because they served to prepare future professionals and civil servants for university study.

As with primary schooling, so with secondary there were continuities with earlier centuries; Winchester and Eton colleges in England, for example, dated to the 1300s and 1400s, respectively. The dissolution of the Jesuit order by the pope in 1773 did not destroy the notion of Catholic classical schools; many of their institutions continued under other orders. Yet developments in the early nineteenth century, with France and Prussia in the lead, clarified the previously vague boundary between secondary and higher education and set the stage for the emergence of national systems.

In early modern European universities, the philosophical faculties had usually served as a preparatory program for the “professional” faculties of theology, medicine, and law. The new French *lycées* established under Napoleon’s rule, though, shifted the “philosophy year” to the final year of secondary education, establishing the *baccalauréat* as the secondary diploma rather than as a preliminary university degree (although the broadly defined “university” in France granted it). As the *lycées* developed, they had a seven-year program beginning around age eleven or twelve, with significant emphasis on Latin, Greek, and mathematics. Municipally funded *collèges* might have shorter programs, with more optional tracks for boys aiming at business or technical careers. A peculiarity of the French system was the existence of an additional two or three years of classes at a handful of *lycées* to prepare young men for the competitive entrance examinations to the elite *École polytechnique* and the *École normale supérieure*.

Prussia had established a leaving certificate, the *Abitur*, in 1787, but it was a revision in 1812, along with a recommended curriculum for what was called the *Gymnasium*, that set the stage for later developments. By 1832 the classical *Abitur* became the sole means of qualifying for university matriculation. The *Gymnasium* had a nine-year curriculum beginning around age ten, after three or four years of primary instruction. The curriculum emphasized the same subjects as did the *lycée*, with somewhat more natural science and usually one modern language.

The Prussian model gradually triumphed in other German states, in large measure because mutual recognition of diplomas was necessary for university students to matriculate in other states. Only after 1848 did the Austrian Empire import several Prussian bureaucrats to oversee extending the classical schools there from six to eight years, introducing a common

diploma known as the *Matura*, and converting the philosophical faculties from preparatory programs to a research orientation such as had triumphed during the first half of the century in Prussia. The *Gymnasium* also had significant influence in Russia (where a seven-year course was the rule from 1864, extended to eight in 1871), the Netherlands, and the Scandinavian countries. Among the latter Sweden moved to a national diploma in 1864, Norway in 1883.

In contrast, the French *lycée* found imitation in the Belgium *athénée*, in postindependence Bulgaria, and in shortened form in the Iberian countries. Spain, in fact, ended its *liceo* at age fourteen and offered just two years of Latin and no Greek after 1867. The *bachillerato* thus did not qualify graduates for university study. Italy managed to combine the terminology of the two pioneering countries, with a lower-level four-year secondary course called the *ginnasio* and a three-year upper-level known as the *liceo*.

In a certain sense, all these classical secondary schools focused on boys who intended to graduate and go on to university studies. Yet throughout the continent more pupils left early than graduated, with France standing out for the large numbers who completed the course but then failed the *baccalauréat*. The two-cycle approach in Italy provided a convenient early stopping point, as did the Portuguese division of the *liceu* into a three- and a two-year cycle. Prussia allowed smaller towns to establish incomplete *Progymnasien* with a six- or seven-year program; within the *Gymnasium* itself a clear dividing point after six years also proved a convenient time to depart with certain privileges, including to serve as a "one-year volunteer" in the army rather than as a three-year draftee. Russia also introduced a *Progymnasium* in 1864.

From early in the century, many parents and municipal officials wanted forms of secondary education different from the long classical course. Prussia and other German states saw the development of "higher burgher schools" and *Realschulen* beginning in the 1830s and 1840s, providing more instruction in modern languages and science; by the end of the century these would evolve to include full nine-year *Realgymnasien* (with Latin but not Greek) and *Oberrealschulen* (with no ancient languages), as well as shorter forms of each. Graduates of the more modern forms gradually gained access to increasing fields of higher education, especially in the wake of a major school conference in 1900.

Sweden began exempting some *Gymnasium* pupils from Latin as early as 1831. The Netherlands established its own "higher burgher schools" in 1863. Russia's first *Realgymnasien* date to the 1860s; their graduates won access to technical colleges in 1872 but never to the universities. To compensate, Greek virtually disappeared from the Russian *Gymnasium* by 1914 to accommodate the scientific instruction needed to prepare medical and science students. Austria had *Realschulen* in its core lands from the 1860s and in Galicia from the 1870s; Austrian *Realgymnasien* that gave pupils access to the universities came only in 1908. United Italy had a modern track of "technical schools" and "technical institutes" that prepared students for higher education in sciences and technical fields. France pursued various options over the years, beginning in 1852 with a "bifurcation" of the *lycée* after two years into classical and scientific versions. After this proved unsatisfactory, a new minister of education created a shorter modern track known as "special secondary"; then around 1890 it transformed into "modern secondary education." In the first years of the twentieth century France imitated Prussia and opened higher education to all versions of the *baccalauréat*. Sweden also possessed complete classical, semiclassical, and modern tracks as of 1905.

The most controversial thesis about the creation of alternative forms of secondary schooling beside the classical came from education professor Detlef Müller. In an English summary of a long German book, he argued that in late nineteenth-century Prussia “a permanent structural change took place, the effect of which, briefly, was to replace a system which promoted social mobility and involved educating school children in socially heterogeneous groups by types of schools designed to reproduce specific classes and social groups.”⁷⁷ Whether pupils who dropped out of a *Gymnasium* after the completion of compulsory schooling or who took six years of unwanted classical languages truly had the kind of experience later associated with the term “comprehensive school” is doubtful. The significant surge in enrollments in the modern tracks after 1900 illustrates the eagerness of many boys and their parents to escape a classical curriculum forced on them if they were unwilling to foreclose any chance of university study. France, in contrast, did not see a similar surge in its modern language and sciences tracks after 1902.

Great Britain stands apart with regard to boys’ secondary education in the nineteenth century. Scottish burgh schools had always kept a portion of their pupils, including girls, past the period of compulsory schooling until around age fifteen. Universities took in teenage boys with comparatively little schooling; thus the first years of study continued to provide what other countries had moved to upper-level secondary education. A leaving certificate for a longer program similar to continental models was introduced only in 1888 and became a requirement for matriculation only in the 1920s.

England differed from the continent in other ways but also witnessed important reforms in the early nineteenth century. Although the nine leading “public” schools all looked back on several hundred years of existence, they often appeared to contemporaries as rowdy vestiges of former aristocratic and gentry institutions. The most influential reformer was Thomas Arnold, headmaster of Rugby School from 1828 until 1842. He aimed at a much greater devotion to Christian morality, gentlemanly conduct, and academic achievement—although in comparison to most continental schools, scholarship was the least important feature. His assistants and disciples moved to other leading schools; consequently the public school model of an education for an imperial upper-middle class colonized newer institutions, whether boarding or day schools.

John Honey has pointed out that the very word “school,” when applied to English secondary education, “needs to be carefully distinguished from . . . the use of the word in the context of French and German society in the late nineteenth century, or indeed since.”⁷⁸ The English “school” was a more encompassing institution, touching all aspects of a boy’s life in ways that continental day schools did not. The “house” system with prefects, the rise of competitive sports, and “old-boy” networks distinguished English school life. In academic terms, the public schools taught almost no science, little mathematics, and fewer modern languages than did the *Gymnasium* or the *lycée*. They prepared for no common graduation examination but rather for numerous different competitions for places and scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge, which themselves largely continued the kind of instruction that had moved to the upper grades of secondary schools on the continent.

No structured modern track emerged in England. Some local grammar schools certainly did not offer the full dose of classics available at the public schools, but they did not have the political backing that some modern schools on the continent did. The Education Act of 1902 established the power to make government grants to secondary schools and the Local Education Authorities, but it resulted in reinforcing the role of the classics. As of 1912, 183

grant-aided schools taught both ancient languages, 574 taught Latin, and only 128 had a fully modern curriculum.

SECONDARY EDUCATION FOR GIRLS

For at least the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century, almost no one argued that girls should have the same type of secondary education as boys. With very few exceptions, they could not attend universities or find positions in the civil service, so they had no need for the classical curriculum. Their “natural calling” was to be wives and mothers, yet they also needed to be raised to fulfill these tasks in life. More so than with sons, most upper-class parents feared any possible “contamination” of their daughters through contact with lower-class children. Many girls were educated largely at home, with perhaps a few years at a small “finishing school” or *Pensionnat*. Where there were girls’ higher schools, they often included the primary years to prevent such contact. Convent schools often carried this social isolation to an extreme.

Monarchs founded some of the first significant advanced schools for girls to serve special elite groups. This was the case with the Institutes for Noble Girls established by Catherine the Great of Russia in the 1760s and both the Officers’ Daughters Boarding School and the Civil Servants’ Daughters’ School in Vienna, founded in the next two decades by Joseph II of Austria. In the early nineteenth century Napoleon set up several schools for daughters of winners of the Legion of Honor, and King Frederick William III of Prussia established the Luise Foundation, named after his late wife, to train impoverished daughters of the aristocracy as governesses.

Schools for a broader clientele founded in the first half of the century were usually private ventures, although some German cities also established municipal higher schools for girls. Few extended past the age of fifteen or sixteen; they taught no ancient languages and less mathematics and science than did boys’ schools. Most offered one or more modern foreign languages, better training in the native language and literature than boys received, and domestic skills; “extras” such as music lessons often meant additional fees.

The first national effort to systematize girls’ secondary schooling came in Russia in 1858, as part of the reform era under Tsar Alexander II. The Ministry of Education created two types, a three-year and a six-year version, open to girls of all social classes but in reality for the wealthier strata. As of 1870 these received the names *Progymnasium* and *Gymnasium*, even though their curricula did not match boys’ schools with the same names. At that time, the longer course became seven years, with an eighth for pedagogical training that qualified graduates to teach in the lower grades of these schools. These schools grew so much after the turn of the century that girls outnumbered boys in secondary education. With the near abandonment of Greek by boys’ *Gymnasien*, girls received equal curricula with boys as of 1916.

In France in 1880, legislation named for its proposer, the Loi Camille Sée, established a system of girls’ *lycées* that were shorter in length and less rigorous in curriculum than the boys’ schools. The main motivation was not academic but political, to remove the daughters and future wives of republican males from Church schools. The French schools grew much more slowly than the Russian. In 1880 as well a special normal school was founded at Sèvres

near Paris to train women to teach in these new schools—competition with the convents did not mean abandoning the practice of girls' education being supervised and taught by women.

A crucial model for the French schools was a path-breaking secular girls' school founded in Brussels in the mid-1860s by Isabelle Gatti de Gamond. At the national level Belgium followed the French example in 1881, but the new girls' *athénées* were more modest than Gatti's institution, lasting only from ages twelve to fifteen. They were even less successful than the girls' *lycées* in attracting the desired clientele.

Catholic Italy, Spain, and Portugal all refrained from spending money to create unpopular schools; so around 1880 all three began letting a handful of girls into boys' schools, despite the general Catholic hostility to coeducation. A similar solution for expanding girls' opportunities had been proposed without success by female activists in Germany, Austria, and England around 1870. In the Netherlands, though, which developed a limited number of "girls' middle schools" beginning in the 1860s, ten girls got permission in 1871 to enroll in boys' secondary schools. By 1900 one-third of Dutch girls who received secondary schooling did so in a coeducational setting, with only male teachers.

Male teachers dominated girls' secondary schools in Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Germany, at least in those run by cities or states. In the British Isles some advanced schools for girls, such as Queen's College in London and Alexandra College in Dublin, also had heavily male faculties. The network of schools established from the early 1870s by the Girls' Public Day School Company, as well as the handful of boarding schools such as Roedean and St. Leonard's that emerged late in the century, had only female teachers.

The question of admitting women to the secondary diplomas necessary for university entrance in most countries aroused much controversy. After Julie Daubié convinced authorities in Lyon that no law barred women from the *baccalauréat*, she passed that exam in 1861 at the age of thirty-seven. Other French women followed intermittently but without any way to prepare other than privately. The same situation prevailed in Austria after women gained access to the *Matura* in 1872. After 1874 a few Swedish girls' schools obtained permission to offer the diploma themselves if they matched the boys' curriculum; the same thing occurred in Denmark in 1886. Privately run courses to prepare girls for the *Matura* opened in Prague, Vienna, and Cracow between 1890 and 1896; in Germany, similar schools leading to the *Abitur* began in Berlin, Karlsruhe, and Leipzig in 1893–1894. Private schools in Paris, not the girls' *lycées*, offered the first preparatory courses for the *baccalauréat* around 1900.

THE ERA OF THE TWO WORLD WARS

The years from 1914 to 1945 in Europe evoke images of war, dictatorship, and depression much more than they do educational reform. All three phenomena caused disruptions to school attendance, teaching staffs, and curricula; the Second World War brought wholesale evacuations of pupils and massive destruction of facilities in more areas than had the First.

The most significant structural changes to education in this era came in the Soviet Union, which established the ideal of a nine-year common school from ages eight to seventeen, which was to be free and coeducational and to teach neither religion nor ancient languages. Enrollments beyond the basic elementary level soared twenty-five-fold from 1913 to 1939.

Yet not until 1930 did the Soviets decree compulsory education from eight to eleven, a goal nearly achieved by 1939. In the depths of World War II, the starting age for elementary school also dropped to seven, but with the intention of lowering the leaving age accordingly. Stalin's regime also partially reversed course on coeducation, introducing single-sex secondary schools in larger cities in 1943. Soviet authorities justified the abandonment of secondary coeducation in terms of "improvements in classroom order, pupil conduct, and academic achievement" rather than any intention to alter gender relations.⁹

Newly independent Poland eliminated private elementary classes attached to secondary schools, but beyond that it retained the alternative classical, semiclassical, and modern tracks inherited from its earlier rulers. Czechoslovakia stressed gender equality more vigorously, including taking over many formerly private single-sex secondary schools and converting them to coeducational institutions. In both countries, German-speaking populations reacted negatively to their new status as an ethnic minority in school systems and elsewhere.

The constitution of the Weimar Republic in Germany, where Social Democrats had a role in policymaking for the first time, called for a four-year common school for all, the same change as in Poland. It also stated that mixed-denomination *Simultanschulen* should be the norm, with confessional or secular schools as exceptions, but previous practices in this area tended to persist. Further attempts at democratization included a second "modern" secondary track with greater emphasis on German language, literature, and history, as well as a school that provided a special path to an *Abitur* for children who stayed in the elementary schools through age fourteen.

The Nazi regime retained some of this democratic spirit in its hostility to old elites and their schools. Yet it also introduced mass dismissals of teachers on racial and political grounds, corrupted curricula in fields from biology and history to mathematics, and tried to turn back the clock on girls' schooling through establishment of a home economics track leading to what was quickly dubbed the *Puddingabitur*. The extensive participation demanded of members of the Hitler Youth and League of German Girls seriously disrupted the schools even before 1939.

A brief period of Social Democratic dominance in rump Austria produced an attempt to introduce secondary coeducation, but this was quickly reversed. As most girls' secondary schools adopted the curriculum of the *Realgymnasium*, however, only the original Vienna girls' *Gymnasium* remained, which meant that four times as many girls studied the classical curriculum in mixed schools as in single-sex ones. After the *Anschluss* of 1938, Austria became part of Nazi Germany and adopted its educational policies.

France witnessed no change of regime after World War I, and no immediate educational reforms took place. In 1924, though, the Bérard Law introduced identical curricula for boys' and girls' secondary schools while still discouraging coeducation. The limited diffusion of girls' schools nonetheless led to 17 percent of girls in secondary schooling as of 1939 being at "boys'" schools. A more important push for democratization involved dropping tuition for secondary schools, beginning with the class that entered in 1930. Only under the Socialist-led Popular Front government of 1936 did France abolish private elementary classes attached to *lycées*, a step reversed under the Vichy regime of the early 1940s. Yet that wartime government also upgraded what had been higher primary schools into *collèges modernes*, beginning the kind of "mission creep" that *enseignement secondaire spéciale* had undergone in the later nineteenth century.

The British Isles also witnessed important changes. As Tom O'Donoghue has written, following independence "Ireland was one of the few countries where the Church was satisfied with the school system, particularly in secondary education."¹⁰ Scotland introduced free secondary education for all who could profit from it. The Education Act of 1918 in England called for continuation schools to age eighteen for those past the age of compulsory schooling, which itself was raised to fifteen in the 1920s. Yet budget constraints prevented achievement of this goal. In 1923 R. H. Tawney of the Labour Party introduced the notion that all education of adolescents past age eleven should be viewed as secondary and coined the phrase "secondary education for all." The Hadow Report of 1926 adopted much the same stance for tracking of all children based on selection around age eleven, although no legislation was immediately forthcoming. Nonetheless the percentage of the age group attending grammar schools rose from just 4 percent in 1910 to 11 percent in 1935. Only with the Education Act of 1944 did the controversial 11+ examination emerge as a means to select pupils for grammar, secondary modern, and technical schools.

In 1923 Italy adopted a comprehensive educational reform under the leadership of Minister of Public Instruction Giovanni Gentile, a piece of legislation Benito Mussolini called the "most Fascist" of the new regime. Among its many provisions were raising the leaving age to fourteen, introducing a form of selection after five years of schooling, and limiting university enrollment to graduates of the classical *liceo* in an effort to reduce overproduction of professionals. The Gentile Law also included a belated attempt to introduce separate secondary schools for girls, but that endeavor lasted only a few years. Further changes followed, referred to at the time as "retouching." Some regarded religion in the schools after the Lateran Accords with the Vatican in 1929. Only sixteen years after the "most Fascist" reform, Gentile's successor Giuseppe Bottai issued a new comprehensive reform known as the *Carta della Scuola*, which thanks to World War II never came fully into effect. In contrast, Spain under Franco succeeded where Mussolini's Italy failed in putting an end to secondary coeducation by establishing separate schools for girls; Salazar's Portugal significantly restricted mixed schooling.

THE POSTWAR ERA

Control of Eastern Europe by the Soviet Union expanded educational enrollments, pushed gender equality, and introduced greater equality of opportunity through longer common schools and the abolition of tuition in secondary schools. Rapid improvement in levels of attendance and literacy followed, even in a country such as Bulgaria, which on paper had had compulsory schooling since 1879.¹¹ In Albania, where few girls pursued secondary education in 1939, they provided over 40 percent of enrollments by the 1970s. In what became the German Democratic Republic in 1949, the occupation regime drew on democratic and communist educators from the Weimar Republic in implementing first an eight-year, then a ten-year common school. Especially in the early years, workers' children got preferential treatment in admission to preparatory courses and university study. In all Soviet bloc countries Russian became a mandatory, if often unpopular, subject; religious instruction contracted or disappeared; and science and technology occupied a large place

in the curriculum. Membership in party youth organizations often became a prerequisite for pursuing higher studies.

In the Soviet Union itself, the return to single-sex education proved short-lived, ending in 1954. Not until the 1980s, though, did that country come into line with most of the developed world and lower the starting age for school to six.

Western Europe during the cold war years witnessed the realization of "secondary education for all" as envisioned by Tawney. An early example was Sweden's extension of compulsory schooling from seven to nine years in 1946, with no homogeneous grouping of pupils. France extended compulsory schooling to age sixteen in 1959; at the same time Vichy's *collèges modernes* became *collèges d'enseignement générale* (though lower in status than the *collèges d'enseignement secondaire*). This distinction disappeared with the establishment in 1975 of the *collège unique*, a comprehensive secondary education in a 5+4+3 structure. Italy raised the leaving age to fourteen and instituted an extended *scuola unica* in 1962; Belgium abolished tuition for public secondary schools in 1958 and turned to comprehensive schools under a Socialist minister of education in 1969.

In the wake of the Education Act of 1944, England raised the leaving age to fifteen in 1947 and sixteen in 1972. Although the Labour Party had backed the 11+ examination as a way to undermine class privilege, second thoughts soon emerged: as early as 1958, in *The Rise of the Meritocracy*, a satirical dystopia about where such testing might lead, Michael Young titled one chapter "Threat of the Comprehensive Schools."¹² In power in the mid-1960s, Labour did move to establish comprehensives to replace the tripartite system of 1944, but they met with only partial success. In particular, private fee-paying schools, including the traditional "public schools," remained untouched by the reform.

Despite the efforts of the United States to push coeducation and comprehensive schools in its occupation zone in Germany, the early Federal Republic focused more on "restoration" than reform. Movement toward greatly expanded secondary education and establishment of some comprehensives (*Gesamtschulen*) came only in the mid-1960s, with the state governments headed by Social Democrats being more receptive than those with Christian Democratic leadership. In lieu of selection simply by examination, German, French, and other comprehensive programs employed a period of "observation" or "orientation" to decide what track a pupil would ultimately take. During this stage, the opinions of teachers as well as parents were taken into account, along with the pupil's demonstrated interests and abilities. This process has in general allowed greater social reproduction than many had hoped or feared, but, as the Swedish scholar Jan Jonsson has written, "the association between social origins and educational attainment has decreased markedly."¹³

Simultaneous with the significant expansion of secondary education and the interest in comprehensive schools came the virtual disappearance of single-sex secondary schools. Sweden closed the remaining girls' schools in 1962. A series of measures in France extended coeducation even to the *lycées* by 1975. West Germany, post-Salazar Portugal, and England did the same, although England continues to have numerous single-sex institutions. Belgium opted for coeducation in 1978, but the relatively large Catholic network resisted into the 1990s. One place with particularly vocal complaints about the detrimental effect on girls of mixed education was Germany, especially in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In many places, however, by the late 1970s and 1980s girls had become the majority of secondary pupils (and in some areas even of university students).

ISSUES SINCE 1990

The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the subsequent end of Soviet domination in much of Eastern Europe brought some significant changes but little in the way of return to earlier practices. The former East Germany saw the most thorough purge of educators tainted by association with the old regime, made possible by the large numbers of “Wessies” able to step into vacancies. Almost everywhere English quickly replaced Russian as the first foreign language studied. History instruction taught from the perspective of the Soviets’ Great Patriotic War against Nazi Germany has slowly had to come to grips with issues such as collaboration with the Third Reich and participation in the Holocaust.

As in the United States, Western Europe has witnessed the rise of neoliberalism that has placed greater emphasis on assessment and accountability. Perhaps the leading example has been Great Britain since the launch of a “Back to Basics” campaign by the Conservative prime minister Margaret Thatcher in the 1980s. Much of Western Europe has also faced new problems with educating the children of immigrants, both legal and illegal. For Germany, the problem began when the “guestworkers” recruited in large numbers from Turkey and Yugoslavia began bringing their families to the Federal Republic in the 1970s; a huge wave of asylum seekers from Eastern Europe and elsewhere followed in the early 1990s until restrictions were imposed. Britain and France have seen significant immigration from former colonies, Italy from both northern and sub-Saharan Africa. The level of racial, linguistic, and religious heterogeneity has been unprecedented, producing controversies such as that over Muslim girls wearing veils to secular schools in France. In general, immigrants even of the second and third generations have come to constitute a new educational underclass, attending the least prestigious tracks and often failing to complete them. The main exception has been England, where, in the words of the educationist John Gray, “people from non-white backgrounds have been as least as likely (and often more likely) to stay on post-16 as their white counterparts.”¹⁴

Since the Maastricht Treaty came into force in late 1993, members of the European Union have committed themselves to educational cooperation. Although the largest exchanges have involved university students and faculty, increased movement of secondary pupils and teachers has also occurred. Education is supposed to foster human rights and pluralistic democracy, and school systems must include a European dimension in training their charges. Progress on this last goal has been modest to date.

Implementation beginning in 2000 of the Program on International Student Assessment, generally known as the PISA tests, has tended to stimulate competition more than cooperation among participating nations. As the coeditors of a recent anthology put it, “Rarely has educational information translated so fast into the word ‘disaster’—and domestic political crisis. Rarely has educational information translated so fast into the word ‘stardom.’”¹⁵ Germany in particular saw the results on these tests of problem-solving as disastrous, but the main response, according to the pedagogue Daniel Tröhler, has been to stress that they did not measure “inward *Bildung*,” a German attitude echoing the rejection of monitorial teaching two centuries earlier.¹⁶ The surprisingly strong showing by Finland has produced somewhat smug gratification. For Hannu Simola and Risto Rinne, this success stems from

the prestige of the teaching profession and popular belief in schools as “institutions that deserve a certain autonomy, trust, and industrial peace free from trendy quality-assurance and evaluation systems.”¹⁷

In many ways, educational systems across Europe have converged in terms of structure, length, and gender equality. Today there may be more homogeneity than at any time since the Reformation. The massive refugee crisis that began in 2015 appears likely to make education of ethnic and religious minorities a major challenge for countries where this had not been much of an issue until now.

NOTES

1. “Dell’istruzione primaria obbligatoria,” *Civiltà Cattolica* 8, no. 135 (1872): 7, cited in Simonetta Soldani, “The Conflict between Church and State in Italy on Primary Education in the Period Following Unification (1860–1877),” in *L’Offre d’École/The Supply of Schooling*, ed. Willem Frijhoff (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1983), 104.
2. James C. McClelland, *Autocrats and Academics: Education, Culture, and Society in Tsarist Russia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 26, 116.
3. Richard Johnson, “Educational Policy and Social Control in Early Victorian England,” *Past & Present* 49 (1970): 119.
4. Stephen L. Harp, *Learning to Be Loyal: Primary Schooling and Nation Building in Alsace and Lorraine, 1850–1940* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1998), 206.
5. See the excellent graphs in David Vincent, *The Rise of Mass Literacy: Reading and Writing in Modern Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2000), 9–10.
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CHAPTER 10

NATIONAL EDUCATION SYSTEMS

North America

NANCY BEADIE

CHRONICLING the rise of national educational systems in North America presents three main challenges. First is a problem of definition. A legitimate question is whether two of the three major countries in North America *ever* developed national educational systems. As compared with Mexico, the educational systems of the United States and Canada are federated rather than national, with virtually all matters of funding, curriculum, licensing, and accreditation administered at the provincial rather than the national level. Mexico, by contrast, has a strong tradition of central state authority in education dating to the 1820s.

These divergent paths in the development of national education systems in turn present a challenge of historical explanation. All three countries exhibited similar levels of rhetorical commitment to the idea of publicly supported systems of mass education in the 1820s. During the mid-nineteenth century, all three also developed the basic legal and administrative structure for systems of public education at the provincial level. After 1870 the significance of education as a matter of national policy increased in all three countries, as it did internationally. In the mid-twentieth century, however, the three countries presented three very different models of national education policymaking. How did these divergences develop, and what explains them?

A third challenge is historiographical. Although a well-developed comparative literature on the expansion of mass education exists, it focuses primarily on Europe. In that literature, the factors characterizing system variation have been extensively debated, if not quite settled. More recently, a transnational comparative literature on education in Latin America has illuminated significant commonalities and distinctions in system development across multiple nations. By contrast, a comparative education literature that takes the three major countries of North America (let alone Caribbean countries) as the locus of comparison hardly exists. Basic transnational comparative and explanatory claims, and even periodizations, have yet to be advanced, let alone widely tested and debated.¹

Pockets of focused transnational and comparative literature on North America do exist around certain topics, such as the history of indigenous education, progressive education,

multicultural education, language policy, racialization, and education in (inter)national borderlands. The most promising examples of this work go beyond observing parallel trends to illuminate actual networks of transnational influence. So far, however, virtually all the existing literature on North America is binational, focusing either on the United States and Canada or on the United States and Mexico. A broader, more multinational North American focus, based on a synthesis of established national studies and new scholarship, provides a means of transcending dichotomous analyses, allowing a more nuanced understanding of the range of alternatives available at any one time and the factors that shaped them.

EDUCATIONAL EXPANSION AND STATE EXPERIMENTATION, 1750S–1820S

The period between the 1750s and the 1820s was one of considerable educational expansion throughout North America. Much of this expansion occurred without central state intervention. Also during this period, however, central state governments experimented with secular or nondenominational support for education in response to growing demand. In cities, the patterns of schooling that resulted looked similar across colonial and national contexts. In rural areas, by contrast, considerable variations developed.

In many respects, the state assumed a similar role in education in Mexico, the United States, and French- and English-speaking Canada throughout this period. Concentrated on classical and theological education for male political, cultural, and professional leaders, it left the education of ordinary people largely up to the market, religious orders, or local church or community initiative, with perhaps select grants of aid for education of the poor, usually administered by church authority. After the 1750s, the relative significance of secular, nonsectarian, and/or market-based education increased as a proportion of the whole, especially in cities. The precise dynamics of this shift differed somewhat by context, however.

After 1601 educational development in New Spain occurred under a dual structure of authority: either under the clergy or through guilds of independent teachers governed by municipalities. In the late eighteenth century, however, the colonial government acted to undercut both church power and the power of teacher guilds by encouraging municipal councils in cities to undertake their own educational initiatives. Well before Mexican independence, in other words, “the state” had begun to promote the idea of nonsectarian education for all that would come to characterize the rhetoric of Mexican republican government after 1821. These efforts were largely confined to urban areas, however, and were highly structured by class.²

The monitorial schools of New Spain paralleled the municipally sponsored charity, orphan, and Lancasterian schools that appeared during a similar period in cities of the U.S. and Upper and Lower Canada. The roles of church and state in these efforts varied, however. In French-speaking Lower Canada, the British colonial government initially proved unable to overcome resistance by the separate Episcopal powers of the Catholic and Anglican churches to plans for extending state support to common education. Among the proposals were some for a model of dual church authority and others for a system of nonsectarian urban monitorial schools much like that promoted in New Spain. Some version of the latter

idea eventually developed independent of state support and despite church resistance. The public sector remained repressed, however, until the colonial assembly finally succeeded in winning acquiescence from the British crown and Parliament for the Trustees School Act of 1829.³

Similarly, in English-speaking North America, the initial expansion of common schooling in cities from the 1750s occurred largely outside of—or without any particular encouragement by—colonial British authority, through the largely market-based efforts of independent teachers and the growing commercial class that constituted their paying clientele. This growth of market-based schooling significantly outpaced that of the population as a whole. It also ultimately challenged the structure and culture of schooling formally sponsored by colonial governments through municipal and church authority. Competition from market-based schools put pressure on church schools and publicly funded grammar schools, which emphasized instruction in traditional classical subjects.⁴

These dynamics of educational change are illuminated by comparison with similar changes in Europe at the time. Based on her comparative analysis of educational change in France and England, the historical sociologist Susan Archer distinguishes between two main strategies for challenging established church and aristocratic control of education in this period: “restrictive” and “substitutive.” A restrictive strategy was essentially coercive. It involved forcibly removing facilities and power over education from church control. In this scenario, associated with Revolutionary-era France, “buildings may be appropriated, educational funds confiscated, or personnel excluded from teaching and administration.” In France, a secular military state then established a new educational regime through a restrictive strategy that limited the operation of schools to those formally accredited and licensed by the state. A substitutive strategy, by contrast, was essentially competitive. In this scenario, associated with England, “domination is challenged by competition on the educational market.” The alliance of merchants, artisans, and members of dissenting religions who practiced the substitutive strategy in England did not directly challenge church authority. Instead they built a parallel set of educational institutions through the use of commercial wealth.⁵

Archer’s distinction proves useful for comparing the dynamics of educational change in different contexts of North America as well as Europe. In New York City, as in Mexico City, York, and Montreal, a growing commercial class pursued a substitutive strategy of expanded market-based schooling in the late eighteenth century. In 1795 the relatively new provincial state government of New York intervened in this context by experimenting with systematic state funds for schools. It left to local officials, however, to decide which schools would receive funds. Municipal authorities chose to direct funds exclusively to charity schools, most of which were church-sponsored, rather than sharing them with teachers of market-based schools who had lobbied for shares of the funds through their teachers’ society. That decision paralleled the policy enacted in New Spain at the same time. In both cases, the state acted through municipal councils, which directed funds to charity schools. In New Spain, however, the corporate Teachers’ Guild traditionally licensed teachers. The decision to direct funds to charity schools in that case was an effort to take over the licensing powers of the Guild. In New York, by contrast, the Society of Teachers never exercised anything like formal guild authority over teacher qualification. Nor did the city itself or, for that matter, the state exercise that kind of restrictive licensing power. Instead, from the beginning, political leaders at local, provincial, and national levels in the U.S. implemented education policy primarily through funding rewards and incentives rather than through restrictive controls.

Such decentralized approaches to early education policy in the United States were deeply intertwined with religious disestablishment. In post-Revolution New York, unlike New Spain, there was no established church. In this context, the official notion of religious liberty was not that of complete separation of church and state, as it would come to be in the U.S. a century later, but a policy of official municipal or state neutrality among various (Christian) religious denominations. To implement a policy of public aid to common schools, then, the City Council chose to direct funds to charity schools operated by multiple denominations: Dutch Reformed, Quaker, Anglican, Lutheran, and Catholic. It was then up to those denominational authorities to exercise whatever “restrictive” authority they wished over who qualified to serve as teacher. In this way, local autonomy and the independent authority of incorporated churches and schools were mutually reinforcing, allowing some administrative oversight of education without directly exercising central state control over matters of “school accreditation” and “teacher licensing.”

These intertwined dynamics of local autonomy and religious disestablishment are further highlighted by comparison with English-speaking Upper Canada. Many of the same denominational, class, and population dynamics that operated in New York State also operated there. In Upper Canada, however, the extent and nature of established church authority over education remained an unresolved issue well into the nineteenth century. Specifically the question of whether the colonial government would use the allocation of central state funds to reinforce the authority of the Church of England was disputed. In response to a growing demand, the Legislative Assembly passed the Common School Act in 1816. This act directed funds to localities, initially allowing considerable autonomy to local school committees. It also reserved some oversight to the colonial Executive Council, however. In 1820 the Executive Council started using this restrictive power to forcibly reorganize schools under Church of England authority. These and other acts galvanized opposition to the colonial government, eventually contributing to the larger battle over the relative authority of the Legislative Assembly and the British colonial administration in the Rebellions of 1837 to 1842.⁶

Despite the somewhat different relationships between established churches and colonial governments in these contexts, what’s most striking about comparing education development in North America during this period is how similar the dynamics and even the chronologies of change were in cities from 1750 to 1820. Where the different church and colonial histories of the three countries seem to have really made a difference was in the countryside. In rural areas, where educational development often depended more on church sponsorship, different structures of church authority and degrees of emphasis on literacy made for considerable variation. What a comparative analysis begins to reveal is how church, state, and economic history interacted in rural areas and what difference those interactions made for the longer-term trajectories of national educational development.

In Quebec in the 1810s and 1820s, numbers of schools per capita, rates of school attendance, and literacy rates were substantially higher among settlers in the predominantly English-speaking rural communities of the province than among *habitants* of the French-speaking countryside. Several factors contributed to these differences, including the migration patterns of residents. Among English-speaking residents of Quebec were many Scots and New Englanders whose places of origin had their own long histories of popular schooling and literacy. Those settlers brought those traditions and expectations of school organization with them.

Closely associated with such traditions were also distinct religious cultures and practices of church organization. Such differences went beyond the distinction between Protestant and Catholic. Not simply Protestantism but dissenting and disestablished Protestantism—including Scotch Presbyterianism, New England Congregationalism, American Baptism, and Anglo Methodism—was associated with greater diffusion of schooling and literacy in the English-speaking communities of Quebec. Key to the significance of nonconformist traditions were their relatively nonhierarchical and decentralized structures of authority, which accorded responsible members of each congregation substantial autonomy in determining whether, how, and under whose tutelage to found a school. Such relative organizational autonomy distinguished Nonconformist from Episcopal churches, whether Catholic or Anglican, in which the decision to undertake an educational enterprise depended on securing permission and suffering oversight from a hierarchical bishopric. These differences of church structure proved significant for school organization in the basic sense that nonconformist structures facilitated local communal decision-making and enterprise, enabling ordinary households to raise funds for their own purposes and invest them in local schools and institution-building.

The capacity to raise and invest funds in local communal enterprises not only depended on dominant church structures, however, but also on the local political economy. Specifically it depended on the capacity of ordinary households to control disposition of surplus product of their labor. Comparative analysis of school organization and funding among regions of the U.S. suggests that wider distribution of wealth across relatively independent rural households fostered higher levels of investment in common schooling. This aspect of political economy also contributed to different patterns of schooling in rural Quebec. Well into the mid-nineteenth century, agricultural production in much of the French-speaking countryside was structured by a seigneurial land system. Under this system, most ordinary farm families owed the surplus product of their labor in annual rents to landlords, which included not only individuals, but Catholic orders and institutions. This mutually reinforcing system of Catholic Church authority and seigneurial land tenancy distinguished the largely French-speaking countryside from Anglophone rural areas, with significant consequences for education. As Curtis points out with respect to French-speaking Quebec, “Both the Church and the seigneurial system reproduced peasant ignorance, if for no other reason than because institutionalized schooling depended upon the availability of surplus product, but Church and Seignury sucked up rural surplus.”⁷

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROVINCIAL STATE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS, 1820S–1870S

In the 1820s and 1830s similar levels of rhetorical commitment to the idea of publicly supported common education existed across North America. What the idea meant in practice, however, continued to be subject to considerable contestation until at least the 1850s. Among the questions that remained in dispute were how such schools would be funded, at what scale, under whose authority, and on what principles. Between 1850 and 1870 answers to these structural questions stabilized somewhat. In particular, the relationship between church

and state in education was recodified in all three major countries. Within each country, however, the precise terms of this relationship continued to look quite different by region.

Specifically, what gained currency in the 1820s and 1830s was the idea that centralized government support should be used not just to subsidize charity schooling for the poor or academic learning for the privileged but also to support and perhaps even to guarantee basic education for all. In Mexico the leaders of the 1821 independence movement expounded this idea. Early English-speaking chroniclers of Mexican independence in the 1820s reported that under the old regime the policy was to “keep the people in ignorance.” The new regime, by contrast, declared that “without education, liberty cannot exist; and that the more diffused the former, the more solidly cemented will be the latter.” Similarly, by 1830 in Upper Canada, popular discourse increasingly drew a distinction between “old and opulent establishments for Education in Europe,” which preserved learning for the few, and the new, more accessible model of the Americas, which recognized that “intelligence was a desirable quality in the great body of the people.” Meanwhile in the United States it became common as early as the 1810s for new provincial state constitutions to proclaim the necessity of knowledge “generally diffused through a community” for the preservation of “free government” and thus the “duty” of the legislature to “encourage” schools and the means of education.⁸

Despite this early rhetorical convergence, however, the question of what it meant for the state to “encourage” education remained contested. In Massachusetts, often invoked as the progenitor of common schools in the U.S., the state legislature left the actual financing and administration of schooling entirely up to localities until the mid-1830s. In other states, provincial state school funds existed as early as the 1770s, 1780s, and 1790s. For the most part, however, those funds went either to support charity schools for the poor or county academies for higher study. It was not until the 1810s and 1820s in New York and the 1830s in Pennsylvania that common school laws established state-level funds and administrative structures for the systematic support of basic education for the general population.

The United States, however, like independent Mexico after 1821 and Canada after 1866, was a confederation of former colonies rather than a fully consolidated nation-state. Systematic common school laws and school administration thus developed provincially, not nationally. This resulted in considerable regional variation. Generally, systematic state-level and state-wide administration and support of common schooling developed in the northeastern United States before the Civil War (1861–1865), and in the Southeast thereafter, with somewhat stronger national influence in new territories of the Midwest and West. As early as the 1780s, when the U.S. acquired new territories in the West, it dedicated a portion of land appropriated from Native Americans to the support of schools to encourage (white) settlement. Ultimately, however, it was left up to provincial governments to establish the terms upon which this federal largesse would be turned into local school support, a process that could take decades to implement.

Regional variations in systems of common education also developed in Canada and Mexico. In 1833 the vice president of the United Mexican States, Valentín Gómez Farías, laid out an extensive national program of education. It consisted of normal schools for training male and female teachers and primary schools for teaching reading, writing, arithmetic, and “the political and religious catechisms,” all to be supported by public funds and operated under state inspection. The federal government exercised direct power over school provisions only in the Federal District of Mexico City, however. In that jurisdiction it could

decree education policy. For the provincial states that constituted the remainder of the Mexican federation, however, such legislation served more as example than as directive.

Farías became an important liberal leader in Mexico, serving as president for five short periods between 1833 and 1846. He is associated with the policy of secularizing church missions in Alta California and limiting privileges of the military and the clergy, including seizing church lands and reorganizing the University of Mexico under state authority. Despite the ostensibly radical break represented by Farías's reforms, however, scholars have emphasized considerable continuities in actual educational organization before and after Mexican independence. Priests often acted as state inspectors, helping to implement state policy, while existing church and private schools continued to provide much of the actual instruction commissioned by localities under provincial state authority. In addition, the centralist education policies of the Mexican republic were repeatedly undermined by financial exigencies created by civil war and foreign aggression (by the United States and France) from the late 1840s to the late 1860s.⁹

This scenario was not that different from that which obtained in the U.S. and Canada during the same period. In the United States, a similar chronology of strong rhetorical and legislative commitment to state support for common schooling in the early 1830s was followed by an extended period of retrenchment, conflict, and diversion of state-level school funds after the Panic of 1837. The 1830s and 1840s were also a period of heightened political conflict during which state political leadership shifted frequently between opposing parties, making for a general lack of stability in public funding. Such issues were not substantially redressed in some U.S. states until a second round of reform campaigns and legislation in the early to mid-1850s.¹⁰

Similarly the period of the late 1830s and early 1840s was one of severe political crisis in Canada, with school policy a central matter of dispute between provincial legislative assemblies and colonial executive councils and governors. As a result of the Rebellions of 1837–1838, government support for primary schooling completely disappeared in both Upper and Lower Canada for six years. Although provincial state funding began flowing again after 1842, intense conflict over school policy continued. In Upper Canada, a new school law went into effect and/or was rejected by the colonial executive power virtually every year through the 1840s, with each law specifying a somewhat different administrative structure. It was not until the School Act of 1850, revised somewhat in 1853, that these terms of public support and oversight of primary education achieved some resolution.

What was settled, in large part, was the structure of school funding and administration and thus also the scale, terms, and procedures for managing conflict. Local units known as “school municipalities” and roughly coterminous with townships or seigneuries gained more or less permanent status. This included definite boundaries, local taxing authority, and corporate powers necessary to hold title to property, as well as the power to elect officers and determine many matters of teacher hiring, firing, and curriculum. At the county level, appointed boards of education collected reports on school operations, received and distributed provincial state school funds, conducted school inspections, and mediated disputes not resolved at the local level.

In Upper Canada in particular, school operations stabilized in the period from 1850 to 1871 under the leadership of Egerton Ryerson, who served as chief superintendent of public schools in Upper Canada from 1844 to 1876. Along the way, Ryerson also became the chief articulator of a vision of “common” education for English-speaking Upper Canada. That

vision was grounded in a common curriculum of reading, writing, and arithmetic, infused throughout with principles of “self-government” that Ryerson referred to as “Common Christianity.” Curtis argues that in the process, “the meaning of the term ‘common’ schooling shifted” from “‘rudimentary’ or ‘ordinary’ to ‘in common’ or ‘collective.’” The result of establishing a stabilized system of public school funding and organization, in other words, was the emergence of a new normative ideal of what the common school could achieve. Through initiation into a common curriculum and a common self-discipline, the diverse people of Upper Canada would forge a “common” public. Embedded in this idea were not only notions of cultural convergence but of social mixing and even social equalization. In Ryerson’s formulation, common schooling meant placing “the poor man on a level with the rich man.” Through social contact and interaction on an equal plane, members of different social classes—and different religions—would achieve a measure of social and political harmony.¹¹

In the U.S., as in Upper Canada, a convergence around certain normative principles and structures of publicly supported primary schooling also occurred after 1845. Three principles in particular began appearing regularly in the constitutional and legal descriptions of provincial common school systems of the U.S. The first was the notion that tuition in state systems should be “free,” meaning fully supported “by taxation on property or otherwise.” This began appearing in state constitutions—including the southern constitutions of Texas and Louisiana—in 1845. The second main normative innovation was that systems of schooling established by state law be “uniform” and “equitable.” A uniform system of district schools would give everyone in the state access to the same opportunities, without the inequities that would result from a system that depended exclusively on local initiative to supply schools or to determine the terms of access. This notion began appearing in provincial state constitutions of the Midwest and West after 1848. Finally, a third innovation was the codification of formal principles of nonsectarianism in public education. These provisions also developed first in the Midwest and West in the late 1840s and 1850s, reaching an apogee in the Colorado constitution of 1876. They included prohibitions against the use of public funds for the support of sectarian institutions, against the use of religious oaths or tests for hiring teachers or admitting students to institutions receiving public funds, and against requirements that teachers or students attend religious services.

A renegotiation and recodification of the relationship between church and state occurred in Mexico between 1850 and 1876 as well. There the new federal constitution of 1857 and the laws of the Reform that followed specified a complete separation of church and state. The law abolished corporate church property, banished the clergy from public education, and established a new federal Ministry of Justice and Public Instruction. This prohibition was limited to the Federal District, however. Outside the District, conservative forces and the Catholic Church exercised considerable resistance to such legislation.

In predominantly Catholic and French-speaking Lower Canada, the period from 1850 to 1876 was also one in which a recodification of the relationship between church and state occurred, but with different results. Although the basic structure of locally elected administrative and taxing authorities was similar in Lower and Upper Canada, the exercise of this authority led down divergent paths. Instead of stabilizing a single, consolidated, and “common” system of public instruction, as Ryerson did in Ontario, the province of Quebec institutionalized a dual system of public education, one Protestant and the other Catholic. Elements of this divergent institutional path appeared in the 1840s legislation that first set the structural terms for a system of public instruction in Upper and Lower Canada. From

the beginning, this legislation included a “dissentient clause” that allowed a religious minority in a township or district to withdraw from the local school authority and receive a share of the public funds to establish a separate school. Ostensibly the provision was neutral—it could be equally useful to Catholic minorities in eastern townships, Protestant minorities in French districts, and even nonconformist minorities in jurisdictions dominated by Anglicans. During the 1850s and 1860s, however, as French dominance of Quebec increased, dissentient provisions became more important to Protestants. In the cities of Montreal and Quebec separate Catholic and Protestant school committees had been established from the start in the mid-1840s on the charity school model. By 1859 separation had also been institutionalized at the provincial level in separate Normal Schools and separate religiously designated representation on the Council of Public Instruction. In the mid-1860s, as negotiations over Canadian confederation occurred, Protestants demanded their own superintendent of education and control of their own schools and tax money. This demand effectively became embodied in Article 93 of the British North America Act of 1867, which entrenched in the constitution the rights of minorities (Protestants in Quebec, Catholics in Ontario) to a separate system of education. In Quebec this guarantee took the form of separate provincial-level committees for the administration of separate school systems, an arrangement that continued for nearly a century.

In summary, then, as early as the 1820s and 1830s certain basic ideas about the value of widespread education and intelligence among the people and the necessity of public support of common schooling had gained considerable currency among liberal forces across North America. During this period, provincial and colonial governments undertook their first experiments with structuring and administering systematic state support and regulation of schooling for “all.” The late 1830s and early 1840s, however, proved to be a period of economic depression and of considerable conflict and contestation over state power, during which many such experiments experienced significant setbacks. During the 1850s and 1860s, provincial governments stabilized basic structures and principles of public support and administration of primary schooling, increasingly codified in constitutions and law. By the 1870s these included the idea that state legislatures were responsible for establishing systems of public schools; that these schools should focus on universal basic education; that such schools should be available in every locality; that schools for common people should be “free” and open to all on an equitable basis; that they should be supported by some combination of state and local funds, including taxes; and that such publicly funded schools should embody some version of the idea of religious liberty, though this idea meant something quite different in Catholic Quebec than in Protestant North America.

THE NATIONALIZATION OF EDUCATION POLICY, 1870S–1940S

The significance of education as a matter of national policy increased substantially in all three major countries in North America from the 1870s to the 1940s. Facing similar challenges of integrating vast territories and diverse peoples into consolidated nation-states, the three countries pursued similar educational ideas, policies, and strategies. In Mexico, leaders

of the Porfirio Díaz regime pushed through a federal law for primary instruction in 1888, aimed at creating a system of schooling that was truly nationwide, obligatory, and uniform. Similarly, in the 1880s the United States came the closest it has ever come to establishing a truly national system of funding and oversight for common education. In Canada, of course, confederation itself was a nationalizing project in this period. At the same time, the federal governments of Canada, the United States, and Mexico all implemented major national policies of indigenous education. Nonetheless, despite many similarities, earlier contingencies continued to shape different models of education policymaking at the national level.

The nationalizing thrust of education policy in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is readily apparent in Mexico under the Porfirio Díaz regime. Prior to Díaz's ascension to the presidency in 1876, the country experienced decades of foreign intervention and civil wars. When liberal forces assumed power in 1861 and again in 1867 after expelling the French, they rededicated the federal government to the goal of free, secular, universal, and ostensibly obligatory public education. Again, however, the laws of public instruction of the 1860s were limited in their jurisdiction to the Federal District and territories. They were also limited by already high levels of public indebtedness. It was not until the renewal of the U.S. role as chief creditor to Mexico after its own civil war and the associated concentration of resources and power by the Mexican government in alliance with U.S. business interests that substantial and stable national investment in education occurred. As reported by Mary Kay Vaughn, between 1878 and 1910, expenditures on education increased both in absolute terms (nearly twelve times) and as a proportion of federal and state budgets. Numbers of schools and enrollments also increased, with primary schools more than doubling and enrollments more than tripling during the same period.¹²

At the same time, school conditions remained highly uneven by region. Northern border states, with mixed economies and rapid urbanization, supported strong cultures of schooling. By contrast, southern economies like that of the Yucatán, depended on a debt-peonage system of indigenous labor and concentrated most school resources on a small managerial class. Central states, with large populations of laborers working in the hacienda system, also had low school investment, enrollment, and literacy rates. Some evidence further suggests that the gap between education provisions in rural and urbanizing regions widened during the Porfiriato. One contributing factor was the confiscation of lands from small property owners, often at the expense of communal village institutions. A second factor was increased pressure for child labor in agricultural sectors. A third factor was federal funding practices. Despite the more centralized structure of educational administration during the Porfiriato, all federal funds still went to the Federal District and territories, leaving educational improvement in the provinces to local governments with varied resources. In this way, increased funding for education actually contributed to increased interregional inequality.¹³

Although overall levels of school organization, attendance, and literacy were generally higher in core and peripheral areas of Canada and the U.S. than in comparable areas in Mexico, similar struggles over the extent and limits of federal influence on education in the periphery occurred in all three countries. In Canada, the British North America Act of 1867 settled the terms upon which public schools would be administered within the dominion. These terms delegated school administration and funding to provincial localities, while at the same time retaining power at the federal level to disallow provincial legislation if it violated constitutional principles regarding religious and language minority rights. Subsequent

events proved, however, that these rights were readily enforceable only where already encoded in law at the time of confederation (i.e., in Canada East and Canada West), *not* in the other preconfederation provinces (Nova Scotia and New Brunswick) or the territories that joined confederation thereafter. What followed confederation, then, was a protracted period of negotiation, specifically over minority rights but more broadly over the authority of the federal government to define and enforce such rights in outlying regions.¹⁴

One way to interpret such results is as a case of weak central authority in education. But decentralized authority is not necessarily weak authority, as scholars have increasingly pointed out. The historical sociologist Pavla Miller cited a study of seventeenth-century British military power to suggest that a decentralized state was not necessarily weak. Great strength could lie in a decentralized capacity to mobilize wealth and manpower from dispersed locations. Working on similar ideas but focused on the U.S. context, scholars of political science and history have argued that the U.S. model of national governance, as Brian Balogh puts it, developed as a “government out of sight.” Acting through a range of land policies, commercial regulations, constitutional provisions, court decisions, and foreign policies, the national government put into place a set of structural conditions that enabled provincial state governments and a variety of nongovernmental organizations to undertake policies that were often national in scope even when not centrally directed by the federal government. From this perspective, what occurred in North America from 1870 to 1940 was a complex process of developing “national educational systems” even in the absence of strong centralized federal educational authority.¹⁵

In the United States this process occurred over an extended period following the Civil War. Galvanized by the problems of southern Reconstruction, Congress’s postwar efforts at national policymaking brought together other issues of national integration as well, including changes in national Indian policy, concerns about urban immigration, and a long-term push for more standardized education by national professional organizations. The Civil War itself provided an opportunity for moving forward this national education agenda, as the secession of southern states temporarily shifted the balance of power in Congress, allowing three bills of national educational significance to pass without southern opposition: the Morrill Act of 1862, which dedicated federal land to support institutions of agricultural, industrial, and science education in each state; the bills establishing the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands in 1865 and 1866, which supported education of emancipated slaves; and the bill establishing a federal Department of Education in 1867, which commissioned the collection of national data on education conditions in U.S. states and territories.

With its focus on data collection, the new U.S. federal department of education embodied the notion of a “government out of sight.” Lacking in formal power, it nonetheless shaped “national” education policy by promulgating normative standards and categories that then became the foundation of subsequent legislation. It also became a locus for articulating the responsibilities of the national government with regard to education. These responsibilities included both the education policies of the Reconstruction South and those of the territorial West, including development of a federally administered system of Native American boarding schools, beginning in the 1880s. Recognizing both the limited financial resources of the South and the strength of white resistance to universal education for freedmen, members of Congress also began drafting legislation that would provide federal funding and oversight of education. Between 1871 and 1890 Congress considered twenty

bills aimed at establishing a national system of education, with several passing in one house but not the other. The most nearly successful of these, the Blair Bill, came to a vote five times in the 1880s, with the strongest votes occurring in 1884 and 1886. Importantly, these proposed measures encompassed education in the *territories* as well as the states, affecting Native Americans, Mexican Americans, and white settlers in the West as well as African Americans and whites in the South.¹⁶

Indigenous education became a central object of national policymaking in all three major countries of North America from the 1870s through the 1930s. In Canada the 1867 Canada Act specifically charged the federal government with jurisdiction over Indians and lands reserved for Indians. The Indian Act of 1876 further elaborated the terms of this responsibility, with explicit attention to education. As in the U.S., the federal government had historically left the definition of this work up to church and missionary organizations. In 1883, after investigating similar institutions in the U.S., the federal government of Canada inaugurated a new program of “industrial boarding schools.” In Canada, however, due in part to religious politics and in part to budget pressures, the “new” program of industrial boarding schools continued to be operated by church and missionary organizations. For the first forty years in particular, federal policy with respect to such schools was subject to conflict between Catholics and non-Catholics nationally, exacerbated by competitive per pupil federal funding.

From a transnational perspective, what is noteworthy about this period of national educational policymaking is the failure of the federal government in *any* of the three major countries of North America to establish a single standard of universal access to common education. This failure had significant consequences that continue to shape the structure and culture of education and policymaking to this day. One consequence of this failure was the formal isolation of education for Native Americans. Arguably, the only systems of education to develop under direct federal authority in the United States or Canada were for Native peoples.¹⁷

A second consequence of this failure was the reaffirmation of formal autonomy of provincial education authorities. That in turn had consequences. In the U.S. it precipitated significant state-level activity from 1890 to 1930. At the same time, state-level autonomy in the U.S., as in Mexico, reinforced substantial inequalities, both among states with different resources and within states for populations with different access to influence in state politics. Specifically, in the South, the failure to forge a national system of education and the simultaneous rise of Jim Crow voting laws resulted in substantial disinvestment in education for African Americans. After 1890 any effort at “national” intervention to ensure access to education for disenfranchised populations, whether for African Americans in the South or Mexican Americans in the West, was left to consortia of industrial philanthropists and reformers. Efforts by minority populations to enlist the leverage of the federal government to address violations of civil rights proved almost wholly unsuccessful until the 1940s and 1950s.¹⁸

In Mexico such inequalities eventually led to revolution. Rural empowerment and access to education were at the center of the Mexican Revolution of 1910–1917. After the Revolution the federal government undertook a comprehensive education program that for the first time extended federal education funding and personnel beyond the federal district. It worked around provincial state administrative structures, effectively establishing competing institutions. In 1920 the federal government initiated a campaign against illiteracy in which it recruited two thousand teachers to go out into the countryside and teach *campesinos*.

This secular missionary effort became the entry point for a separate system of federally run rural schools under the authority of a new Secretaría de Educación Pública, established in 1921. Indigenous education was an explicit object of this effort. By 1924 thousands of new schools had been created and the proportion of the federal budget directed toward education generally, and rural schooling specifically, had increased substantially.

As conceived by its organizers, the initial goals of these rural and indigenous education efforts were frankly assimilationist: the “Mexicanization” and “modernization” of indigenous peoples and their “incorporation . . . into dominant European culture.” Embedded in this conceptualization, however, was also a critique of Indian education policy as practiced in the U.S. Viewed from the perspective of Mexican nationalism, the U.S. system of Native American boarding schools appeared isolated from mainstream development and therefore destined to hold Mexico back rather than improve its competitive status internationally. Thus federal officials promoted a vision of rural education in which indigenous peoples would be more fully integrated into the nation. Although this vision favored mestizo populations and culture, it also lay the groundwork for alternative educational programs. As a result in part of engagement by indigenous leaders and teachers, some federal schools became sites of activism around issues of land reform, workers’ rights, and resource redistribution.

Mexicanization efforts paralleled and in some ways responded to Americanization programs in the U.S. during the same period. Educational thinkers and leaders in Mexico and the U.S. also exchanged ideas directly. In the 1920s, for example, the Mexican undersecretary of education, Moisés Sáenz, studied at Teachers College Columbia. Drawing on the ideas of John Dewey, Franz Boas, and others, he articulated a national education vision for Mexico that was rooted in community-based activism and focused on the reconstruction of social and political relations. Meanwhile U.S. intellectuals concerned about issues of class division, Jim Crow segregation, and Mexican exclusion in the United States looked to Revolutionary Mexico as an example of what it would mean for the federal government to make the creation of an integrated, pluralist democracy a matter of deliberate national policy.¹⁹

Even as the projects of Mexicanization and Americanization paralleled each other with respect to the objective of national citizenship education, however, they also differed in their institutional structures. In Mexico such efforts were spearheaded by a centralized national government that developed its own infrastructure of teachers, buildings, and curricula, designed to replace provincial and independent schools. In the U.S., by contrast, such efforts were initiated, designed, and promoted primarily by nongovernmental organizations such as the Daughters of the American Revolution, Bureaus of Commerce, the National Federation of Women’s Clubs, the American Legion, and the National Education Association, as well as, eventually, immigrant organizations themselves. These organizations, with their federated structures, were peculiarly suited to effecting “national” policy through the decentralized governing structure of the U.S. Operating at multiple scales at once, they mobilized constituencies at local, state, and national levels simultaneously. Although federal agencies and political leaders played important roles in supporting and coordinating such efforts, they did not have formal educational authority. Instead they acted through a complex process of selectively reinforcing the efforts of nongovernmental organizations.

When the federal government did become involved in education, it was typically in relation to economic policy. As a result, national education policy in the U.S. often reinforced segmented and discriminatory labor and property markets. The first major federal education legislation of the twentieth century, for example, directed substantial funds to states for

vocational education. These programs expanded opportunities for some but were highly structured by race, class, and gender. During the 1930s New Deal policies aimed at stabilizing employment broadened educational opportunity by subsidizing the school attendance of poor youth. At the same time, however, federal housing policies fostered deliberately segregated neighborhoods and schools. Meanwhile extragovernmental organizations such as the General Education Board, the Southern Education Board, the Rosenwald Fund, and the Carnegie Foundation continued to promote policies aimed at expanding education and work opportunities for disenfranchised populations, but also often reinforced race, class, and sex segregation and discrimination.²⁰

In Canada the early twentieth-century impulse toward nationalism took many of the same forms as in the U.S., including classroom flag salutes and vocational education. Also as in the U.S., such policies developed through partnerships between governmental and nongovernmental organizations at both provincial and national levels. The Canadian structure differed from the U.S. in one major respect, however. By comparison with the U.S., Canada achieved greater standardization at the provincial level. By World War I, uniform courses of study, textbooks, and examinations were enforced by systems of inspectors *within* provincial states, while in most U.S. states individual urban, county, and rural school districts retained a high degree of formal autonomy from state authorities. This somewhat different pattern of provincial-level education before World War I in turn laid the groundwork for a different model of national education policymaking at midcentury. In both Canada and the U.S., World War II and the cold war led to increased federal investment and intervention in education. In Canada, however, the historical reinforcement of minority education rights that was built into confederation continued to channel the larger structure of national policymaking. Thus in 1940 Canada embarked on a program of national citizenship education that drew on the same progressive and intercultural ideas that had influenced policies in both Mexico and the U.S. It did so, however, in ways that affirmed a national-level commitment to supporting and even promoting linguistic and cultural pluralism.²¹

CONCLUSION

The 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s were a period of significant national policy development in education in the U.S. and Canada. In the U.S. in particular, an unprecedented level of federal intervention occurred through a combination of federal court decisions and legislation on the previously well-established extragovernmental model. Exemplified by the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, but also preceded by a longer history of cases prosecuted by not only the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People but organizations representing other minority groups, such as the League of United Latin American Citizens, these court decisions essentially addressed the unfinished business of Reconstruction by adjudicating access to equal education as a federal civil right. Partly in response, Congress also became more active in education policymaking, enacting laws that offered states shares of federal funds for programs focused on nationally defined needs such as special education, math and science education, “compensatory” education for children in poverty, and bilingual education. These programs effectively reoriented state education departments and local school districts toward the federal government as a potential

source of funds during a time of intense growth in the size and educational persistence of school-age populations. At the same time, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 increased the leverage of the federal government in requiring any substantive educational service that the Supreme Court then or thereafter defined as a matter of civil rights.

Nonetheless, the essentially extragovernmental structure of national education policy in the U.S. endured. The distinctive nature of this structure is illuminated by comparison with Canada. After World War II, increased federal investment in education occurred in Canada, as in the U.S., under the rubric of “national defense.” In the wake of these nationalizing policies, however, Canada rejected the idea of establishing a national ministry of education, developing instead a representative model of policymaking under which provincial-level ministries met to coordinate policies through interprovincial cooperation rather than through a top-down, centralized governing authority—a relationship formalized in 1967 as the Canadian Council of Ministers of Education. Made possible by the greater standardization achieved *within* provincial systems in Canada, this structure gave provincial school officials their own direct path to shaping national policy. In the U.S., by contrast, educators and school officials responsible for operating schools had no direct line of influence on national policy. Instead national policy was forged by politicians, industry representatives, philanthropic foundations, and lobbying organizations operating largely outside any formal responsibility for schools. Educators, meanwhile, were treated as just another organized pressure group in their own professional domain. The U.S. model of national policymaking in education thus remained that of a “government out of sight,” even as it continued to be an object of incessant contestation.

By the mid-twentieth century, then, three different models of what might be called “national education policymaking” had developed in the three major countries of North America. Of these, only the Mexican model can be said to constitute a “national educational system” in the sense typically implied by that phrase: that is, a standardized system of schooling with a common national curriculum, funding structure, and system of accreditation, enforced by a national authority with centralized power. This “centralized” structure can be distinguished from the “representative” structure that characterizes the Canadian system, as well as from the “hidden” extragovernmental structure of national education policymaking in the United States.

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CHAPTER 11

NATIONAL EDUCATION SYSTEMS

Australia and New Zealand

CRAIG CAMPBELL AND
MAXINE STEPHENSON

BOTH Australia and New Zealand have long indigenous histories that preceded British colonization in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Nevertheless the main concern of historians of education has been educational development in the postcolonization period. This effort has included histories of colonial and postcolonial education among Māori (New Zealand) and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (Australian) peoples. However, most attention has been given to the research and writing of the histories of white/Pākehā schooling and education.

There have been two influential historiographical traditions. The “Whig” tradition included a concentration on the emergence of modern Pākehā/white national systems of public education. Significant themes and events included the conflict between church and state, the acts of parliaments producing public systems of education, the significance of the “great white men” in system building and reform, and the foundation of significant educational institutions. Writers usually framed their accounts within a rather uncomplicated story about progress. Such narratives may also be thought of as part of the empirical tradition, where there was little thought given to the theoretical foundations of research and analysis. Despite this, works produced in this tradition vary from the remarkable and sophisticated to the antiquarian. They include many uncritical institutional histories.

The second historiographical tradition responded to the new efforts in social and revisionist history as they appeared mainly in the United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States from the 1960s. This tradition tended to make the populations subject to schooling, especially the working class, and ordinary educational workers, such as teachers, the subjects of inquiry. Much remarkable work made gender, meaning especially girls and women, the focus of research. It also made a connection between the histories of childhood, youth, and families and histories of education.¹

The British first settled in Australia in 1788 at Port Jackson in New South Wales. Initially New Zealand was part of greater New South Wales, becoming a separate crown colony in 1840, but white traders and settlers had been part of New Zealand’s history well before 1840.

Both countries, first as colonies, had complex and difficult indigenous “contact” histories. Early in the twentieth century Australia and New Zealand became largely independent dominions within the British Empire and Commonwealth. Unlike New Zealand, the national, federal government in Australia took a strong interest in education only beginning in the 1960s.

INDIGENOUS EDUCATION

Samuel Marsden, a Church Missionary Society chaplain, initiated the first systematic educational initiative for Māori near Sydney in 1815. This preceded by a year the establishment of New Zealand’s first mission school in the Bay of Islands. Examining the early relationships between Pākehā missionaries and Māori in Australia and New Zealand, Alison Jones and Kuni Jenkins identified differing agendas for education.² While Marsden sought vocational promise in bringing the work of the mission to New Zealand, Māori saw missionary education as adding to their rich traditional knowledge base. As agencies of Christianity, however, missionary schools cut across traditional beliefs and values embedded in Māori culture. These efforts reflected the ideological linking of “race” and “civilization” that shaped debate in Britain and other European countries and that underpinned Eurocentric attitudes of racial and cultural superiority. It provided a foundation for the assimilatory agenda of the colonial state. The European-style literacy taught in the mission village schools was based on religion, using translations of the Bible as texts. Nevertheless the language of the schools was Māori, and Māori embraced print literacy with enthusiasm and success.

In 1840, with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, New Zealand became a crown colony. Colonization brought tensions, and Māori interest in schooling waned. Official support for the missionaries became imperative, and under the 1847 Education Ordinance, financial assistance was provided to help establish boarding schools. This allowed Māori to train as missionaries and teachers for their communities. Within eighteen years of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, self-government had been formed in New Zealand and Pākehā settlers outnumbered Māori. This precipitated a crisis in Māori-settler relations, and during the period of land wars that ensued, schools were abandoned. With the 1867 Native Schools Act, a state system of day schools under the nominal management of Māori school committees was established. However, the 1880 Native Schools Code made explicit the ultimate assimilatory objective of those Native schools that remained for Māori students until their disestablishment in 1969.

John Barrington and Timothy Beaglehole’s *Māori Schools in a Changing Society* examines missionary and state education, documenting this system and the official voices of those in control. More recent scholarship has either developed a critique of the role that the state-directed Native schools played in the process of colonization or has focused on the everyday experiences and engagement of teachers, students, and communities. This has led to a more nuanced story of resistance, struggle, and accommodation in the face of the assimilation agenda and its derivatives, adaptation, and integration. Because of their relative isolation and because of Māori attempts to shape the system so that it met their needs, the Native schools were able to support, in a modest way, Māori views about “what counted as schooling.”³

The closing of the Māori schools and the impacts of post-World War II urbanization and industrialization brought Māori to Pākehā communities and to schools that rarely supported the Māori language. In response, a Māori movement, supported by elders and taken on board at the “flax roots” (community) level, enabled the establishment of the first Te Kohanga Reo (language nest) in Wellington in 1982. This was the genesis of a Māori revitalization movement and full immersion initiatives across all education sectors. The movement developed outside of the state and was organic to local communities.

In Australia the question of schooling Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples played out differently. Instead of one Māori language there were close to three hundred Aboriginal tongues. There were no treaties between colonial governments and indigenous peoples, and the terrible fiction of *terra nullius*, that Australian lands were unoccupied at the time of British invasion, became the basis of often unrestrained pastoral and agricultural expansion. There were high levels of resistance and violence on the frontiers as colonists attempted to marginalize indigenous communities. This environment did not favor the development of European-style schooling among the indigenous populations.

Unlike his attitude to Māori, Marsden believed Australian Aboriginal people were unpromising subjects for Christianization and education. The attitude grew among the colonial governing class that if Aboriginal children were to be transformed into a Christian, loyal, and honest laboring class, they should be removed from their communities at a very early age. As the first public schools, the orphan schools, attempted to remake unruly white children, the Native Institution, founded in 1815, attempted to do the same with Aboriginal children. The Institution was not particularly successful, as few families were persuaded to enroll their children. Deaths and runaways were frequent. Yet it gave some comfort to local and European white visitors who were well aware of the destruction of Aboriginal society in the settled areas. The policy that indigenous children should be removed from their parents was intensified for the half century and more beginning in the 1880s as the racialized human sciences began classifying children as either full-blooded or degrees of mixed caste. Children of the “stolen generation” were removed from their families on the basis of mixed-race parentage. A. O. Neale, chief protector in early twentieth-century Western Australia, was a leading advocate of systematic child removals on these grounds.

An early policy of colonial governments was the establishment of protectors and protectorates for Aboriginal peoples. Protectors were paternalistic. Where native reserves were established, they were ruled in an authoritarian manner, allowing few rights of movement, speech, and association. Where schools were begun, expectations were low, and teachers often unsatisfactory.

Church missions ran many schools for indigenous children through the nineteenth and early twentieth century, beyond the time churches were considered suitable providers of public education to most white children. Aboriginal families often found it difficult to have their children schooled satisfactorily. Jim Fletcher traces the school exclusions based on the “clean, clad and courteous” policy in New South Wales. In that colony even more explicitly racist policies followed the 1870s. They allowed white parents to block the enrollment of Aboriginal children in public schools.

The historiography around indigenous schooling in Australia is inadequate. Good studies like that of Alan Williamson’s *Schooling the Torres Strait Islanders* are rare. That study relates the survival of indigenous land tenure to cultural resilience and provides a persuasive narrative of school development that incorporates the unintended consequences of mission

activity and the rationalizing policies of the colonial state. The recent “intervention” by the federal government in the Aboriginal communities of the Northern Territory continued the difficult history of indigenous-nonindigenous relations in Australia. This included attempts to enforce school attendance. Indigenous children routinely have the lowest national levels of school attendance, achievement, and postschool employment. New policies that encourage indigenous language use and self-determination in each of the Australian states and the Northern Territory have been welcome. Nevertheless, despite the fact that histories of education for Aboriginal people across the nation differ in detail, many difficulties have remained in common.⁴

STATE AND CHURCH, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE EDUCATION

New South Wales was founded as a British colony partly for the purpose of receiving convicts from Britain and Ireland. This established the context of early colonial education in Australia. Governments would play a more active role in the provision of schooling than occurred in England. Education was valued for its potential in creating a reformed colonial population. John Cleverley's *The First Generation* remains the essential guide for this very early colonial period.

There were no independent churches in the early colony. Colonial chaplains were responsible to governors for the mainly government-assisted schools. Assistance could include the allocation of literate convicts to teach. Curriculum was based on the texts and catechisms of the Church of England. When monitorialism arrived early in the nineteenth century, it was praised as the most suitable form of pedagogy for the colony given its orderly approaches toward discipline and mass instruction in literacy and numeracy. Small private schools appeared before the end of the eighteenth century. Some Church of England clergy offered rudimentary instruction in the classical languages for boys, but more popular were the enterprises that offered an “English” curriculum, supporting commercially useful subjects such as arithmetic, English grammar, and navigation skills.

Respectability was a hard-won attribute for families in convict colonies. Schooling girls could help. Wealthier households preferred governesses over schools, but governesses were difficult to secure given the colonial gender imbalance. By 1810 private academies for girls from wealthier families were established. For poorer folks “dame” schools likely gave some elementary instruction in reading and possibly writing.⁵

The Orphan School for Girls, founded 1801, was the first significant public school. Its mission was social control, the founders believing that their philanthropy would reduce the chance of “neglected” girls falling into criminality and prostitution. The alleged ungoverned sexuality and criminal histories of parents were thought likely to produce generational cycles of viciousness into the future. This was of concern for the colonial elite. Researching the social history of young people in the colonial and early national periods was a major project of Australian revisionist historiography in the 1970s and 1980s.⁶

The high point of early colonial *public* schools as Church of England schools came with the establishment of the Church and School Corporation (1826–1833). In theory the Corporation

was to be supported by land grants. Opposition included rival religious denominations, the Wesleyan, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic. This struggle between religious denominations set some major themes in the history of Australian schooling. Early on, the substantial Irish Catholic population was deprived of both priests and schools, and later in the nineteenth century belated government assistance for their schools was withdrawn. The historiography of Catholic education has often been framed by such events interpreted as heroic resistance to multiple injustices. In more recent times this historiography has been tempered by feminist-influenced studies concerning the work and lives of women religious and the challenges raised by authoritarianism in schools and the exposure of child abuse within the church.⁷

From the 1830s there were attempts to produce "National" government schools, not church-controlled, in New South Wales and then later colonies. The Education Acts of the colonies, mainly of the 1870s, produced Australia's distinctive public-school systems. Historians of education have produced a number of biographical studies of the significant public-school founders. This history is often interpreted as a policy triumph of rationality, efficiency, and sensible secularism, but Catholic historians more often view it as a disaster. Revisionist historians concentrate less on system building and religious conflict and more on the associated impacts on working-class families. They argue that the public education systems began to transform the experience of childhood and increased the state surveillance of potentially unruly families. Other studies demonstrate the responsibility of the new public education systems for the emergence of the modern teaching profession, marked by very large numbers of young, unmarried, and poorly paid women. Other consequences flowing from the seminal 1870s Education Acts include the withdrawal of state funding from all denominational/church schools. This eventually led to the abandonment of elementary schooling by all but the Catholic and Lutheran churches. Denominational effort shifted to church collegiate schools for the emerging middle and ruling classes. The events described here composed the main themes researched in the history of education from the 1960s through the 1990s.⁸

In the 1870s several long-lasting characteristics of Australian schools were set. Collegiate, mainly church schools with, from the 1880s, a few academic public high schools, would dominate secondary provision. Large state education departments would educate most of the population in primary schools. Most Catholic children would be educated in poorly resourced parochial schools. Then, after World War I, new public institutions that sought to educate all adolescents, usually in sex-separated junior technical and domestic science schools as well as new coeducational high, central, and area schools, began to universalize secondary education. Even so, upward extensions of the school leaving age across the twentieth century from thirteen years were slow in coming.

Arguments for progressive educational reform began in the late nineteenth century. Two American visitors in the 1930s and 1950s, Isaac Kandel and Freeman Butts, were especially critical of the rigidity, centralization, and examination-ridden school systems that had emerged in Australia, despite the reform efforts. The Carnegie Corporation sponsored an Australian Council for Education Research and a New Zealand counterpart. These organizations became powerful advocates for the administrative progressivism that David Tyack has written about for the United States. Revisionist historians were often critical of the intelligence testing and streaming that supported differentiated schooling and the school hierarchies that resulted, in part, from these Carnegie interventions.⁹

With the cold war the policy of no state aid to nongovernment schools became difficult to sustain. The Catholic vote could be won for conservative governments with anticommunist campaigns *and* promises of restored tax-raised aid for Catholic schools. These movements culminated in the 1970s with the establishment of the Australian Schools Commission that funded all schools. All children in theory would receive an “equal opportunity” through schooling. In the 1980s the “needs” of poorer schools and families waned in importance as state policy began to favor parent choice and the creation of school markets. The result was increasingly well-funded nongovernment schools and a decreased commitment toward public education. Historical accounts have often been critical of the consequences as new school hierarchies were created and old and new social divisions consolidated. In the 1970s and later there was also the rise of multiculturalism in educational policy. In the new funding climate, religious groups such as the Greek Orthodox, Anglicans, Lutherans, Jews, Muslims, and many others, including Protestant “fundamentalists,” began founding their own, partially state-funded schools.¹⁰

Schools of arts and mechanics institutes were founded early in the nineteenth century. There are continuing controversies in the discussion of these institutions around the questions of why they were founded, who used them, and their responsibilities for forming culture and disseminating knowledge. Founded in the 1850s and later, the universities of Australia were all public, state-grant-assisted institutions until the founding of private and Catholic universities in the 1970s.¹¹

In New Zealand, national education followed a succession of organized, profit-driven colonizing activity by Edward Gibbon Wakefield’s New Zealand Company, a period of relatively autonomous provincial councils, and then central state development. Systematic colonization brought individuals from diverse backgrounds to isolated settlements throughout the country. Education was not a priority for the New Zealand Company, so community concerns and local expectations were the dynamic forces in delivering education for settler children. Early schools were selective, providing either for those seen to be without appropriate parental guidance or support or those who could pay the fees.

When Britain granted self-government in 1852, a provincial system was established. It fostered local identities and provincial loyalties. The education that emerged differed from settlement to settlement in both quality and quantity. Reflecting its mainly Scottish heritage, for example, Otago prioritized education, and the first New Zealand university began there in 1871. Three years later the Canterbury College was established. Provincial jealousies and unresolved tension between the two institutions over the granting of degrees prompted the establishment of a national university based on affiliated colleges. It operated on this model until 1961.

During the 1860s there were interventions to alleviate the limitations of the underdeveloped central administration of New Zealand schools. Existing missionary schools and those established under the provincial system were used to address two problems seen to be of national significance: tensions with Māori and the impact of urban poverty. In 1867, when the Native Schools Act established state control of education for Māori schooling, the Neglected and Criminal Children Act gave support to provincial charities that schooled children, seen simultaneously as both victims and potential perpetrators of social ills.¹²

The dissolution of the provinces in 1876 called into question the limitations of local education in promoting national cohesion. Provision was fragmented and unable to meet the increasing expectations of communities, but not everyone favored centralization. When the

national system was established in 1877, central-provincial tensions were expressed in its administrative structure. The central Department of Education would make regulations and distribute statutory capitation grants for administration by twelve district education boards. Locally elected school committees managed daily school routines and oversaw the compulsory attendance clause of the act.

After much debate, it was concluded that instruction was to be secular in the state schools. In practice, however, an ambiguity in the act enabled noncompulsory religious instruction for a short period during nondedicated school opening hours. Although not formally legislated until 1964, this practice was controversial, especially with the denominationalists, who had been prompted by the secular clause of the act to establish their own private schools. As in Australia, the denominationalists, particularly the Catholic Church, argued that as taxpayers they were paying twice for their education. Sustained advocacy into the 1940s brought small concessions to help keep some poorer church schools afloat, but it was not until the passing of the 1975 Private Schools Conditional Integration Act that public funding was secured for these schools, while allowing them to maintain their "special character."¹³

There are relatively few comprehensive accounts of the development of state education in New Zealand. Arthur Gordon Butchers's seminal studies of 1929 and 1930 in the Whig tradition document the work of educators and the administrative system in detailed celebratory narratives. Tensions in decision-making such as those noted above were presented as minor impediments in an evolutionary process on the road to consensus. Increasing concern with the effects of such tensions and the resulting conflict initiated the revisionist response to traditional accounts of New Zealand's educational history. The result was thematically structured discussions of this history, focusing on specific groups, issues, and principles around which educational policy had developed. A more recent development, reflecting revisionist critiques of the state's involvement in education and the influence of globalization in changing political contexts, has been an interrogation of the role of education in the processes of state formation and nation-building.¹⁴

During the provincial years, there were few adequately trained or experienced teachers. An adaptation of the English pupil-teacher system provided some opportunity for instruction on teaching method during noninstruction time, as did the development of normal schools and training departments in the main towns and cities. In 1878 regulations to establish national consistency in the examination, classification, and certification of teachers were published. In these early developments lay the genesis of the rigid grading of teachers that had the effect of constraining progressive teacher practice and student experience. Reflecting Australia's experiences, these approaches came under fire when New Education Fellowship speakers visited New Zealand in 1937 to support the first Labour government's progressive education agenda and its vision of equality of educational opportunity.¹⁵

With its origins in local charitable concerns for child poverty as well as growing awareness of early childhood education in Europe, interest in kindergartens arose in the national primary schools. Attempts to model infant classes on European kindergartens were initially unsuccessful, as classes were large and teacher preparation inadequate. This changed starting in 1905, when teacher training became part of the Education Department agenda and kindergartens developed to reflect a blend of European ideas and colonial contexts. Until 1986 a distinction was maintained between kindergartens and childcare initiatives, but these were brought under one regulatory and qualification framework as part of the major changes to education that were introduced in the late 1980s.¹⁶

The three-tiered administrative arrangements for national education established in 1877 were finally interrupted by the restructuring of education in 1989 along free market principles. The social welfare policies of the prosperous postwar period became a growing burden during the recession of the 1970s and precipitated a critique of the interventionist welfare state in general and of the way the state education system operated in particular. At the same time, concerns were being expressed that the goal of equality of opportunity could not be realized by the current system given the social and economic difficulties faced by certain groups of children. Criticism of the existing system from these conflicting schools of thought resulted in a radical change in the administration, role, and character of schooling in New Zealand. A policymaking Ministry of Education replaced the former department. Education boards were disestablished, and community boards of trustees became responsible for the management of schools as independent crown agencies.

The new system of managing education has generated scholarly interest in the nature and role of the state in the history of education, but minimal consideration so far of the historically significant role of the voluntary sector and its shifting relationships with the state.¹⁷ Major factors shaping education in New Zealand today are globalization effects, the Māori renaissance, the cultural diversity of society, and an increasing policy shift toward full social inclusion.

CURRICULUM REFORM AND VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL SCHOOLING

Differential provision has been a consistent feature of modern schooling. It has served as a mechanism through which privilege and inequality have been sustained and naturalized along axes of ability, class, ethnicity, and gender. Decisions about which students should have access to what knowledge and through what forms of provision in both New Zealand and Australia have shifted over time. They have taken on new meanings as contemporary policy addresses the paradox of seeking improved student and school performance, competition, and social inclusion.

In New Zealand, schooling for early settlers favored religious instruction, English language, reading, writing, and arithmetic, and industrial training. This was also the case within the denominational schools developed for Māori and destitute children under the 1847 Education Ordinance. By 1874 the curriculum of state-directed schools was increasingly focused on economic and vocational utility in the management of troublesome populations.

The nationalizing of education in 1877 brought all children under public scrutiny. The introduction of a central curriculum, examination, and promotion regimen initiated a standards-based organizational system for schools that was also attentive to the age and demonstrated performance of the child. Along with enforced compulsory attendance, it provided the means with which a heterogeneous student body could be judged as successful or not and channeled into differentiated educational experiences. By the turn of the century this approach underpinned two major developments in New Zealand's educational history: the expansion of the postprimary sector and the development of special education. Central to both of these developments was George Hogben, inspector-general of schools from 1899 to 1915.

The objective of compulsory state schooling had been to make pupils useful and conforming citizens, while secondary education remained the preserve of an elite minority. Higher classes in rural schools became district high schools in the 1877 Act and provided both academic and general courses. Agitation for access to a secondary experience responsive to the modern industrializing world was opposed by existing schools. For example, they saw the introduction of manual or technical curricula as a threat to their status and their role in promoting social mobility. Young people working in trades, who had previously been unable to access higher education, requested vocational training in evening continuation classes. There were also advocates for better science education. Girls were thought to require domestic training to prepare them for their “natural” futures as wives, mothers, and servants.

Hogben introduced technical high schools as a practical alternative to the academic focus that had dominated existing provision. Free places in academic schools were made available to pupils who passed the primary school's final proficiency examination. The lesser credential, the competency certificate, provided free places in vocational programs. Hogben rejected the more formal academic instruction that some Māori denominational boarding schools were offering, reaffirming an English and manual training curriculum as the most suitable for Māori girls and boys likely to remain in their villages. The incorporation of eugenically based ideals of motherhood and the decision in 1917 to make domestic science compulsory for school girls sought to ensure that women understood their primary duties.¹⁸

Compulsory education and promotion by ability identified “backward” children who were not progressing with their peers. As the eugenics discourse gained momentum and new knowledge about child development was disseminated, these children became a problem to be managed. In 1907 Hogben traveled abroad to examine initiatives for backward children. He became convinced of the need for various forms of specialist provision. On his return to New Zealand he established the country's first reformatory, to be followed some years later by the introduction of ungraded special classes. A medical model of diagnosis and correction through segregated provision remained largely unchallenged until concern for human rights and social justice began to emerge in the 1970s.

Revisionist accounts of the initiatives of the Hogben era have highlighted the selective mechanisms that challenged egalitarian ideals in privileging some and marginalizing others.¹⁹ Opposition from the country's first Labour government prompted the abolition of the proficiency examination in 1936. With this major barrier to access removed, participation in secondary schooling rose rapidly, reaching 85 percent by 1944, when the leaving age was raised to fifteen. As schools were then required to offer a broader range of subject options to meet the needs and interests of a diverse student body, technical, homecraft, and later commercial courses were introduced in the training colleges. This paved the way for the curriculum developments presented in the Thomas Report on schooling in New Zealand of 1944. There would be a common core with optional subjects allowing the meeting of individual needs. By the 1960s almost all young people were attending secondary schools, and the tendency to differentiate between the forms of provision was disappearing. Within the next decade, separate technical high schools were phased out.²⁰

The broad features of the history of differentiated schooling and curriculum in Australia are similar to those that occurred in New Zealand. At the same time, because each of the six colonies (and states and territories after federation in 1901) have separate schooling histories, there are real differences between them. It was not until the 1970s that the national government began to exert a profound influence on education policy.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century Friedrich Froebel's idea of the kindergarten became increasingly popular, especially among the middle-class "child savers." In the inner cities, the kindergarten movement was regarded as a crucial intervention to improve the lives of "slum" children, as well as their mothers and families. Kindergartens soon appeared in middle-class suburbs also. The most prominent organization responsible for their spread across the cities and towns of Australia was the Kindergarten Union. Kindergarten teacher training colleges were founded in each state. Australian governments have found it remarkably difficult to enable access of all children across the multiple providers of preschool and childcare through to the present day.

In Australia a range of public schools was founded to support the supply of trained workers for industry and agriculture. Early in the twentieth century many were night schools. Technical schools were invariably for boys and domestic science for girls. Commercial schools and classes could be mixed, but by the mid-twentieth century they were usually for girls. Intelligence testing often played a role in directing young people into different schools and courses within schools. Vocational guidance supplemented this approach. Mid-twentieth-century educational leaders whose careers were intermittently supported by grants from the Carnegie Corporation, such as Harold Wyndham in New South Wales, developed testing regimens for differentiated schooling.

Tasmania, Western Australia, and New South Wales led the post-World War II move to comprehensive high schools. South Australia and Victoria were the last to close separate technical schools. In the 1970s the federal government's Schools Commission supported the move to increased retention, the development of credentials that included more school leavers, and comprehensive schooling. Toward the end of the twentieth century, however, government policies shifted focus from inclusion, access, and social justice to skilling the youth labor force. As de-industrialization proceeded, youth unemployment grew. The "new vocationalism" entered public policy, and more diverse institutions that regarded parents and youth as customers were developed. School choice policies began to reshape the historical terrain of Australian schooling.

Training and educating for trades, occupations, and professions have long been the business of postsecondary institutions. Great technical and agricultural colleges were established in the nineteenth century, as were universities in Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, and Hobart. The turning point in Australia's history of separate colleges of advanced education and universities came in the 1980s, when the federal Labor minister, John Dawkins, required consolidation of the tertiary sector. Colleges of advanced education were combined to create new universities or merged into old. The consequences of this "Dawkins revolution" continue to be worked through well into the twenty-first century.

Schooling as a primary means of producing a "useful population" has been advocated from the beginnings of the Australian colonies. Indigenous populations were to be "civilized" and made useful workers (if not full citizens until the 1960s). Working-class boys, girls, and families were to be made less unruly as a result of schooling and hopefully "adjusted" to the labor market, to use the language of the 1950s. Middle- and ruling-class children, those clever enough, were to be trained for the professions, and even educated in the higher literary culture as well as applied and pure science in the top streams of secondary schools and in the universities. Schools, primary and secondary, were to make loyal members of the British Empire in the nineteenth century and good subjects and citizens of Australia in the next two centuries. Schools had a crucial role in consolidating the national ANZAC myth, that

Australia became a great nation from the sacrifices of its soldiers, especially in Turkey and France during World War I. New Zealand shared this citizen-making role of the ANZAC legend as it was disseminated in schools.

SCHOOLING RURAL AND REMOTE FAMILIES

In Australia it was of long-standing concern to rural communities and their political parties that schools be provided in country areas. The argument of Geoffrey Blainey in *The Tyranny of Distance* from 1968 could easily be applied to the trouble of spreading schools through the sparsely settled rural and outback settlements of Australia. Leaving it to the enterprise and resources of small communities proved difficult, as Malcolm Vick's work on nineteenth-century South Australia demonstrates. Then there were the efforts of the centralized developing systems of public and Catholic schools. The newly formed teaching order, the Sisters of St Joseph, founded many schools for Catholic families in rural and outback settlements. Centralized public systems of education also put a teacher and a building in many small communities, but for at least half a century from the 1870s the teachers were often poorly trained "provisionals" and the schools were also classified as provisional. The sagas of young women teachers isolated in bush schools became staples in literature as well as historical scholarship.

Australian departments of education worked at successive solutions to the problems. Traveling and half-time schools operated by itinerant teachers belong mainly to the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Then there were correspondence lessons and schools, and later schools of the air and the use of conventional and two-way radio. Late in the twentieth century access to television and the more promising internet could not be guaranteed in more remote communities.

For children of wealthier farmers and graziers there was usually the possibility of boarding schools in large country towns and the capital cities. The state itself, except for agricultural schools, rarely established boardinghouses. It may have been a wise neglect considering the histories of child physical and sexual abuse being revealed in the mainly church-sponsored boarding and residential establishments of the twentieth century.

Founded in the 1920s, the Country Party was an effective advocate for more school establishments in rural areas. In New South Wales, David Drummond, sometime minister of education in 1927–1941 helped establish a teachers' college and university college in the town of Armidale. Rural politicians supported the establishment, especially in the 1960s, of the government comprehensive high school as the typical secondary school, whether urban or rural, across the Australian states.²¹

Compared with the vastness of Australia, distance in New Zealand had a different meaning but nonetheless posed challenges for education in a nation dependent on its primary industries. Most people lived in rural areas, but most schools were in towns. Exemptions could be sought if children lived further than two miles from the nearest school, but opportunities for rural children to gain some education included subsidized or aided schools, half-time schools, and itinerant rural teachers. Some district high schools, often at the behest of country parents who wanted their children to find work in the towns, maintained an

academic curriculum. Two agricultural high schools for boys were developed in the 1920s. Some wealthy farmers sent their children to boarding school or employed live-in tutors and governesses.

Most country schools were coeducational, with only one or two classrooms. Children usually walked or rode horses to school, but in the 1920s small rural schools were consolidated and a school bus service introduced. Attracting experienced teachers was important, but not always easy. The establishment of summer training schools for teachers helped, as did having teacher trainees spend a placement in a country school. By 1938 a three-year country service requirement had become a compulsory step on the teacher grading ladder.

Beginning in 1922 the Correspondence School provided lessons for children in remote areas. From a service first delivered by mail to 167 primary-age students, within six years it had more than quadrupled and included secondary courses. Technological developments have kept pace with those in the wider educational sector with radio broadcasts (1937–1997) and today's internet, email, and interactive across-sites teaching technologies.

A steady decline in the number of country schools and student numbers in both Australia and New Zealand reflects a downturn in farming and the continued consolidation of small schools.

CONCLUSION

Australia and New Zealand have relatively short schooling histories. Both were responsive to the historical pressures that were also seen in Britain and North America. These created public school systems typified by compulsory attendance and the idea that national progress would increasingly depend on sustained educational effort. In the process the character of childhood, youth, and families was transformed. This was not accidental. Managing populations that were variably considered unruly or difficult was an early and explicit task of schools. That these countries had substantial indigenous populations was one reason for the differences in their histories, both from each other and from countries elsewhere. Another was that each country regarded itself, especially in the 1880–1920 period, as a progressive social laboratory. This helps explain the early interest in the progressive New Education, the faith in governments to improve the lives of the population, and the attempts to create schools that would support employment and economic development. It also helps explain the forces that sought to universalize the experience of formal education for increasingly long periods of young people's lives.

Throughout this history, schools have been responsive to social difference and at some points have reinforced those based on gender, social class, and ethnic, racial, and intellectual differences. The ideology of British liberalism, with its general support for education as a foundation for national and individual progress and opportunity, forms part of the identity of each of these settler societies. How these ideals translate to a context where the recognition of social diversity and choice has become a significant policy objective for educational provision, in an era of heightened globalization, has begun to reframe the writing of educational histories in both countries.

Issues of centralization and local control are endemic themes in the history of education in Australia and New Zealand. Perhaps paradoxically, in Australia the fact of dispersed rural

populations increased the tendency toward centralized public systems of education, resistant to local control. In New Zealand a central education system for Māori was established in their rural communities ten years before the introduction of the national system for settler, Pākehā children. The impulse to centralize was uneven in both countries. Issues of governability, fair access, local control, and rights to faith-based schooling were only part of the matrix of factors influencing the different histories of educational provision. In both countries in more recent times the logic of prescriptive central control has broken down as neoliberal-influenced policies have led to a new valorization of markets, market forces, and lessening government intrusions, at least those that sought to administer centrally the school reforms that were thought to support social welfare and social justice.

At many points in each country's postcolonization history there was reference to what was going on in England and Ireland, sometimes Scotland and the United States, and less often, European countries. Historical examination of these transnational influences has been especially fruitful for nations like Australia and New Zealand in understanding their educational histories. There is much scope for continuing work in transnational and comparative studies that include Australia and New Zealand. Such work holds potential for understanding why national education systems that are familiar are both similar to and different from others around the world.

Challenges for the field are to produce histories of indigenous education that respond to postcolonial and indigenous perspectives. The Australian historiography is especially weak in this respect. Another challenge is to reconsider issues relating to national sovereignty and their relevance to education in the light of the most recent forces arising from the globalization process. For societies such as Australia and New Zealand these issues develop very particular meanings and raise important questions about the role of education in citizen formation and how schools and higher education institutions prepare youth for the new conditions of economic production, labor, and the markets organizing them. Even though the challenges of these new circumstances require new interpretations of Australia's and New Zealand's educational histories, consideration of older questions are hardly exhausted in the existing historiography. While good studies of the gendering of the teaching profession in relation to women and girls' education exist, work on men and boys' education is barely begun. Broad and illuminating histories of literacy and curriculum remain to be written. Deficits in the historiography such as these impact on good educational policymaking for the future.

NOTES

1. For broad surveys of the historiography, see Bob Bessant, "'Progress' and Revision in the History of Education in the 1980s," *Discourse* 12, no. 1 (1991): 67–84; Craig Campbell and Geoffrey Sherington, "History of Education," *Change: Transformations in Education* 5, no. 1 (2002): 46–64; William F. Connell, "Research and Writing in the History of Education," in *Australian Education: Review of Recent Research*, ed. J. P. Keeves (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1987): 29–65; Gary McCulloch, *Education in the Forming of New Zealand Society* (Auckland: NZCER, 1986); Thomas O'Donoghue, "History of Education Research in Australia," *Paedagogica Historica* 50, no. 6 (2014): 805–812; Roger Openshaw, Greg Lee, and Howard Lee, *Challenging the Myths* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1993); Roy Shuker, *The One Best System? A Revisionist History of State Schooling in New Zealand* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1987).
2. Alison Jones and Kuni Jenkins, *He Kōrero—Words between Us: First Māori-Pākehā Conversations on Paper* (Wellington: Huia, 2011).

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CHAPTER 12

NATIONAL EDUCATION SYSTEMS

Latin America

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BUILDING nationwide public education systems in Latin America was a long and complex process that involved political frameworks and social actors that were themselves evolving. Our knowledge of this process is still incomplete, reflecting the emphases and gaps in the historical scholarship. The four subjects that have received greater scholarly attention are the colonial legacy, education and citizenship, *Estados Docentes* or Teaching States, and education and modernization. Under Spanish domination, and Portuguese rule in the case of Brazil, colonial schooling was locally managed and funded, socially segmented, and largely provided by the Catholic clergy. Enlightened officers made efforts to expand, centralize, and, to some extent, secularize schooling in the late colonial period, with limited success. Although most countries adopted republican political systems after independence, the colonial legacy remained influential in both institutional and conceptual terms. Political and economic instability limited the capacity of national governments to manage and fund public schools, and efforts to use education as a means of social control generated resistance from the middle sectors and the lower classes. Socioeconomic conditions limited rural access to schooling, in particular.

In the late nineteenth century, governments began the construction of centralized, national public education systems, which scholars call *Estados Docentes* or Teaching States. Governments sought to manage human and material resources better and to bolster allegiance to the nation in a context characterized by soaring exports, urbanization, and, in some cases, rising immigration. Centralizing elites were also looking to enhance their hegemony, asserting their authority over local power holders and subaltern groups. A preexisting network of decentralized public schools, growing demand for education, and teachers' support made centralization viable. Teaching States initially provided more resources to education, expanded schooling, and tried to professionalize teachers and to improve their working conditions and social status. At the same time, centralized public systems homogenized the curricula and reduced local influence on educational matters. Beginning in the early twentieth century, as modernization continued, governments carried on literacy campaigns

and expanded secondary education, frequently in collaboration with international organizations. While these top-down policies advanced quantitative inclusiveness, their high-handed implementation fostered discontent.

The scholarship on the history of education in Latin America is uneven and includes few comparative studies. Previous authors have identified three different approaches.¹ The traditional perspective conceives of education as a continuous progress, usually from less democratic, decentralized chaos to more democratic, centralized order. This approach tends to be celebratory, emphasizing the achievements of prominent policymakers, educators, and schools. It presents a top-to-bottom narrative of primary and secondary education, focusing on regulations and institutions. The revisionist perspective, in contrast, highlights the shortcomings of educational policies. Some revisionist scholars contrast elite educational ideas and official regulations with the slow, irregular expansion of schooling. Other revisionists focus on elite attempts to use education to strengthen their own political power, while increasing their control over more acquiescent and productive lower classes. Finally, a more recent approach interprets educational policies, institutions, and practices as elements of larger projects of state and nation construction. This innovative scholarship emphasizes the agency of a wider range of social actors, viewing schools as arenas of political and cultural confrontation and negotiation. Some scholars have investigated the material and symbolic factors that affected demand for education, an issue that deserves more attention. A few studies have examined the construction of gender roles within formal education and the relationship between schooling and literacy, both questions that require more research as well.

THE COLONIAL LEGACY

The colonial order left a lasting imprint in Latin American education. Both the Spanish and Portuguese crowns entrusted the Catholic Church with supplying education to the colonial population and supervising lay educators. Aside from the church's involvement, schooling had political and practical goals, it was concentrated in the urban areas, and it was socially segmented. Scholasticism introduced drilling and rote learning, teaching methods that have had a long life in the region. Colonial states expected education to form virtuous subjects, prepared to meet their social responsibilities and economic functions. By teaching the doctrine, the clergy legitimated the divine sovereignty of the monarchies. Priests also buttressed the colonial order by inculcating acquiescence to political and religious authorities and instilling deference toward those of higher standing.

Following European tradition, institutions and educators organized the curriculum according to the age and gender of students. Elementary schools taught the doctrine, reading, writing, and rudimentary arithmetic to boys over approximately seven years of age. To prepare for college, older boys attended intermediate establishments (*escuelas de latinidad* or *escolas de Latinidade*), where they studied Latin and the Spanish (or Portuguese) grammar. Minor *colegios* or boarding schools provided these same subjects and added the humanities (Latin grammar, literature, and rhetoric) and arts (logic, physics, and mathematics). Higher-level *colegios* included the teaching of philosophy; this was the last subject required to enter university. There are no systematic studies regarding the occupations of former students of

intermediate education who did not enter university. Because they were literate individuals who possessed a humanistic culture (*letrados*), we can assume that many of them joined the civil or ecclesiastical bureaucracies.²

Colonial female education was less formal and more limited than male education, especially in Brazil, but there was also segmentation and ecclesiastical involvement. Society expected women to become wives and mothers or nuns devoted to the church. Women were not expected to receive a refined education, obtain academic degrees, join the civil bureaucracy, or occupy ecclesiastical positions outside of convents. Willing families who were able to provide instruction to their daughters hired private tutors or sent them to informal lay schools run by women or classrooms within convents. In these settings, girls learned the Catholic doctrine, needlework, reading, and sometimes writing. In early colonial Spanish America, private benefactors in partnership with political and ecclesiastical authorities established houses for male and female orphans and foundlings, frequently of any race. However, schools for children without parents could admit only those considered "Spanish" or white, once they were about seven years old. Young girls who entered convents as novices, servants, or slaves received spiritual training and some extent of education. Occasionally convents also took in orphan or foundling boys or boys related to the women who lived at the convent, and they received some instruction. In the late eighteenth century, Brazilian convents began providing instruction to elite girls, and in the early nineteenth century, town councils and benevolent societies started creating female schools.³

Colonial societies were nominally corporatist from the start, which means that subjects had different legal rights and duties and had to receive education in agreement with the estate or social order to which they belonged. The Spanish monarchy, in particular, formally divided its subjects into "Spaniards" (Europeans) and "Indians." The crown expected the clergy to evangelize the indigenous population, spread the use of Iberian languages, and, insofar as possible, teach reading and writing. In indigenous towns and missions, priests evangelized natives verbally or by reading aloud from religious catechisms, sometimes printed in Spanish or Portuguese and sometimes translated into indigenous languages. Ecclesiastical efforts to teach reading and writing in predominantly rural areas were limited and irregular. Outside cities and larger towns, then, the majority of lower-class Indians memorized the basics of the doctrine and learned some spoken Spanish or Portuguese but remained mostly illiterate. Nonelite Indians who migrated to larger settlements had the chance to learn more of the Iberian languages because of greater exposure and practical need. Nevertheless their poverty and lower status limited educational access. In contrast, native elites in the Spanish dominions had greater educational opportunities due to their standing and intermediary role. The monarchy supported boarding schools for their children in the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru. These schools taught both elementary and intermediate subjects.⁴

Formally, male whites had greater educational opportunities than Indians, blacks, and people of mixed race. The Spanish and Portuguese monarchies expected Europeans and their descendants to occupy higher social positions, performing occupations that were more respectable and taking on greater responsibilities within the colonial state. The clergy established elementary schools, Latin schools, *colegios*, and universities for young white men. The Society of Jesus was the religious order most involved in colonial education, and therefore it has received more attention from historians. In the Spanish American colonies, the secular clergy and Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians were also involved in

educational activities. In the case of Brazil, Franciscans, Benedictines, and Carmelites were active in education. Despite the educational involvement of the clergy, not all white families could afford to provide formal education for their offspring. Family background and connections mattered as much as, if not more than, academic talent to gain access to the limited number of scholarships funded by political and ecclesiastical authorities. Consequently most of the white population of the Spanish and Portuguese dominions had an imperfect knowledge of reading and writing or remained illiterate.⁵

Gradually social and ideological transformations brought about changes in schooling, especially in the eighteenth century. Interracial unions and cultural syncretism led to the emergence of a hierarchy of multiracial “castes,” making nominal segregation according to estate more difficult to enforce in practice. Affluent families of racially mixed ancestry could afford sending their children to schools formally reserved for Europeans and their descendants. While traditional scholasticism favored highly abstract knowledge received from ancient and medieval authorities, the Enlightenment introduced an eclectic, empiric, and utilitarian conception of education. The Iberian monarchies adopted this new understanding of education hoping to renovate their dominions, better using available resources and “civilizing” the population to make it more industrious and disciplined. Influenced by regalism, an ideology that advocated royal primacy in ecclesiastical matters, the monarchies also sought to gain firmer control over the Catholic clergy. The Society of Jesus, extensively involved in education and probably the most prosperous of the religious orders, questioned this effort. Partly in response to this challenge, in 1759 the Portuguese crown expelled the Jesuits from its dominions, and the Spanish monarchy followed suit in 1767. Both crowns confiscated the assets of the Jesuits, taking over their educational institutions and placing them under the administration of the secular clergy and other religious orders. While some scholars argue that the expulsion of the Jesuits modernized higher education, others claim that this step discredited royal authority and, in certain instances, led to the decline of educational institutions.⁶

Given the turmoil of the late colonial period, scholars have overlooked changes in elementary and intermediate education until recently. Official reforms sought to expand schooling, increase royal oversight, foster political allegiance, and make subjects more productive. Reformers criticized the scholastic approach, which included corporal punishment, rote learning, and courtly manners. Innovators believed the child was born with innate rational instincts and should receive a comprehensive, virtuous, and useful education. Colonial states tried to supervise ecclesiastical involvement in education more closely and, in some cases, to reduce it. In some areas, authorities maintained caste or class segmentation, while in others they did not. In northern Peru, Bishop Martínez Compañón established elementary and vocational schools for the children of indigenous communities in the 1780s. At a time of native unrest, Martínez Compañón emphasized instilling loyalty to the crown. In western and central El Salvador, indigenous villages sustained elementary schools using communal funds. Children of *ladinos* (mixed-race people, poor Spaniards, free blacks, and Indian outsiders) could also attend but made separate payments. In “Spanish” cities and towns, council funds paid for schools, but *ladinos* had to pay monthly fees. In Cali (Colombia), the priest Manuel Cuero donated a charitable fund in 1787 for the establishment of a free elementary school, open to boys of all classes and races. In Minas Gerais province (Brazil), a local entrepreneur bequeathed a charitable fund for the opening of a boarding school for poor children in the late 1780s. Boarders could be of any race and born legitimate or not, but poverty and good morals were required.⁷

By the end of the colonial period, primary and intermediate education already exhibited some of the conceptual, organizational, and social characteristics it would feature in the early postindependence era. Intellectuals and educators influenced by the Enlightenment thought that children were born with rational instincts that comprehensive and judicious schooling should foster and shape. A civilizing education could correct the defects that children may have developed due to a faulty upbringing, making them hard-working, disciplined adults. While the Catholic clergy still had an important role in education, political authorities nominally assumed the responsibility of setting the basic educational rules and supervising schools and teachers. School curricula were organized by gender and, broadly, by age. Although the effective segregation of schooling by legal status had declined, segmentation by caste and class continued. In rural areas, the indigenous population was bilingual or monolingual in their traditional language. The majority of the population, both Indian and non-Indian, remained illiterate.

EDUCATION AND CITIZENSHIP

Even though independence brought about a transformation of political systems, changes in pedagogical ideas, methods, and practices were limited. Enlightened conceptions of children as inherently rational, and of education as remedial, remained influential. Schooling would correct the mistaken morals and faulty customs that the young acquired during their early upbringing, eradicating Old Regime ignorance and superstition as well. In a context of shifting regimes, political and intellectual elites continued conceiving of education as a means of political indoctrination, inculcating virtue, emotional temperance, and obedience toward the newly legitimate authorities. Elites also considered literacy an indispensable condition to be a minimally informed and free individual, capable of becoming a full citizen, entitled to vote and to be elected. However, the ability to read and write was not a sufficient condition; political enfranchisement was restricted to adult men who were not unemployed or subjected to coerced labor and, over time, who met specific property and income qualifications. While postindependence states set themselves the goal of expanding literacy, various groups (minors and women, slaves and servants, vagrants and gamblers) were formally excluded from suffrage, even if they learned to read and write. Still, schooling was expected to provide people with the knowledge and skills necessary to fulfill the political responsibilities and economic roles befitting their gender and social status.⁸

Until the mid-nineteenth century, most Latin American states relied on local authorities, the Catholic clergy, and private educators for the provision of schooling, whether free of tuition or not. National and provincial governments provided small, irregular subsidies to public schools, handing over most of the funding and supervising responsibilities to town and city councils. In Buenos Aires province, the authoritarian governor Juan Manuel de Rosas went as far as canceling all public subsidies for schooling in 1838. Although municipal governments had a long existence in Latin America, embodying political representation during and after independence, they struggled to meet their educational responsibilities. With few and temporary exceptions, early national authorities encouraged the Catholic clergy to continue running elementary schools. They kept minimum requirements for the granting of teaching licenses. Hence the knowledge and training of private educators, and the size and curriculum of the schools they ran, varied widely.⁹

Nineteenth-century Latin American educators were eclectic in terms of pedagogical methods. Individual teaching, rote learning, and corporal punishments were officially condemned but not fully discarded. Modern approaches like the Lancasterian system and Pestalozzi's ideas were also influential. Postindependence elites placed great hope in the methods of mutual instruction developed concurrently by Joseph Lancaster and Andrew Bell. The "Lancasterian system" bespoke an affordable and effective means to educate many students with limited numbers of teachers. A single teacher oversaw a number of "monitors" or student teachers per classroom, who in turn conveyed the instructor's orders to less advanced classmates. The method was highly regimented in space and time; discipline was based on impressing students' feelings through rewards that filled them with pride or shaming penalties that excluded corporal punishment. Authorities enthusiastically promoted the Lancasterian system, offering training courses, printing some of the required pedagogical materials, and sometimes mandating its use. Over time the results of the Lancasterian method were mixed. As governmental financial support dried up, the system was used inconsistently, never delivering truly mass education. While some scholars claim that the system trained children in meritocratic citizenship, certain contemporaries opposed the new method because they considered it unfit for the elite.¹⁰

Traditional intermediate education as preparatory for college evolved into self-contained secondary schooling during the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, scholarly studies about the transformation of colonial Latin schools and *colegios* into high schools are still scarce. In Chile in 1843 the national government introduced a secondary curriculum that placed emphasis on Latin language and literature. The official goal was molding a virtuous political elite according to the models provided by the Roman republic. Politicians and educators who wanted a more practical schooling, one suited to local economic priorities, questioned the paradigm. The government reformed the secondary curriculum in the 1870s, making Latin an optional subject and privileging instead Spanish grammar, modern languages, mathematics, and national history, among others. In New Granada (modern Colombia), the private Colegio del Espíritu Santo, founded in 1846, combined preparatory and university-level courses and required the study of Latin as well as modern languages.¹¹

Rising export economies and growing fiscal revenues encouraged ascending elite factions to introduce educational changes during the second half of the nineteenth century. Urbanization and growing demand for education were contributing factors that require further study. National governments assumed greater responsibility for funding and supervising public schools and training future teachers. Conflicts between political conservatives and liberals intensified, with liberal administrations secularizing public education up to varying degrees from 1870 and after. Simultaneously a new wave of European Catholic orders opened primary and secondary schools, sometimes with official support. Private educational entrepreneurs contributed to a curricular diversification. Governments opened public *escuelas normales* or teacher-training schools to professionalize teaching, frequently hiring foreign educators to manage these institutions. Some schools adopted the pedagogical ideas of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, who encouraged regard for the child's emotions and natural development, as well as participatory educational activities such as object lessons and field trips. Due to the growing comforts of urban life and the cost of attending teacher-training institutes, graduates of these institutions were reluctant to settle in rural areas. While urban education expanded, rural schooling lagged behind due to insufficient funds and lack of qualified teachers. In countries with sizable indigenous

populations, who lived mostly in rural areas, Indians remained largely excluded from formal education.¹²

The expansion of urban education and the opening of public teacher-training schools favored a growing feminization of teaching. Since the late colonial period, official rhetoric argued that women had to be educated because, as mothers, they had early influence over children. After independence, politicians and intellectuals expected women to raise good future citizens while remaining formally excluded from the public arena. How women faced the contradiction between the political and educational universalism of official rhetoric and the realities of limited access to schooling and unequal socioeconomic opportunities in the early postindependence decades is a matter that requires further study. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the number of primary schools for women increased, and new female secondary schools opened, leading to debates about the desirable level of women's education. Buenos Aires, which experienced an exceptional economic development at the time, had a number of female professional and trade schools. As urban schooling expanded across the region, women were seen as natural educators and willing to accept lower salaries, leading to a growing proportion of female primary teachers. Teaching gave elite women, impoverished upper-class women, and women of the middle class the chance to live professional lives with a modicum of financial autonomy.¹³

THE CREATION OF *ESTADOS DOCENTES*

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, governments gradually centralized the funding and administration of public education. They also assumed a larger role in defining the curriculum and textbooks of both public and private schools. The establishment of *Estados Docentes* (Teaching States) was motivated by economic, social, political, and ideological factors. A wider range of raw-material exports provided growing fiscal revenues that allowed national authorities to pay for centralization, while also confiscating the resources formerly managed by local governments. Intellectuals influenced by European positivism believed that a national bureaucracy, as opposed to local officers, would run public education in a more scientific and effective manner. The upper classes expected expanded schooling, with homogeneous content and rituals, to enhance allegiance to the nation, especially in the case of immigrant and nonwhite populations. National political elites also viewed education as a means to assert their authority over local power holders, while keeping emerging mass politics under control. Rapidly growing middle classes and hopeful public school teachers supported centralization with the expectation of improving their living conditions and gaining social mobility.¹⁴

Estados Docentes were able to effectively increase primary school enrollment and literacy, albeit at different paces according to countries and regions. In the first half of the nineteenth century, children who lived in remote areas or who contributed to their families' sustenance were unable to attend schools. Later, urbanization reduced this opportunity cost of schooling, a trend that continued in the twentieth century. Increased national investment in education circumvented the problem of upper-class and middle-class resistance to redistributive taxation. Countries that were more urbanized and ethnically homogeneous and comparatively less unequal (Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and Costa

Rica) transitioned to mass education in the last three decades of the nineteenth century. Enrollment rates grew faster in Mexico, El Salvador, the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Ecuador, Brazil, Peru, and Bolivia from the 1920s on. In the poorest countries of the region (Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Haiti) enrollment rates only accelerated after World War II. Increasing enrollment was comparatively egalitarian in terms of gender distribution.¹⁵

In the first decades of the twentieth century, in a context of continuing modernization, a new generation of Latin American educators welcomed the New School pedagogy, called *Escuela Nueva* in Spanish America and *Escola Nova* in Brazil. The term was loosely used to refer to the progressive educational ideas of John Dewey (USA), Ovide Decroly (Belgium), Adolphe Ferriere (Switzerland), and Maria Montessori (Italy), among others. New School pedagogy was critical of positivistic approaches that placed the subject matter and the teacher at the center of schooling, neglecting the child's nature and spirit. Instead the New School encouraged an approach centered on the student, fostering the child's inherent curiosity and interest in learning. Innovative approaches included the Deweyan "project method," Ferriere's "active school," the "centers of interest" proposed by Decroly, and Montessori's guided self-education. Some governments opened experimental schools to try these techniques. In Brazil, Argentina, and Chile, educators who embraced the New School were sometimes advocates of greater political democracy and, in the last two nations, also activists in favor of teachers' unionism. According to the existing scholarship, the impact of the New School was partial and localized, and its adoption was eclectic. Its implementation and outcomes across the region require more study.¹⁶

EDUCATION AND MODERNIZATION

Greater state involvement in education was the first step toward turning schooling into a means of modernization. The objective of creating a civilized citizenry was not discarded, but the main educational goal became increasing the productivity of the population, especially the lower classes. In fact in some countries the introduction of legislation that made literacy a more rigid requisite for voting was parallel to the expansion of public schooling. The meaning of modernization evolved over the twentieth century, according to national circumstances and international conditions. Earlier in the century, economies oriented toward the exportation of raw materials coexisted with subsistence production and the small but growing manufacture of consumer goods. Public education had to be nationalistic, regenerative, and practical. Schooling was meant to bring greater cohesion to the national community and improve the health and hygiene of students. Although politicians and intellectuals agreed that education had to prepare disciplined and efficient agricultural and industrial workers, some argued that schooling should not be limited to vocational training.¹⁷

Difficulty in accessing international markets during World War I and the Great Depression, as well as further urbanization and expansion of internal markets, fostered greater commercialization of agriculture and import-substitution industrialization. Educational measures adopted by the Mexican Revolutionary government after the 1920s became models for politicians in other countries. These measures included pedagogical missions to remote

indigenous communities, expansion of rural education with an emphasis on literacy and agricultural training, and official celebration of selected aspects of popular culture. Studies on local responses to these initiatives in Mexico show that schools became spaces for political and cultural negotiation. Rural communities conditionally accepted the culture of schooling, using literacy to defend their interests, while sometimes rejecting official anticlericalism. Some scholars have examined the implementation of similar policies in Bolivia and Peru, while others mention the introduction of analogous measures in Venezuela and Colombia. In the 1930s Bolivian peasant communities appropriated public “nucleated schools” (*núcleos escolares*) to build up alliances with progressive intellectuals and radical political parties, as well as resisting feudal-like landowners. Peruvian peasants also used nucleated schools for developing political alliances and avoiding demands from local power holders in the 1940s. More research about local responses to similar measures in these and other Latin American countries is needed.¹⁸

Populist regimes in both Brazil and Argentina reformed and expanded their public education systems to wholly “regenerate” their populations. Brazilian president Getúlio Vargas, who governed from 1930 to 1945 and from 1945 to 1951, fostered import-substitution industrialization, commercial agriculture, and corporatism, especially during his first administration. Vargas’s regime viewed public schooling as an instrument of political indoctrination, vocational training for the lower classes, the continuing formation of elites, and social homogenization. In an attempt to influence the government, in 1932 educators who supported New School pedagogy or *escolanovistas* released a manifesto calling for obligatory, lay, and free coeducation. They also advocated for administrative decentralization and the independence of public education from partisan politics. As Vargas’s regime became more authoritarian and corporatist, some *escolanovistas* distanced themselves from the government, while others became part of the education administration. Figures available for the period from 1933 to 1953 show that the number of primary schools more than doubled, attendance rose close to 10 percent, and the proportion of students who passed their examinations increased by 8 percent. However, effective matriculation and completion grew less than 1 percent.¹⁹

In Argentina, General Juan Domingo Perón’s first administration (1946–1955) also conceived of public education as a means of political indoctrination and vocational training. Perón’s regime expanded schooling, increased enrollment, and improved retention and completion rates. The regime accomplished this in part by providing public assistance to students in the form of scholarships, transportation, and meals. At the same time, public schooling became a means to inculcate Perón’s ideology and to foster personality cults of the president and his wife Evita. To this purpose, the government reformed educational content and published new textbooks and children’s magazines. After a military coup ousted Perón in 1956, authorities tried to eradicate his influence and memory in public schooling by removing staff members appointed under his rule, issuing new lesson plans and textbooks, and abolishing holidays and ceremonies associated with the former president. Restoration of public subsidies for private schools, which the government suspended in 1954, led to the opening of new Catholic high schools and increased enrollment in private schools and teacher-training colleges.²⁰

After World War II developmentalism and modernization theory encouraged Latin American governments to foster industrialization in partnership with private entrepreneurs and international agencies. For modernization theory, the transitional stage from

traditional societies and economies to modern, capitalist ones carried the risk of fostering communist agitation and rebellion. Both theories viewed low educational level as an obstacle for economic progress. Regardless of their political leanings, in the second half of the twentieth century Latin American states took effective measures to reduce illiteracy. By the early 1990s, average literacy in the region was close to 90 percent. Since the 1960s, Paulo Freire's ideas gained growing influence among progressive educators. Freire emphasized dialogue and consciousness-raising as means to spread literacy and to foster active democratic participation. Governments also increased middle- and lower-class access to primary and secondary education, sometimes with support from foreign entities such as UNESCO and the Alliance for Progress. The existing scholarship shows that the outcomes of these policies were mixed. In 1968 the authoritarian Salvadoran government implemented a set of reforms that included use of educational television, centralized teacher training, and curricula focused on promoting economic development. School enrollment grew, and students improved their performance in certain subjects, but the high-handed imposition of the reforms polarized society.²¹

SCHOLARLY DIRECTIONS

There are four subjects that deserve attention in future scholarship. Schooling as a means of shaping and enforcing gender roles has generally received only passing consideration in historical monographs. One notable exception is Andrew J. Kirkendall's study on the socialization of young elite men enrolled in nineteenth-century Brazilian law schools. Romanticism, liberalism, and, by the end of the century, positivism influenced law students who developed gender, professional, and class identities within and outside the classroom. Another noteworthy exception is Goetschel's work on women's education in Ecuador during the first half of the twentieth century. The author shows that women teachers appropriated the liberal project of expanded, secularized schooling to improve their labor opportunities, create a parallel public sphere, and invest in their careers as professional educators.²² These studies demonstrate the usefulness of adopting a gender perspective in investigating the history of education.

Since the colonial period, schooling sought to eradicate the use of native languages. In the 1970s some Latin American governments began to reverse this long-lasting trend, implementing bilingual educational programs. There are still few works on the implementation of these programs, the reactions they elicited, and their evolution. More research is also necessary on the relationship between schooling and literacy. The detailed study of population surveys in nineteenth-century Chile shows there was no direct relationship between literate adults and children who learned to read and write in individual homes. The same data demonstrate that occupation was not a decisive variable for literacy and that there were significant differences in literacy rates within urban areas. Quantitative research based on population surveys, marriage and military records, and crime statistics shows that in the first half of the twentieth century there was a close relationship between the expansion of schooling and growing literacy rates in various Latin American countries. In addition, as can be expected in racially stratified societies, the prevalence of indigenous populations (and languages) was associated with slower expansion of literacy. Finally, Latin American

schooling has long suffered from absenteeism, repetition, and desertion. Diminishing state investments in education since the 1980s could have potentially worsened these problems. Finding viable solutions requires a better understanding of these issues from a historical perspective.²³

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CHAPTER 13

NATIONAL EDUCATION SYSTEMS

Asia

ELIZABETH VANDERVEN

THE process by which Asian countries established national systems of education took more than a century, beginning in the mid-nineteenth century and continuing well into the second half of the twentieth. In countries that were not colonized, such as Japan, China, and Iran, this process transpired in roughly two stages. First, Western missionaries and private, reform-minded individuals established new schools that stood in stark contrast to traditional methods of education. Second, partly inspired by private activity and partly driven by the imperative to “modernize,” compete on the world stage, and promote a distinct national identity, governments of independent countries in Asia began to establish official systems of schooling intended to be universal and uniform in terms of institutional structure, curriculum, and material conditions. Countries that were colonized, such as India and Malaysia, followed a slightly different pattern. There colonial governments, also influenced by private and missionary activity and with varying objectives in mind, sought ways to make modern education and schooling more widely available to their subjects. After these colonies achieved independence, their new governments began to implement national systems of education in a manner similar to that of noncolonized countries.

Regardless of specific circumstances and environment, when it came time to establish national systems of education, most Asian countries already had a strong educational tradition and the nationalization of education was closely tied with political reform. In addition, the challenges most Asian countries faced were similar, namely how to balance tradition with modernity and Western elements with Eastern and indigenous ones, how to fund the new schools, and how to train teachers. Finally, regardless of whether colonized or colonizer, all countries had to contend with outside models and influences, either from the West or from other parts of the Asian region.

The story of national systems of education in Asia describes how many different groups—from central and regional governments, private individuals, literary figures, political figures, and educational reformers—incorporated foreign models and practices into their local traditions and histories to create something entirely new that embodied notions of nationhood

and, ultimately, self-determination. In most cases, it was understood that the purpose of a national education system was to create a new citizenry, who would share common values and outlooks and contribute to the good of the national polity. Along the way, these actors engaged in debates on a wide range of issues: whom the new education should serve, how to ensure that the greatest number of people benefited, what curriculum would best serve national goals, and how and what role girls and women were to play—not just in the new education systems but in the nations themselves.

Our understanding of how national education systems developed across Asia is informed by a range of studies addressing issues such as geopolitical developments, intellectual and cultural debates, national and local education regulations, and childhood, along with a growing number of case studies that move beyond national-level activities and allow a view into how the new systems affected those who actually attended the schools. These case studies address topics such as female education, minority education, and education in rural areas. More research will be welcome in the future. In particular, the field will benefit from more firsthand accounts from those who actually attended the new national schools. The voices of those who created Asia's national education systems still dominate, and knowing how children themselves experienced their formative years in new schools will help bring balance to an ever-expanding picture. Furthermore, while difficult to track, the field will benefit from studies that are able to establish more concretely how education in the new, national schools actually changed people's lives for the better in socioeconomic terms.

Examining national education in five representative countries—Japan, China, Iran, India, and Malaysia—demonstrates clearly how educational reforms and the establishment of national education systems played out. Japan, the first noncolonized Asian country to successfully launch a national education system, served as a model for its neighbors. China, also never officially under colonial rule, had a strong educational tradition that historically influenced other Asia countries. Iran, one of the oldest civilizations in the world, was conquered by the Arabs in the seventh century and was transformed into an Islamic empire. Its path to a national education system was defined by tensions between balancing its indigenous Islamic characteristics with increasing Western influence, beginning in the eighteenth century. India is significant not only for its large size but also because its development of a national education system occurred in a postcolonial context, as it was winning its independence from Great Britain. Finally, Malaysia, also under British control, had to contend with an extremely diverse population and culture as it embarked on its educational reform program.

JAPAN

Japan was the first Asian nation to implement a national education system. A somewhat isolated archipelago, Japan had relatively little contact with other cultures throughout its history, save for China and Korea. Its isolation was especially enforced, at least in theory, from 1603 to 1868 under the strict and disciplined Tokugawa shogunate, which forbade its subjects to have contact with outside peoples. In reality, by the time the American Commodore Matthew Perry sailed his four steamships into Edo Bay in 1853, quite a few Japanese had been exposed to outside cultures; importantly, a few heterodox Japanese scholars had been exposed to Western learning, medicine, science, and military techniques in forbidden Dutch

schools in the city of Deshima in Nagasaki. When the Tokugawa fell and the new Meiji state was formed in 1868, many of these same scholars helped the new government's ambitious and deliberate attempts to introduce education based on Western models.¹

Only four years after the Meiji state formed, it implemented the *gakusei* Education System Order (*Gakusei*), which outlined a national education system based entirely on Western models, mostly American and, to a lesser degree, French. Despite the Meiji's eagerness to introduce modern schooling, some of the success of its reforms can be explained by an already solidly entrenched educational tradition. By the end of the Tokugawa, although unevenly and informally implemented, Japan had laid a solid framework upon which new reforms could be launched; these were the over four thousand *terakoya*, traditional village schools that emphasized Confucian education for both commoners and samurai (the warrior class)—two social classes that, until the founding of the Meiji state, had been deliberately separated. The *terakoya* essentially functioned as a bridge between an old, informal network of schools and the new, standardized system. Even after the fall of the Tokugawa, many *terakoya* continued to operate. Some, while continuing to offer a traditional education inspired by Chinese classical texts and based on rote memorization and the study of Chinese characters, introduced many Western subjects, such as math, science, and physical education.

While the *terakoya* served as an (unofficial) base upon which to build the new system, Japan also had a several-centuries-old tradition of casting about for suitable educational models, a tradition that proved useful for the Meiji state as it attempted to forge a new identity for Japan. Beginning in the 1600s and peaking in the 1700s, a number of scholars formed a school of thought known as *kokugaku*, or “national learning.” Previously, Confucianism, imported from China, had dominated Japanese social and political life as its discipline and emphasis on loyalty resonated with the values of the samurai class. Buddhism, which originated in India and was later filtered through Chinese and Korean interpretations, also strongly impacted Japanese educational and cultural life.

Scholars of national learning, turning away from outside influences on the grounds that they contaminated Japan's indigenous traditions, instead drew on ancient Japanese literary traditions and Shinto to emphasize Japan's uniqueness, in particular its (supposedly) divine imperial line. Importantly, national learning helped to plant the seeds of nationalism in many Japanese minds and inspired the Meiji state to incorporate into the *gakusei* a host of indigenous elements that not only complemented the Western-based structure and curriculum that was at its core but also presented Japanese schoolchildren with powerful national symbols, the most important being the Japanese emperor, who affirmed Japan's divine imperial roots.

In the early years of the Meiji, there was much debate as to how much traditional Confucian and Shinto influence should be retained in the *gakusei*. At first, Western models prevailed. The *gakusei* system included primary, middle, and university education. At the primary level, schooling was compulsory: all children were required to attend for three years. Drawing most directly from American models and endorsing the study of English, the *gakusei* promoted values that were entirely unfamiliar to most of Japan's populace, such as social equality and even individualism.²

One of the most dramatic features of the *gakusei* was that it included, even mandated schooling for girls. However, the gratification of Japanese girls hoping to attend school was often delayed in part because there were so few female teachers, as the following observation from Aoki Koto, one of the first Japanese girls to attend a modern government school, indicates: “[My father] told me, ‘you must begin to learn and study . . .’ and I answered him,

‘Yes I want to do so and I wish to learn English language; therefore let me learn it please if you find some good teacher[,] yet we could not find her and I was waiting, waiting all days.’³

Another obstacle to educational modernization in Japan was the cost. The main reason that large numbers of *terakoya* continued to operate for several years after the *gakusei* went into effect was that many Japanese rural communities did not want to pay the obligatory higher taxes to fund the new schools and therefore preferred the *terakoya*. The Meiji government responded by bringing the *terakoya* under its control through regulation of their organization and curriculum; there was therefore significant institutional continuity between the *terakoya* and the earliest *gakusei*. Some *terakoya* began to offer new subjects and promote social equality, while some *gakusei* hastily trained *terakoya* teachers to teach the new subjects.

This mixing of Western, Japanese, and Confucian values in the *terakoya* continued well into the 1880s, although eventually the *terakoya* were entirely supplanted by the *gakusei*. Then, in 1882, the Meiji replaced American models of education with Prussian ones that emphasized education in service of the state rather than of the individual. This plan did not go over well with the more traditional Confucian-oriented thinkers, and finally there was an agreement to incorporate both the traditional and the modern into one document that was to serve as the underlying philosophy behind all Japanese education. The resulting Imperial Rescript on Education, drawn up in 1890 and “issued” by the emperor himself, incorporated both Confucian and Shinto, as well as Western, elements. Importantly, it was the Rescript, with its references to community, family, and imperial divinity, that—more than any other document—excited nationalist sentiment among the Japanese people and turned them into loyal subjects.⁴

Initially some peasants and conservative samurai opposed the new education system, but in only a few decades most of the country’s children were attending the *gakusei*. When compared to other countries in Asia, Japan’s development of a modern, universal education system transpired relatively smoothly, uncomplicated by colonialism, and is viewed as one of Meiji Japan’s crowning achievements. Important factors behind Japan’s success was its relative size (it was much smaller than India and China), its successful incorporation of Confucianism and Shintoism into mostly foreign models, and the Meiji state’s successful manipulation of the emperor as a symbol of national pride and self-determination.

CHINA

Unlike Japan, where the emperor was revitalized as a symbol of national pride and strength, in China, where the last dynasty (Qing) ended in 1911, people could no longer look to their emperor as a culturally unifying symbol. The Confucian-based civil service exams that had dominated China’s educational landscape for centuries slowly fell out of favor toward the end of the Qing, and thinkers struggled to make them relevant to modern exigencies and new technologies. Although Chinese imperial authorities had, at various times throughout history, promoted a loose notion of universal education, it was not until 1904, as the Qing spiraled into its final decline, that it implemented a compulsory education system and abolished the examinations the following year. Prior to this, education had been informal and

unregulated by the state and was mostly a private affair. While those with the loftiest social aspirations studied for the civil examinations, many others attended private village schools called *sishu* in order to obtain basic literacy and a foundation in Confucian ethics. The *sishu*, similar to Japan's *terakoya*, were loosely structured and flexible, lacking uniformity in size, age of students, and material conditions. But, also similar to the *terakoya*, the *sishu* shared one important characteristic: they all emphasized rote memorization of the Confucian classics, which contributed to cultural cohesion among China's populace as well as to a unified understanding of what constituted a good education.

It is significant that while Japanese educational reformers were struggling to include values borrowed from ancient China into Japan's new education system, the Chinese looked to Meiji Japan's system as the main model for implementing educational reform. At the turn of the twentieth century, in the wake of a series of unequal treaties imposed upon China by various foreign powers, including, humiliatingly, newly modernized Japan, which defeated it in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895, China launched its wide-reaching New Policy Reforms (Xinzheng) from 1901 to 1910. In 1904 the newly created Qing Ministry of Education published school regulations, reworked from a set it drew up two years earlier, that were very similar to those in Japan.

China's new school system appeared at face value to be an abrupt break from the past. The regulations called for new schools to be established across the country that were to offer a variety of new courses, including history, science, and physical education. Female education became a focal point of China's educational reformers, and in 1907 the Qing drew up separate guidelines for establishing girls' schools as well. In fact, though, the authors of the 1904 regulations consciously attempted to blend traditional elements with new ones, and Chinese with Japanese and Western. The regulations reflected the slogan of Zhang Zhidong, one of the authors, and a well-known reformer: "Traditional (Confucian) learning for substance, new (Western) learning for utility." Thus old methods were to be used for new ends. Although many new, foreign classes were added, the curriculum still heavily emphasized study of the Confucian classics and morality. To be sure, these subjects were to be presented in new ways. Prior to the launch of the national school system, each pupil studied at an individual pace, proceeding to the next level only when ready, and extracted political, historical, and moral knowledge from a single text or group of texts. In the new schools, all students were to work through their studies of the Confucian classics at the exact same pace, with the regulations designating the number of lines of text they were to memorize in a single day and individual textbooks designed and assigned for each separate subject.⁵

Another important difference between China and Japan is that in Japan, the traditional figure of the emperor was deployed in new ways to become a new symbol of modernization and national unity, while in China, it was Confucius, known throughout the country, who served as a traditional symbol around which new and modern values like nationalism and patriotism could be mustered. Interestingly, in a context wherein the dynasty was weak but also struggling valiantly to survive, the Chinese emperor was, in the Qing national school regulations, demoted as someone who, while above the common people, was still required to pay homage to Confucius, the great sage.⁶

Female education during these years deserves special mention, as both the Qing state and reformers outlined specific guidelines for girls' education that were quite different from that for boys. Education was mandatory for school-age boys, but not for girls. Still, many reformers, pointing to girls in the West and (now) Japan being schooled outside their homes, began

to advocate that Chinese girls should do the same. Foreign missionaries in China's larger cities and ports established some of the first girls' schools in the mid-nineteenth century. These schools offered a largely Western education, including Bible study, science, and physical education. Soon many Chinese reformers were also inspired to promote female education and set up girls' schools, some of which the Qing government found too radical given that they were promoting gender equality, political participation, and, at the most extreme, the overthrow of the Qing dynasty. To that end, the Qing, while acknowledging that female education was imperative to nation-building, decided to put its own, much more conservative imprint on modern female education by establishing guidelines for girls' schools in 1907. By adopting the "virtuous mothers, good wives" ideal of womanhood, which incorporated ancient Chinese and Asian ideals of female virtue into nationalist objectives, the Qing was clearly borrowing from the United States and from Meiji Japan, where Shimoda Utako, a Japanese female reformer, started a school where many Chinese girls went to study at the turn of the twentieth century. At her Tokyo-based school, Shimoda schooled pupils in how to be nurturing mothers and supportive wives.⁷

Not long after the new school system was implemented and the exams were abolished, the Qing dynasty fell and was replaced by a republic in 1912. The new regime replaced the 1904 regulations with new regulations in 1912, again in 1915, and again in 1922. This last set of regulations was especially indebted to American models of education, which continued to inspire the Chinese national education system throughout the 1930s, a time when the Chinese began to more earnestly adapt foreign elements to local exigencies and agrarian life. During these years, educational reformers, inspired by the American John Dewey, began to more vocally challenge the Confucian model, promoting a more child-centered philosophy. While there were creative attempts to blend indigenous with outside elements, Chinese education during these years was never quite able to overcome the idea that education ultimately was to serve the community and the state, the latter a more modern notion inspired not just by Meiji Japan but also by newer Russian models that began to exert their influence beginning in the 1920s and up through the 1940s and 1950s, when China was transitioning to communism.⁸

IRAN

In Iran, as in China and Japan, universal, state-sponsored, public education derived from Western, democratic models. The seeds for modern education were sown, gradually, in the century-and-a-half-long Qajar period (1779–1925), when Iran began to establish contacts with the West. Before then Iran boasted a rich educational tradition that largely took place in the private realm and was mostly geared toward the middle and elite classes.

As early as the sixth century BCE, upper-class boys were educated in a number of athletic and philosophical pursuits, although literacy was not emphasized until a few centuries later. Iran enjoyed a renaissance in education after the Arab conquest of 642 CE and the introduction of Arab schools called *maktabs*, geared toward boys of the middle and upper classes where reading and writing were taught. The *maktabs* resembled the Japanese *terakoya* and the Chinese *sishu* in their high degree of flexibility as they could be housed in a wide variety of locations, including mosques and private homes. Moreover pupils were not separated

from each other by age and ability; they were all taught in a group, typically by a stern teacher or *mulla* who might enforce discipline with corporal punishment.⁹

Boys who continued their studies moved on to schools known as *madrassa*, which, like the *maktabs*, were private and, often, religious. The *madrassa* curriculum was quite varied, balancing the “Islamic sciences” of the Qur’an, haditha, and jurisprudence with the “Western sciences” of medicine and philosophy; Arab grammar and history were also taught, as were math and physics. Although the *maktabs* mostly catered to elite boys, girls occasionally attended alongside their brothers until about the age of ten, when they would either stop their studies or continue on in separate schools that offered a similar curriculum to that in the boys’ *madrassa*, based on the Qur’an and other religious texts as well as literature, geography, and history.¹⁰

During the early and middle Qajar period, schooling was in a shambles, disrupted partly by the thirteenth-century Mongol invasions and partly by domestic turmoil in the following centuries. As the Western impact on Iran escalated, tension emerged between those with entrenched political and social power, namely the shah, the ulama (scholar clerics), and other elites such as merchants and landowners, and a group of more reform-minded intellectuals, some of whom formed Babism and Baha’i, two new religious movements, to challenge Islam. While most agreed that Iran seemed backward regarding the West, there was a lack of consensus as to how to return Iran to what they believed to be its former glory. The conservatives, especially the ulama, who had close ties to the political leadership, located the solution to Iran’s problems in its traditional Islamic past, which meant not only revitalizing Muslim values but also protecting Iran from Western influence. The reformers, gradually increasing in number, questioned the utility of the conservative approach and called for Iran to modernize according to Western models. This tension had long-lasting implications for the progress of Iran’s educational system.

The more progressive reformers, who can be loosely divided into three different groups (foreigners, especially Presbyterian missionaries from Germany, Britain, and France; secular reformers, many of whom had lived and been educated abroad; and members of the relatively new Baha’i faith) recognized that because the ulama controlled the *maktabs* and the *madrassa*, it was futile to reform the schools themselves; rather, entirely new, modern schools would have to be established. At the time, Iran’s leadership was unwilling to commit wholeheartedly either to the conservative calls of the ulama or to a more progressive program, the result being that while many reforms were launched, old ways persisted unchanged. Eventually the tentativeness of the leadership, combined with increasing tensions among various of the more conservative subgroups, provided an environment in which these three groups were able to launch schools independently and without much opposition.

Around 1830 German missionaries set up the first modern school in Tabriz, a city in northwestern Iran. Other missionaries from Britain, Russia, and France soon followed, setting up modern schools for both boys and girls, mostly in urban areas, but in rural areas as well. Their activities were dampened in the 1850s when the ulama compelled the state to suppress the reform-minded Babi religious movement—the precursor of the Baha’i faith, whose followers also played an important role in setting up modern schools. However, in the 1860s missionary efforts to set up schools gradually recovered.

The Baha’i schools are an especially interesting example of how native Iranians were at the forefront of modern education. A number of factors coalesced at the turn of the twentieth century that encouraged the Baha’is to establish schools that were popular not only with

members of their faith but also with many secular and Muslim Shia Iranians who preferred to send their children to nonforeign schools and were also attracted to the high quality of education. Iran's leader, Muzaffar al-Din Shah, supported educational reform; the populace began to view education as a path to upward mobility; and more and more elites, officials, and intellectuals supported the Baha'i faith, some even converting. The educational content also appealed to many as it embodied both traditional and modern elements in a single curriculum. The Baha'i schools offered the traditional curriculum recommended by the 1911 Fundamental Law of Education, with its emphasis on indigenous languages, the Qur'an, and mathematics, but enriched it with a variety of new subjects like Esperanto, sports, and music. Girls too attended the Baha'i schools and studied, in addition to the regular curriculum, classes such as cooking and lace making. Like their modern counterparts in China and Japan, many of the Baha'i schools featured pedagogical accouterments such as maps, blackboards, and desks.

While independent groups established modern schools, the Iranian state also began to take more control over education. State-based educational reforms began with sending students abroad, starting in 1827, and also with the establishment of professional schools, especially military academies administered by the army. Over time a few secondary schools were established in Iran's major towns and provincial capitals. Progress at the elementary level was much slower, and most of elementary schools remained in the private and religious realm. State-based reforms accelerated somewhat when a new shah, Nasir al-Din, took the throne in 1848 and appointed Amir Kabir as his chief minister. Amir Kabir's educational philosophy embodied both traditional and modern values. He believed that Iran needed a more comprehensive education system separate from any religious organization, but that teachers should be hired from countries that did not have any political relationship with Iran. Under his tenure, the state sponsored an upper-level school called the Dar al-Fonun, established in Tehran in 1851. The school expanded and enrollments increased. Another Dar-al-Fonun was set up in Tabriz eight years later. Tied in with the establishment of the two Dar-al-Fonuns was the establishment of the Ministry of Education in 1856–1857, paving the way for more educational reforms. Progress, however, had its ups and downs, rising and falling with the whims of Nasir al-Din Shah, who became increasingly suspicious of the schools and their European influence. Nevertheless Dar-al-Fonun remained the most important institute of higher-level education in Iran until Tehran University was founded in 1934.

Compulsory education started to gain currency in intellectual circles in the 1870s as a way for Iran to surmount rigid class structures and widespread illiteracy, although at the time, its advocates were few and far between. Somewhat more progress was made in 1906, when Muzaffar al-Din Shah created a constitution and, five years later, the Fundamental Law of Education. This, however, was merely an enunciation of universal education, not an actual law. It was not until the 1940s, when Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlavi came to power, that a true national education system was put into place. In 1943 Mohammed Reza, keen to expand elementary and secondary education and encouraged by Western-trained intellectuals mostly based at Tehran University, implemented the Compulsory Education Law, appointing one of those individuals, Ali Akbar Siasi, as education minister.

Under Iran's Compulsory Education Law, children ages six to ten were entitled to six years of elementary education that was universal, compulsory, and free. To train more teachers, the government set up teachers' seminars for those who graduated from sixth grade. By the early 1960s about 75 percent of Iran's urban youth were successfully attending schools.

Not surprisingly, compulsory education was both slow to take off and spottily implemented, especially in the countryside and remote tribal areas. The shah's response was to establish, as part of his White Revolution—a series of reforms in a number of areas—the Literary Corps in 1962, a program jointly run by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of War to send high-school graduates into Iran's villages to teach in lieu of military service. In July 1968 a similar program, known as the Law for Women's Social Service, was established to both teach school and train village women and girls in modern home economics. While the program was more concerned with quantity than quality, having often poorly trained teachers and high dropout rates, many rural areas saw improved circumstances because of it. Because of high dropout rates, especially for girls, the shah expanded the scope of the universal education to include kindergarten and intermediate schools in 1974. Overall, education grew dramatically during the shah's reign. By 1978, on the eve of the Iranian Revolution, official sources stated that 87 percent of Iranian school-age children were receiving an elementary-level education.¹¹

After the shah was overthrown in 1979 and the monarchy replaced with an Islamic republic, education continued to be compulsory for children between the ages of six and eleven, with literacy rates of 90 percent for men and 80 percent for women. Both Mohammed Reza Shah and the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, despite their differences, shared in common an appreciation for education. However, there were marked differences in how it was implemented under each of their regimes. The education program under the shah reflected Western secular values, while, after the Revolution, coeducational schools were banished and the curriculum was retooled to reflect Islamic values.¹²

INDIA

As a colonized country, India was one of the earliest nations to contend with Western models of education when it came under the British Raj in the eighteenth century. Before then, formal education revolved around classical Hinduism. As such, instruction adhered to a strict caste hierarchy and different castes were deliberately segregated. Brahmins, those of the highest, priestly caste, sought out sage teachers to guide them in study of what were known as the Vedic texts, which were oriented around the notion of cosmic harmony: Samhitas, Brahmanas, Aranyakas, and the Upanishads. The education of the Kshatriya or warrior class and the Vaishya class was entirely different, the former focusing on the military arts while the Vaishyas studied agriculture and commerce. Furthermore members of these two castes typically obtained only an elementary level of education. And significantly, there were several groups and castes left entirely out of education. Although in ancient times girls, along with boys, had occasionally studied and apprenticed in their *gurus'* (teachers') homes, over time they came to be excluded. Needless to say, the fourth caste, the Shudras, who mostly performed menial work, as well as the Antyajias, or "untouchables," who performed work so unappealing that no one else would do it, were not educated at all.

Although Buddhism, an ecumenical Indian tradition that did not follow the caste system and was therefore much more inclusive than Hinduism, also influenced education (young Indians of various castes could enter Buddhist monasteries to be educated), by and large education in India, with each type geared toward different outcomes, merely reinforced

social hierarchy and compartmentalization. Education for Vedic and Buddhist students was religious in nature; the former aimed at transcending earthly concerns and “directly experiencing Brahman,” while the latter faithfully followed Buddha’s teachings in the monasteries, applying them to worldly matters in the universities. Education of Indian princes, conversely, tended toward the secular, training royalty to administer the realm. Despite the significant differences in approach and mission, all types of traditional education shared a respect for the teacher.¹³

As in Iran, India’s first real encounter with outside educational models came during Muslim rule, from approximately the twelfth through the sixteenth centuries, and the introduction of two types of institutions: *maktab* and *madrassa*. The former were elementary schools attached to mosques and intending to provide basic literacy skills as well as familiarity with the Qur’an to both boys and girls; the latter provided an education for elite males. As in the ancient period, Indian education during the Muslim period reinforced social hierarchies, and women were not widely schooled.¹⁴

During the British East India Company’s domination of the Indian subcontinent (1757–1858) and the subsequent British Raj (1858–1947), it was Western-style education that came to be promoted by many as the base upon which a national and uniform education system should be built. In the first two decades of the nineteenth century, a number of English schools were established across Bengal. Concomitant with this development was an increase in vernacular books published by Christian missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, throughout the subcontinent. The Company’s earlier educational policies (1813) emphasized the revival of Indian learning, namely the study of the classical Sanskrit and Arabic, although they steered rather far from the subject of universal education. These developments touched off a spate of often vociferous debates over the degree to which Indian traditions should be retained, and two sides clearly emerged as main contenders in the battle. The “Anglicists” argued that India needed English-language schools and Western subjects to emerge out of “darkness,” and the “Orientalists” advocated the study of Sanskrit and Arabic and also maintained that the Indian people would be best educated in their own vernacular language, which varied widely from region to region across the subcontinent.¹⁵

The debate culminated in 1835, when Lord Macaulay authored the Minute on Education, which guided the East India Company’s subsequent educational policy. Macaulay, claiming that “a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia,” aimed to create a coterie of Indians who, schooled in Western knowledge, would help Britain administer its vast empire.¹⁶ The Anglicist argument, supported by Macaulay and others, was that—contrary to Hindus’ emphasis on caste hierarchy, religion, and status—Western education was egalitarian, secular, progressive, and meritocratic. In consideration of this view, Sanskrit and Arabic were dropped from the curriculum.

Nevertheless the East India Company recognized that if it were to realize its goal of mass education for India’s huge population, it would be impossible to use the English language as a medium, at least not right away. In addition, it feared that ignoring Indian vernaculars in the schools would offend Indian sensibilities and traditions. Therefore, with its “despatch of 1854,” it not only created a national school system from elementary through university, but it also began to promote vernacular schooling alongside English-medium schooling. Significantly, the despatch also called for promotion of female and Muslim education.¹⁷

The role of foreign models continued to take center stage in early twentieth-century debates on education as a nascent nationalist movement developed and incidents of civil

disobedience against British rule became more widespread. Important Indian political and cultural figures such as Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore took strong positions in national debates on education. Both men were highly critical of the existing system, with its English language and Western subjects, believing them to be alien to Indian traditions. However, each of them promoted a somewhat different approach to reform. Gandhi decried what he perceived to be the decline of indigenous education and championed the mother tongue (of whatever region) in schools and Indian teachers for “Western” subjects like economics and math. He also emphasized that education should go beyond the merely practical to serve a moral and social purpose. Thus he advocated merging academics with manual labor, and intellect with craft. Tagore emphasized the creative possibilities for learning inherent in each individual.¹⁸ He recalled his own boyhood in an official school negatively as “inert, like dead specimens of some museum, whilst lessons were pelted onto us from up high, like hailstones on flowers.”¹⁹ Despite their differences, both men were, in theory and even in practice, taking advantage of traditional symbolism to achieve modern goals of self-determination, nationalism, and independence. They both rather creatively relied on new institutional frameworks of formal schooling and universities to impart traditional knowledge.

After India achieved independence, Gandhi was assassinated, and the Western model won out. With it came several long-term repercussions. Most notably, the attitude of students gradually shifted, from appreciation for increasing access to middle-class employment through Western education to resentment that their own culture and traditions had been passed over. Significantly, Western knowledge instilled an inferiority complex in India’s indigenous populations.²⁰

MALAYSIA

As in India, the establishment of a national and modern education system in Malaysia took place in a postcolonial context. Prior to Malaysian independence in 1955, and in great contrast to Japan and China, where even before national education systems were developed there were significant cultural commonalities that ensured relative uniformity of curriculum, there was a complete lack of standardization in Malaysian schooling, which was essentially segregated by ethnic groups: English, Malay, Tamil, and Chinese. The British colonial government did not provide much in the way of finances for education, rationalizing that educating the local populace would be a poor economic investment.²¹ Thus schooling was mostly left in the hands of missionaries and locals. In the 1800s Western missionaries, with the approval of the British rulers, established several English-medium schools, not surprisingly aimed at molding local Malays into loyal subjects. Members of the Chinese diaspora looked to republican China for their educational models, establishing Chinese-medium schools that emphasized national identity and citizenship, while the Indian diaspora set up Tamil-medium schools for their own. Rural Malays generally attended government schools that offered a vernacular education, while their urban counterparts tended to flock to English-language schools.²² As a result, Malaysian education was a patchwork of different groups attending schools for different purposes, with the government or powers that be promoting separate agendas in the various types of schools. For instance, Chinese schools in

Malaysia adhered to a curriculum very similar to schools in China, namely a classical education aimed to re-create China's literati class and, later, modeled on the new schools in republican China. Education for rural Malays, conversely, focused on basic literacy and maintaining social stability.

Education for girls began fairly early in Malaysia and Singapore, again mostly in schools established by Western missionaries. By 1941 there were forty-seven girls' schools operating there. As missionary schools for girls in China proper increased during the late nineteenth century, their English-medium counterparts in Malaysia and Singapore increasingly attracted members of the local Chinese population, many of whom sought social and economic mobility more on par with their British colonial oppressors. The missionary schools (both for boys and for girls) did not appeal to the local Malay population, many of whom were Muslim. To somewhat appease them, the colonial government established some girls' schools geared specifically toward Malays, with a more conservative curriculum that revolved around basic literacy and the acquisition of domestic skills.²³ Despite these efforts, as was the case elsewhere in Asia, female enrollments lagged during the colonial period, with only 44 percent of school-age girls enrolled in primary schools (78 percent of males were enrolled), a statistic that dropped to only 37 percent in 1955. While Malaysian girls and women faced considerable discrimination in the workforce upon graduating, by the late 1960s, 89 percent were enrolled in primary schools, a significant improvement.

After World War II, Malaysians began slowly to standardize and modernize the curriculum in the vernacular schools, although this process was not complete until 1957, when an integrated primary-level school system went into effect. One of the main goals was to address the language disparities and standardize a curriculum around Malay as the national language and English as the international language. The solution was the creation of two distinct types of schools: "standard schools," where Malay was the main language of instruction, and "standard-type schools," where Malay was required but the main language of instruction was English, Chinese, or Tamil. English was compulsory as well in Chinese and Tamil schools. As such, the new schools did not signify as sharp a break with the past as they might have if the language of instruction in all schools had been in Malay. These schools all adhered to a common syllabus and curriculum, which unified them into a single system but at the same time creatively incorporated diverse cultural and linguistic traditions.

Where language was concerned, the Malaysian government was much less flexible when it came to secondary and university-level education than for primary schools. The 1961 Education Act dictated that all publicly financed secondary education could be taught only in Malay or English. If the former, then the schools were free. If the latter, then students had to pay tuition. For secondary schools that had previously operated as Chinese- or Tamil-medium schools, the transition was difficult. Any such school, if wanting government aid, was essentially required to transform into either a Malay- or English-medium secondary school.

Malaysia's first university was the University of Malaya. It was founded first in Singapore in 1949, with a division in Kuala Lumpur established in 1957. First conceived for the area's elite and with instruction in English, the university separated from its Singapore "mother" in 1961 and, by the mid-1960s, had adopted a bilingual policy with English and Malay as its main languages. In 1970, in an effort to weaken the English-language and cultural monopoly, a Malay-language university, the National University of Malaysia, was set up, and along with this, an increasing trend toward vocational education at the higher level; in 1969 the Malaysian University of Science was established in Penang.²⁴

OTHER ASIAN COUNTRIES

Other countries in Asia adhered to similar patterns, depending on whether they were colonized or independent. For instance, Indonesia, which was colonized by the Dutch from 1610 to 1942 and subsequently occupied by Japan the following three years, and which has an extremely diverse ethnic and religious heritage, endured years of struggle in trying to establish a national education system in the postcolonial context. The system was officially launched as part of Indonesia's Guided Democracy of 1959–1965, but education became widespread only in 1973 under former president Suharto, who mandated nine years of compulsory education. The Pancasila—the five core principles of the Indonesian state: belief in one god, social justice, national unity, humanitarianism, and democracy—also serves as the guiding ethos of the national curriculum, although apparently its importance lessened somewhat after 1998.

Conversely, in Thailand, the only Southeast Asian country never to have been colonized, the path to modern education proceeded relatively smoothly. In the mid-to-late nineteenth century, under King Rama V (King Chulalongkorn), Thailand launched a series of modernizing reforms, among which nationalizing the education system was the most important. Rama V first focused on educating Thailand's elite, then gradually expanded schooling to reach commoner children. In 1887 he established the Department of Education, which began to systematize education. Before the turn of the twentieth century, and under joint cooperation between the Thai monarchy and private interests, schooling continued to spread and began to include girls and young women. In 1921 compulsory education was implemented. In 1932 Thailand transformed into a constitutional monarchy, ushering in a national education scheme that offered an education to all, regardless of social background, gender, or physical limitations.²⁵

Noncolonized Asian countries, such as Japan and Thailand, seemed to enjoy a much smoother process to achieving universal modern education. Although reformers in those places experimented with (and in some cases combined) various Western and foreign models of education, they were relatively unhindered by the dark legacy of colonialism, including feelings of inferiority, economic dependence, and general uncertainty, that plagued India and Malaysia. Regardless, there were numerous other factors that complicated the installation of modern educational systems, such as ethnic diversity, competing religious and cultural traditions, and rigid class structures. Generally speaking, countries with less ethnic and cultural diversity, like Japan, faced fewer obstacles when it came to modernizing the education system; Japanese reformers, part of the same Confucian social structure, tended to be of one mind, unlike in Iran, where there were conservative Muslims, a growing missionary presence, and the ascendant Baha'i faith, or in Malaysia with its Tamil and Chinese diasporas. A country's size, finances, and politics also played defining roles. For instance, Japan and China shared a unifying Confucian culture. But Japan, relatively small, hitched its modern educational program to the large-scale political, economic modernizing reforms of the Meiji Restoration. China, on the other hand, large, poor, and facing political uncertainty as its empire fell and the country devolved into civil war and foreign invasion, floundered in its efforts to replace the millennia-old examination system with modern, universal education. Of course, to better understand the

accuracy of these assertions, every Asian country deserves further in-depth study of how its modern education system came into existence.

NOTES

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CHAPTER 14

NATIONAL EDUCATION SYSTEMS

Africa

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THE colonial encounter in Africa during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries marks a key moment in educational history. The gradual military conquest of most of the continent by European powers or white colonials by the end of the nineteenth century precipitated a range of political, economic, and cultural crises in African societies that in many cases remain a formidable challenge to educators today. In particular, looking back from the twenty-first century to the colonial and independence period, it is the expansion of the formal education system first put in place by the colonial governments from the nineteenth century, and then massively extended in the early period of independence (1950s to early 1970s), that is most striking. It is the conservatism of that educational system, initially established under the guidance of Christian missionaries, then elaborated by a colonial bureaucracy and subsequently modified through the introduction of national education systems in the period of independence since the 1950s, that is most remarkable.

To what extent was the faltering of the overall project of mass education from the 1980s a consequence of world political and economic forces beyond regional control? To what extent did local forces help to shape the nature of those educational projects in ways that were crucially flawed in relation to the delivery of equal educational opportunities? How did the conjunction of international and local expertise help to shape key tools for understanding the nature of “development” and its implications for the field of education? Educational historians have attempted to respond to these questions.

They have also attempted to interpret the impact of the various economic policies used at different times, in order to understand the goals of educational policy. Different models were used in approaching educational reform. One was to restructure the curriculum to match what were thought to be the “needs” of rural society or indigenous culture. Another was a welfarist approach that used post–World War II models from Europe to promote educational policies that sought to extend economic distribution and social equity. Yet another was the drive to develop a modern free market, capitalist economy, promoted through rate-of-return analysis or manpower planning or human resource development.

Was the colonial encounter in mission and government schools simply a consolidation of military victory, an attempt to capture the hearts and minds of the Natives by removing them from their indigenous cultures and forms of education and social control by indoctrinating them with Western values and outlooks to ensure that they were more amenable to colonial rule or more serviceable to their new masters? Recent research has questioned whether Africans were merely passive recipients of Western forms of education and has suggested that they were often agents who appropriated schooling as a domain of struggle with which they could further their own (often diverse) social or economic ends.

In this context, to what extent is it possible to generalize about the responses of “Africans”—in North, West, East, Equatorial, Central, or Southern Africa, in indigenous rural or modern urban contexts, in German, Belgian, French, British, Spanish, or Portuguese colonies, or independent states like Liberia and Abyssinia; in Hausa, Zulu, Venda, or other societies—to modern forms of colonial education? A comprehensive understanding of these issues requires an investigation of the nature of the education offered: who went to school and who did not, the governance of schools, the curriculum, and whether these characteristics can be assumed to have been the same in all places and at all times.

In contrast to the widely held views in the radical education literature of the 1960s and 1970s regarding the monolithic nature of “colonizing education” based on Eurocentric syllabi and language instruction, considerable evidence now exists that not all missionaries or colonial educators chose to neglect indigenous languages and cultural forms or ignore the need for agricultural or vocational education. There is also considerable evidence of pressure from communities, parents, and students to resist attempts by missionaries and colonial administrators to adapt the curriculum to the “needs” of rural society or African tradition.

One of the most complex issues regarding the nature of African education in the colonial period is a consideration of educational events and processes (“policies,” as they gradually came to be called) in the context of major educational debates that were a feature of the age. Changes in African education cannot be understood outside of the historical traditions and developments in education in Europe, North America, and the Middle East—classical, elite, Christian, and Islamic education. These influences include the rise of mass education since the late nineteenth century linked to the evolution of nationalism, democracy, and modern capitalist and urban society. They also relate to curriculum reform, the secularization of knowledge, and the introduction of science into the curriculum. New influences include the emergence of managerialism imported from industry in relation to school management, control, and assessment. The evolution of a new philosophy and pedagogy related to what came to be called “progressive education” appropriated the new sciences of psychology and sociology to place the child and the community at the center of the educational experience. All of the above amounted to the professionalization of education, the teaching profession, and the school and the vocationalization of the school curriculum in order to prepare students in particular ways for citizenship or the world of work.

In the African context of the British colonies in the early twentieth century, this profusion of agendas has often been simplified to a one-dimensional educational reform in a field dominated by missionary educational endeavors. These endeavors aimed at proselytization and the promotion of rural education adapted to meet the “needs” of imagined African communities living in harmony with nature. Beginning in the 1920s, recommendations for the reform of education and the language used in the classroom to support

rural development in the African countryside and to embrace African culture and language in the school curriculum gained much support.

The Phelps-Stokes Foundation reports *Education in Africa* (1922 and 1924) were fundamental to these developments. These reports were based on the model of philanthropic endeavors with black Americans in the U.S. South during the post-Reconstruction era, partly on the so-called lessons of colonial education in India, partly as a result of a new managerial culture in education, and partly on the need for increasing secular and government involvement.

The British Colonial Office's *Memo on Education in Tropical Africa* (1925) marked a significant step toward state responsibility in the field, even if the realization of that promise took decades to mature.¹ For much of the interwar period, most British colonies followed policies that either attempted to *adapt* formal mission or state education to the African rural social context or *embrace* indigenous language and instruction in primary schools. These policies were in keeping with the concept of indirect rule sponsored by the Colonial Office.

The expansion of colonial schooling took place in all colonial contexts, and in each case it involved issues relating to the balance between traditional and Western notions of education with regard to the key areas of governance and curriculum. The French model (also broadly subscribed to in Belgian and Portuguese colonies) emphasized *assimilation* and sought to extend the Western model of education to the colonial setting.

In the case of France this usually implied the promotion of secular education rather than mission schooling. However different these policies were in practice, the common denominator from South Africa to Algeria was that high school instruction was in the European language of the small elite who were able to continue at school. There was no state or mission support for indigenous forms of education, despite sporadic attempts from the 1930s to engage with African language and culture within the formal system, in the light of scientific insights into development policy and education provided by new areas of linguistics and anthropological research. Only in South Africa after 1948, in the era of apartheid, did an emphasis on ethnic identity come to play a dominant formal role in modernizing educational discourse.

THE 1930S: DISCOURSE OF DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION

By the 1930s the British Colonial Office had begun to recognize the need for a more systematic approach to issues of development and social policy in the African colonies. This trend was demonstrated by the work done for Lord Halley's *An Africa Survey* (1938). The survey represented the combined effort of colonial officials, missionary bodies, philanthropic foundations, and a new breed of scientific advisers and researchers who would pave the way for research that came of age in the 1960s in the context of UNESCO and the World Bank. The emergence of a new science of development planning was a key aspect of this era. Yet it is important not to exaggerate its effectiveness, as the lack of resources and fragile nature of the colonial states placed severe limitations on what could be achieved.

Despite all these caveats, the critics Victor Murray, Norman Leys, and W. H. Macmillan played a significant role in influencing the shape of metropolitan thinking on these issues with special reference to East Africa. They stimulated a greater sensitivity to the responsibilities of the colonial state in relation to welfare, health, medical care, and schooling, even if few Africans were brought into the debates in any serious manner until after World War II.²

Key elements of this situation can be identified in a new approach to missionary efforts with the emergence of a *social gospel* that emphasized the welfare aspects of colonial policy and the recognition of the social and cultural needs of Africans.³

The influence of the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations led to tentative attempts to understand Africans as global citizens in a world where fascism and communism were influencing debates about the nature of colonialism, and nationalist movements were rising in the colonial world. There was an increasing attempt to embrace various kinds of educational reform that recognized the need for educational changes aimed at goals concerning welfare, manpower, citizenship, and cultural change.

With the publication of a new set of British Colonial Office policy proposals associated with the Colonial Development Acts of 1942 and 1944 and key policy documents like *Mass Education in African Society* (1944) and *Education for Citizenship in Africa* (1948), the scaffolding for national education systems was put in place in the context of the political crisis precipitated by World War II. This led to a rethinking of the role of education in the colonies in the reshaping of the global political landscape.

A chain of flagship high schools, mostly missionary institutions, were producing a new educated elite by this time: Fourah Bay (Sierra Leone); Achimota (Gold Coast/Ghana); Hope Waddell and Kings College (Nigeria); Alliance (Kenya); Livingstonia (Nyasaland/Malawi); and Lovedale, Healdtown, Tigerkloof, and Inanda (South Africa). By the end of the 1930s, there were also moves afoot to create higher education institutions in East and West Africa.

In French North, West, and Equatorial Africa there were only erratic attempts to adapt education to local needs and the dominant cultures of the region. French educational policies cannot be divorced from the primary sociopolitical goal of *assimilation*. Arabic, the language of most of the people in North Africa, played little or no significant role in the education of the vast majority of the students in state schools, though it remained the *lingua franca* for those who attended community schools or mosque-based madrasas.

There French secular educational policies with a decided emphasis on French cultural values and the French language came in direct conflict with the Muslim goal of education that emphasized religious tradition. Arabic and Islamic studies received minimal emphasis in state schools. In keeping with reforms that had been initiated from the time of the Ottoman Empire, a small elite was schooled in institutions that offered a European curriculum. Girls' education was all but nonexistent.

Early attempts to support assimilationist policies in Algeria during the Third Republic were based on republican ideals espoused by France's Jules Ferry. These attempts undermined traditional education by supporting the education of Algerian Muslims as Frenchmen. However, the expansion of French-style primary education was frustrated by the opposition of the *colons*, who saw this as a threat to their social position. Nevertheless primary school enrollment of Muslims expanded to nearly thirty-three thousand by 1908, accounting for some 4.3 percent of the school-age population.

Yet by 1938 there were only just over 100,000 non-European children at schools in Algeria. In the same year there were only 22,000 students at schools in French Equatorial

Africa. By 1958, 200,000 students attended government schools in French West Africa, but the degree of achievement, even in such prestigious institutions as Ecole William Ponty in Senegal, provided a relatively low level of education and were by no means equivalent to France's comparable metropolitan institutions.

Elsewhere there was very little planning for the future. In Belgian Congo there was no effort to promote postprimary education or to give Africans access to jobs in the state bureaucracy for which they would require higher education. Much the same can be said for the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea, though for a tiny elite of *assimilados*, such schools provided access to the Portuguese language and limited access to employment.

All this provided the backdrop for educational reform and a new generation of educational experts who, in the era of independence that began in the 1950s, crafted the basics of "educational planning" that would shape the advent of national education systems. The announcement by the French government of school reforms as early as 1944 indicated a trend toward greater education inclusion even in conservative Algeria, with a commitment to enroll a million young Muslims by 1964. This is indicative of the balance that was sought by colonial powers in this era of change between the degree to which modern rights to a quality education would be made available to the elite who would come to dominate in the years ahead. It was also indicative of the desire to appease rising nationalist sentiments through the granting of some form of mass education for all. The variety and complexity of the challenges and the manner in which they were addressed by colonial governments, missionary associations, and growing nationalist movements still awaits careful and detailed exploration.⁴

THE 1960S TO EARLY 1980S: NATIONAL EDUCATION SYSTEMS

The era of independence was the era of optimism and expansion in African education. Primary school enrollments rose from 12 million in 1965 to 50 million in 1983, and the number of students in higher education increased from 21,000 in 1960 to 430,000 in 1983, reflecting a sustained period of economic growth.

The UNESCO-sponsored Addis Ababa conference on education held in May 1961 established an inventory of the educational needs and programs for Africa in the era of independence. When the major follow-up conference was held in Nairobi in 1968, the recommendations pointed to the inadequacy of the educational systems in providing for the "needs" of rural communities and mass primary education, a lack of measures to prevent school dropout, and the need to craft appropriate technical or vocational education to supplement the dominant formal secondary school system. The issues raised had not changed substantially since the colonial era.

As Clive Harber points out, the establishment of a culture of schooling in new African states was a complex process that was beset by ambiguities. In the postcolonial period the existence of "fragile states" that lacked deep-rooted legitimacy, especially in the rural areas, where the majority of the population lived, meant that governments needed to enhance

their shallow authority by appearing to be “modern.” One important way of doing this was to signal to the population the existence and constant extension of meritocracy and mass opportunity.⁵ The expansion of the school system was a symbolic shift in that direction. But the provision of quality mass education for the majority of the population proved to be beyond the capacity of the fledgling states, in much the same way that it had been for the colonial states, despite relatively sound economic growth.

This new emphasis meant that schools as government institutions signaled and symbolized modernity in the new era of nation-states, and therefore they needed to be organized in a modern bureaucratic way. The state needed to take over the former mission schools, which continued to dominate the sector until after independence in most areas. The continuity embodied in these institutions provides one of the key explanations for the conservatism of educational reforms referred to above.

Although there had been some progress with the planning of a social welfare system in many African colonies, the lack of capacity of the colonial states and the limits to their budgetary reach meant that not much had been achieved by the time war broke out in 1939. In the new political atmosphere of the postwar era there was some hope that these ideals would be recognized. But policy evolution in education must be interpreted in the context of funding constraints and the relative frailty of the state in modern Africa rather than relying on the rhetoric of nation-building, democratization, community development, or training for work that dominated the discourse on education at the time of independence.

In the heady atmosphere of *uhuru* (“independence” in Swahili), there was a danger of overloading schools with tasks of transformation (“development”) beyond their capacity, and then blaming them for failure. The ambiguity of that situation lay in the pressing desire for change and for the expansion of the state education system to offer mass education for all, while dealing with the demand for the best that the colonial system of secondary education had offered in terms of a literary education for the “fortunate few,”⁶ often in the language of the former colonizer. The new politicians, like the reforming missionaries or colonial officials before them, soon discovered that there were limits to the kinds of educational innovation possible, given the contradictory demands of the emergent elites for quality formal education in the style of the elite mission schools and the need for quality “vocational” education for the masses.

Despite much initial publicity, attempts to introduce curricula based on close association with indigenous culture (in Congo and Upper Volta [Burkina Faso]) or experiments in vocational and technical education linked to peasant production (West Africa) or the push for rural community-based education with *Education for Self Reliance* in Tanzania, such reforms failed to gain significant support.

It is important to examine the dramatic rhetoric of mass education for democracy that was prevalent at the time within the context of the perception by communities, parents, and students that an academic curriculum opened the door to the job market, especially in the new bureaucracy that was being established. Despite attempts to promote the democratization of education through plans for Universal Primary Education, greater stress on local languages and culture, the promotion of science in schools, and the need to restructure the relationship between the world of education and the world of work, the balance of education reform continued to favor of existing literary education rather than contributing to radical innovation, despite global trends that pointed toward the need to provide for greater diversity.

Many of the educational plans associated with the United Nations First Development Decade (1961–1971) were strong on rhetoric, hopes, and beliefs about the transformative power of education but weak on a detailed historical analysis of the situation that had been inherited, policies that had been attempted in the past, and the nature of contemporary challenges.

NATIONAL EDUCATION AND THE ROLE OF THE WORLD BANK AND UNESCO

The World Bank's first involvement in African education was in the form of the *Education: Sector Policy Paper* (1980), which emphasized the relationship between education and development with a focus on "equalization, efficiency, and management." By the end of the decade another milestone report of the World Bank, *Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Policies for Adjustment, Revitalization, and Expansion* (1988), further elaborated on these ideas. This new phase in African educational history was influenced by neoliberal policies that flowed from major economic changes in the world economic system. These policies were characterized by movement away from the welfare consensus of the postwar era toward a global economic order dominated by the market, the so-called Washington Consensus, and World Bank-supported structural adjustment policies, which placed severe restrictions on social spending in the context of African debt repayments. These reports should be read in conjunction with Philip Coombs's *The World Crisis in Education* (1985) and the reports of the landmark conferences at Jomtien, Thailand (1990), and Dakar, Senegal (2000), on Education for All (EFA), which encouraged states to sign up to a universal timetable for the implementation of quality basic education.

In succeeding years, the annual UNESCO EFA Global Monitoring Reports based on the commitment to the goals of EFA often provided benchmarks for policy planning and analysis. The international community seemed to be committed to a sustainable development agenda backed by significant aid packages to support an ambitious universal vision of the role of schooling in promoting human dignity, gender equality, reduced inequality, safe and peaceful societies, and ecological awareness. Nevertheless, under the impact of free market policies associated with the Washington Consensus, these initiatives were unable to prevent widespread failure of welfare and education systems to uplift the poor and the marginalized. It is important to understand such policies of critical engagement with "development planning" within a neoliberal international context and the structural adjustment policies associated with debt repayments in many African countries.

To underscore the gap between the rhetoric and the reality of these policies, the *Global Monitoring Report* of 2015 was able to announce a slight overall increase in school enrollment in sub-Saharan Africa between 1990 and 2012 (from 78 to 80 percent), while noting that there was a serious risk of not meeting EFA goals and benchmarks, especially in poorer and remote rural areas and in marginal states.

This *Global Monitoring Report* and others that followed signaled an overall "deterioration of educational services" identified by "enrollment stagnation," poor quality schooling, noncompletion, and gender bias as key problems. These weaknesses were attributed to a

combination of factors, principally unprecedented population growth, weak political and administrative institutional contexts, and “mounting fiscal austerity” in state support to education. Out of the 28 percent of countries globally that were in danger of not meeting these goals, 27 percent were in Africa.

In Nigeria primary attainment among the poorest households fell from 35 percent in 2003 to 22 percent in 2013. On the other hand, there were significant signs of improvement in other locations. The number of primary and secondary schools in Mozambique, one of the poorest countries included in the survey, tripled between 1992 and 2010.⁷

In the context of framing a policy template to address educational issues, the World Bank’s influence on Third World policy development was pervasive in 1980–1990s. The new prescriptions were in many instances to redefine the notion of equity in keeping with the broad outlines of structural adjustment policies: away from government responsibility for delivery of quality equal education for all, to an increasing emphasis on the economic responsibility of parents or community control of schools.

This redefinition emphasized “cost recovery,” or the freedom to purchase quality education in the marketplace for those who could afford it. Such shifts led to considerable growth of the private sector in African education due to the perceived inadequacy of state education and the perception of many elite parents, who could afford the fees, that the only way of securing a quality education for their children was to migrate out of the state sector. There was a massive increase in private provision during these years, which took a variety of forms, ranging from the transfer of ownership of public schools to parents and communities to the independent school model of private, faith-based or for-profit businesses. The overall effect was to make it increasingly difficult for economically marginal groups—the urban poor, rural youth, minority ethnic groups, or women—to obtain access to quality education, especially at secondary and tertiary levels. These policies, developed in an era of financial stringency, gave rise to a range of responses to redress the consequent fall in enrollments and in quality through new programs and approaches and increasing agency and nongovernmental intervention.

In some countries the abolition of user fees for education signaled an attempt to retain the children of the poor in state schools and prevent early leaving, but this seldom provided an adequate solution.⁸

In terms of a formula that came to be identified with the structural adjustment policies of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, governments were urged to seek to “improve efficiency” through “adjustment, revitalization and selective expansion.” A key recommendation to the government for lowering the cost of mass education was to introduce “user charges” and “cost recovery” or “cost sharing” arrangements by passing on a substantial amount of the responsibility for schooling to parents and communities and allowing more scope for privatization.

Some recommendations were made for selective expansion, particularly with regard to universal primary education, but vocational education in schools was seen to be expensive and often ineffective in creating jobs and employment opportunities. The new emphasis on “knowledge economies” in the 1990s, based on the perceived success of the Asian Tiger model of manpower planning and human resource development, had little effect on the nuts and bolts of African education policy given the lack of industrialization in most areas.⁹ While there was an emphasis on improving quality and academic standards, the climate of economic austerity left little room for most governments to maneuver. The role of donors

was identified by educational policy advisers as central to promoting equity and “African catch-up,” even if the precise meaning of the term was often blurred.

The policy prescriptions of the World Bank were often controversial and the source of national resentment, because the Bank’s views were significantly influenced by the need to abide by the norms and standards of World Bank policy prescriptions rather than being based on independent research findings and tailor-made for specific educational environments. The Bank’s recommendations were often held to be the product of reports by foreign agency personnel without adequate knowledge of historical background or local conditions and with minimal local consultation. The case studies detailed by Jeanne Moulton et al. in their survey *Education Reform in Sub Saharan Africa* of interventions in Malawi, Uganda, Benin, Guinea, and Ethiopia point to many of the tensions encountered in the process of such engagements. The question of aid to education in Africa remained controversial as the attempts to restructure the systems often had ambiguous outcomes with little evidence of such initiatives providing solutions to central issues of equity.¹⁰

The report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-First Century, *Learning: The Treasure Within* (the Delors Report), provided an excellent international overview of “the Necessary Utopia” that was a condition of meaningful educational engagement, but it was also a sobering appraisal of the challenges faced by most countries in achieving such goals in the contemporary African context. It was particularly critical of macro-planning approaches to educational policy that neglected local opinion and failed to engage with the perspectives of local practitioners.

ALTERNATIVE MODELS

In addition to the reforms of national education systems in the era of independence, there was also a variety of initiatives that paralleled the challenges associated with the global radical reform movements in education that were a feature of education debate in the 1960s and 1970s. There were, for example, the deschooling movement associated with Ivan Illich, Paul Goodman, and Herbert Kohl in the USA, the radical education movement associated with the student rebellion of 1960s, the Chinese Cultural Revolution, the Cuban Revolution, and the challenges set by Paulo Freire with regard to adult education in Latin America.

All of these events had an impact on thinking about educational alternatives in Africa. These challenges need to be seen within the context of the work of Frantz Fanon, Albert Memmi, and others who provided a trenchant critique of the whole African nationalist endeavor.¹¹

The National Youth Training Schemes in Ghana, Nigeria, and Malawi; Education for Self Reliance in Nyerere’s Tanzania; Rural Polytechnics in Kenya; the Brigades or Education with Production in Botswana and Zimbabwe—of these challenged the formal education of the national education systems and proposed various kinds of interventions aimed at rural development strategies and skills training.

In some ways these initiatives were reminiscent of a range of alternative missionary and colonial endeavors of the colonial period to support rural community development and rural vocational education. In other ways they repeated failures of the formal education set

in place during the colonial era, which proved to be a durable legacy as it provided the access to the modern sector that was the major motivation for going to school. Lacking an industrial base, the lessons of the Asian Tigers with regard to vocational and technical education failed to inspire the imagination of African governments, students, and parents. The conservative model of formal, literary schooling remained the high road to jobs in the commercial sector and in government service.

Even the World Bank attempted to respond to the challenge by promoting nonformal education (agricultural education, rural extension and training, artisanal training, adult education programs).¹² However, alternative programs like those promoted by the Brigade system in Botswana, which emphasized grassroots development and skills to promote local development, seldom managed to attract large numbers. Governments were cautious because of cost as these programs often proved to be as expensive as formal schooling and remained a second choice for most students.

SOUTH AFRICA

Despite the different educational experiences of the late colonial states of South Africa and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), they were not totally divorced from the influences that have been outlined. For all the rhetoric of racial separatism, apartheid education did provide for the expansion of a mass state education system for the whole population, even if the quality of the education provided for blacks was often very poor.

Although the nature of racially divided education systems massively favored whites and promoted Afrikaner nationalist ideology in the schools after 1948, the sheer weight of demand for access even under these adverse conditions meant that the schools provided a kind of Trojan horse for the whole political system. When schools became key sites of national political struggle from the time of the Soweto Uprising of 1976, the apartheid government launched reform programs for black education, mirroring many of the reforms being promoted by the World Bank: vocational education and the devolution of power to school governing bodies and communities. For example, the *Human Sciences Research Report* of 1982 proposed a massive extension of the black education system, in part to meet the political demands of students but also focusing specifically on the need for economic growth and the need for skills and manpower to be provided by an expanded vocational technical training system.¹³ The semiprivatization of the elite schools in the public-school sector provided a fee-paying mechanism for the integration of middle-class black children into quality suburban educational institutions while continuing to marginalize the vast majority of African children, who lived in the townships or rural areas. These policy innovations in the last decade of the apartheid regime were to provide the framework for continuity in the new democratic era that began after the end of apartheid in 1994.

In line with the general picture painted above, it was the elite education system that trumped initiatives to vocationalize the school system or develop other education programs. The schooling of the majority of children remains of poor quality despite the rhetoric of equal education for all.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

Research on the history of education in Africa is in dire straits. Attempts to convene panels on colonial education at the International Standing Conference for the History of Education have demonstrated that only a few young scholars have been committed to this important field of research.¹⁴ Until the 1960s, all government reports on education were prefaced by an outline of the historical background to the issues under review. In keeping with the modes of policy research pioneered by the World Bank and other agencies, this tradition has been abandoned. The presentism that is a key feature of the new era has impoverished the study of educational policy, has undermined the capacity to understand the roots of educational problems, and has meant that the potential lessons to be learned from previous endeavors are often ignored.

Much of the historiography is dominated by the seminal studies of the history of colonial education systems for particular colonies or regions up to the time of independence.¹⁵ There is very little in-depth work on the history of the postindependence era, and even less in the way of comparative studies between African national systems and other Third World regions. Even within the British colonial context, comparisons between educational policies in India and Africa have yet to be undertaken. Educational policies intended for indigenous peoples in North America, Australia, New Zealand, or Latin America have yet to be compared to those developed in Africa. French colonial education in Indo-China has not been compared with French colonial education in Africa. The history of the apartheid-era policies in South Africa also remains to be researched in detail. This lacuna presents a challenge to educational researchers that is of the utmost importance for our understanding of the roots of educational policy and something that would make a vital contribution to the solution of the intractable problems facing African and Third World education at the present time.

CONCLUSION

Adriaan Verspoor's important report, *Secondary Education in Sub-Saharan Africa*, declared that the challenges of educational development in sub-Saharan Africa in the twenty-first century were "urgent and unprecedented." He argued that many countries still lacked a long-term view of national development, reflected by the "firefighting and politics" that is characteristic of the field of education, rather than systematic, research-driven policy. Such assertions point to the complex ideological problems that are characteristic of policy analysis and formulation of the recent past. Though many lessons can be drawn from international experience, no one policy would fit all areas. As the Delors Report graphically pointed out, reforms will work only if they are able to generate a readiness of the schools and the teachers to embrace such moves. The policies chosen for any national context must fit its current development context. Such strategies will need to be parsimonious with resource use, recognize the bottom-up sequential nature of educational development, be closely aligned with national development priorities, strengthen school autonomy, ensure central

direction and support, and build public-private partnerships reflecting relative competencies for action.¹⁶

All this implies that the government's role should evolve toward policy formulation, setting of standards, and monitoring progress toward national goals, as well as providing funding to support a broad-based, equitable expansion of educational provision at all levels, thereby ensuring that the needs of the poor, the rural population, women, and other marginal groups are adequately addressed. All this would require a much more flexible and historically informed approach to policy development.

NOTES

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CHAPTER 15

NATIONAL EDUCATION SYSTEMS

Middle East

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THE structure and organization of educational institutions as we know them today is relatively new. Schools, however, have almost always been a place of transmitting values and social norms. This phenomenon appears in Middle East history and contemporary society. In the medieval Middle East, wealthy individuals endowed schools to spread certain legal and ethical interpretations of Islam. In the early modern era, the Ottoman Empire centralized the schools in its vast territories to quell proto-nationalist movements. In the modern era, colonial administrators marginalized indigenous forms of knowledge to weaken resistance. Postcolonial rulers indoctrinated pupils to build the nation-state.

Educational institutions in the Middle East are not static due to their enduring connection with power. It is nearly impossible to talk about one educational system in the Middle East, as the region has many historical, political, and cultural contexts.

EDUCATION IN THE PREMODERN MIDDLE EAST (ISLAMIC MIDDLE AGES, 1000–1500 CE)

The first word of the Qur'an is "Read," which is a command to the faithful to seek knowledge. Several verses in the Qur'an praise learning, as do many of the Prophet's injunctions (e.g., "Seek knowledge, even as far away as Cairo"). Education in the early Muslim community of the Arabian peninsula consisted mainly of acquiring a basic understanding of the Qur'an and Arabic language. Wealthy families might bring private tutors into the home for instruction. Since charity is one of the five basic pillars of Islam, some wealthy members of the community endowed public schools, called *maktabs*, which emphasized the recitation and memorization of the Qur'an. Schools might be inside a mosque or attached to it. Education normally began around five to seven years of age, when a child was thought to be able to distinguish between good and bad.

In the immediate aftermath of the Prophet's death and in the ensuing centuries (Umayyad and Abbasid empires), the Muslim community disagreed on how to practice God's will on earth. Very few legal matters pertinent to daily life were addressed in the Qur'an or the *Sunna* (words and acts of the prophet). Various networks of religious leaders emerged who exercised religious authority in the Muslim community. By the Islamic Middle Ages, or the eleventh century, there were four main Sunni schools of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), each named after its founder (Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'i, and Hanbali). Sunnis compose the largest denomination of Muslims. Shia Muslims, who are about 10 percent of Muslims today, have various schools of Islamic jurisprudence as well. The type of Islamic law (sharia) practiced in these schools was based on the levels of importance placed on analogy, consensus, customs, and precedent. The school of law to which a Muslim belonged defined everything from marriage contracts and trade regulations to personal diet and hygiene practices. Islamic law was an integral part of the way societies functioned.

With the codification of Islamic law into competing schools, local notables (rulers, governors, merchants, and members of the military and civilian elite) vied to open primary and higher education centers that taught their preferred type of jurisprudence. The goal of education at this time was to train the leading jurists and religious scholars (*ulema*), and to a lesser extent mathematicians, medical doctors, and astronomers. "Whatever the precise nature of the training offered, there can be no question that the rise of the madrasa in the Medieval Muslim world was part of a far-reaching reorientation and disciplining of religious knowledge and authority," explain Robert Hefner and Muhammad Qasim Zaman.¹ Civilian elite sometimes established public schools to compete with rulers, and rulers sometimes established public schools to improve their standing or quell brewing trouble. Through endowments, notables could strengthen their own brand of Islam and reorient religious knowledge. Teaching posts with stipends, for example, were an arena of struggle between elite households in big cities such as Damascus, Baghdad, and Cairo.²

The increasing interest and financial investment in education by elites resulted in the making of a more robust primary education system than in the days of the Prophet. Endowments began to cover teacher fees, improving accessibility for the poor and orphans. Primary curriculum moved beyond memorization on slates to include reading, writing, and arithmetic with quills and inkwells. Pedagogical disputes emerged about teaching reading: should it be taught through versified grammar, legal texts, or (potentially immoral) love poetry?³ There were childrearing manuals dedicated exclusively to understanding the psychology of children's education. One suggested that parents evaluate the inclination of the pupil before settling on a formal education or occupation. Another declared that educators bore a great responsibility for the young child's disposition and habits. By the fifteenth century, primary schools were a regular part of the urban landscape, usually on the main street near the market and public fountain.

After elementary pupils had committed the Qur'an to memory and completed preliminary lessons in jurisprudence and grammar, they could attend madrasas to study Islamic jurisprudence (based on their family's school of law). Students and teachers in the madrasa received a stipend and worked on grammar, recitation, sources of law, didactic theology, and in a few cases also nonreligious topics like arithmetic, astronomy, medicine, philosophy, and poetry. Students traveled to madrasas across the Islamic world to study with as many scholars as possible. Once the student could recite all the scholars' material, the scholar granted him a diploma (*ijazah*). Memorization was important because legal scholars needed

to be able to trace long chains of transmission that proved the validity of the *Sunna*. Madrasas were attached to the mosque complex. They had classrooms and dormitories, and sometimes the endower also included a hospital, astronomical observatory, public bath, and Sufi convent. The most famous madrasas in the Middle East were Cairo's Al-Azhar, founded in the tenth century, and Baghdad's Al-Nizamiyya, founded in the eleventh century. Scholars in the Middle East led the systematic and massive Greco-Arabic translation movement and made many original contributions to the humanities and sciences. These intellectual advances are the reason that this era is named the Golden Age of Islam.

Approaches to studying and writing about education in the Islamic medieval ages have changed since the 1970s. In that decade many scholars of Islamic history used the philological method to understand everything from politics to culture. For example, Franz Rosenthal's *Knowledge Triumphant* is an extensive study of the basic character and multiple aspects of the Arabic concept *'ilm* (knowledge), of which the Qur'an demands acquisition. Scholars in the 1980s generally assumed a European social and institutional perspective when studying Middle Eastern education. For instance, studies might compare the Western university to the madrasa. In the 1990s scholars such as Michael Chamberlain began to focus on the social and cultural consequences of education in Islamic history, such as how systems of education reproduced elite status. With the growth in the field of the history of childhood, information about education also emerged as a subtopic.

THE EARLY MODERN MIDDLE EAST (1500–1800)

Upon the disintegration of the Arab Empire in the Middle East, the region split between the Ottoman Empire (1299–1922) in the West (what now primarily constitutes modern Turkey) and the Safavid (1501–1736) and Qajar (1785–1925) empires in the East (modern Iran). The area known today as Morocco remained independent yet did not have a stable central administration. Education continued to take place within a religious framework, under both the Ottomans and the Safavids. The Ottoman Empire was a Sunni Islamic society and followed the Hanafi legal school. Generally the children of non-Muslim Ottoman communities received an education in affiliation with their respective religious organizations. Iran converted to Shiism during the Safavid era and thereafter geared education toward Shiite religious precepts.

The system of education in the Middle East functioned on the idea that the most advanced science came from the Golden Age of the Islamic Empire. Unlike much of Europe going into the modern era, the Middle East did not undergo the Enlightenment process by which scholars placed the laws of science over the laws of God. Islamic education was largely guided by the legacy of the tenth-century theologian, jurist, and philosopher al-Ghazali, who valued supernatural knowledge over the *mu'tazila* (school of Islamic theology based on reason and rational thought). As such, the aim of primary education in both the Ottoman and Safavid/Qajar empires was the memorization of the Qur'an, with advanced education focusing on Islamic law. Unlike in the Ottoman Empire, the *ulema* of the Safavid Empire were independent of the central governing authority. Gradually the Safavid *ulema* developed into an alternative

political and social authority, more so than the *ulema* in the Ottoman Empire that were under the dominion of the state. The highly bureaucratized Ottoman Empire centralized the madrasas in hierarchal order such that the school one attended determined one's future level in the government legal structure. In the Ottoman Empire there were also options for schooling beyond the religious sciences, such as trade school and administrative and military training (i.e., the *devshirme* system).

EDUCATION AND THE MIDDLE EAST'S ENCOUNTER WITH MODERNITY: OTTOMAN AND QAJAR REFORM

The Middle East came face to face with European imperialism in the nineteenth century. The Late Ottoman Empire (1789–1918) faced diminishing power on the world stage, due in large part to Europe's growing technology and commercial wealth. As parts of the Ottoman Empire in North Africa fell to French colonial rule, the sultanate in Istanbul enacted various reforms. Under the Tanzimat (1839–1876), which literally means “reorganization” of the Ottoman Empire, and the Reign of Abdülhamid II (1878–1909, i.e., the Hamidian era), the Ottoman Empire sought to modernize its education system. The initial goal was to improve the military and civil administration. The empire established new Western-style schools of medicine, military training, civil administration, and law outside the madrasa system. The first primary-level schools opened in 1839 with the goal of training future civil servants.

A shift toward mass education happened with the establishment of the Ministry of Education in 1857 and the Ottoman Education Regulation of 1869. The main motivation behind universal education was unification of the fledging empire in the face of growing proto-nationalist movements. The Reform Edict of 1856 allowed non-Muslims to enter the army and the bureaucracy. Government primary schools and secondary schools aimed to create equal citizens of the Ottoman Empire and teach a unified Ottoman history. This effort to create equal citizens meant schools were to be mixed with Muslims and non-Muslims. In the early twentieth century, the sultan established boarding schools in Istanbul for children of rebellious tribes and communities.⁴ The first secondary school for girls opened in Istanbul in 1858. The Ottomans patterned their school-building program after the French system, particularly during the Tanzimat. Envoys of Ottoman students to Europe imported Western science and culture.

In reality, the Ottoman educational reforms were not purely Western nor purely secular, even though the new schools were different from the traditional Qur'anic schools. Educational reforms were part of a movement known as “Islamic modernism,” which stressed the compatibility of Islam and the modern world. Particularly during the Hamidian period, the Ottoman rulers created hybrid schools to contend with critics who claimed that the problems of the empire could be solved by returning to the Golden Age of Islam, not by copying Europe. In order to shore up support from religious opponents, Ottoman rulers relied on state-salaried *ulema* to help plan the curricula in the state schools and take up positions in them. The empire issued secular-minded decrees within an Islamic discourse. Ecumenical schools taught Islamic morality, seeking to revive the empire's religious-political

foundation. For example, in 1886 a Hamidian educational commission proposed lessons about the Prophet and his companions in order to teach young people religious principles.⁵ Educational reforms that copied Western secular institutions were Ottomanized and Islamized for legitimization.

Nineteenth-century Egypt, while technically still under Ottoman rule as a province, experienced its own unique educational reforms due to its local ruler, Muhammad Ali (r. 1805–1848). Muhammad Ali was an Ottoman Albanian commander who became the self-appointed viceroy of Egypt in 1805 (a title not officially recognized by the Ottomans until 1867). Muhammad Ali advanced his goal to establish a dynasty in Egypt, independent of the Ottomans, by overseeing major modernization projects, particularly in the domains of military, agriculture, and education. He established a massive military, which he manned through conscription and financed by creating an extensive state-owned cotton farm. Muhammad Ali and later his grandson Ismail (r. 1863–1879) organized state-sponsored educational projects to make a European-style military and body of civil servants who would be loyal to the dynasty.

Initially the schools were geared toward technical training. The foundation of the Ministry of Education in 1863 and the enactment of the 1868 Organic Law of Education established an agenda for Egyptian primary education to reach the masses. The goal was to bring a significant number of religious schools under state control and open government-sponsored primary schools. In 1871 the Egyptian government established a secular teaching seminary to feed government schools. These educational projects brought increased numbers of Egyptian schoolchildren into contact with the state. The curriculum sought to reshape domestic behavior and gender roles for the benefit of the state.⁶ For example, Egypt's first official girls' school, opened in 1873 and named al-Siyufiah, was dedicated in large part to producing better wives and mothers to run the household and raise children. Overall the new educational system remained primarily reserved for the elite.

In the Qajar Empire, there was also a push to reorganize the educational system in order to catch up to Europe. The modernization process in Iran was called the *Nizam al-Jadid*, and it began in the early nineteenth century with the establishment of a centralized state. The state's initial goals for education were to train government bureaucrats and teach military technology and science for its new modern standing army. Unlike in the Ottoman Empire, however, Iran's centralization process was weak and did not incorporate the *ulema* establishment into the educational modernization projects. Dar al Fanon was the first state-sponsored European-style school created in Iran in 1851. Being outside the *ulema*'s control, it offered French-language courses on technical topics such as medicine and military. It was a university and attended primarily by the sons of royals, princes, and high-ranking officials.

By the end of the nineteenth century, education appeared to be an important tool for the state, and its goal shifted away from preparing bureaucrats for government institutions to preparing a nation with universal functional literacy. Nonetheless there was no state policy set up for public education in Iran, and hence no centralized teachers seminary or textbooks. Private schools set up by missionaries and foreigners were a modest substitute, along with various civil initiatives.

The New School Movement (1870–1906), led by reform-minded individuals and receiving varying degrees of monarchical support, sought to educate a large number of students from many backgrounds at primary and secondary levels. The founders called their schools “new” to distinguish them from the traditional schools. New schools were different from

the schools of past centuries because they incorporated nonreligious topics, such as commerce, industry, and international diplomacy, and they had state-mandated curricula, exams, and uniforms. The Roshdiyyeh school, founded in 1888, practiced new pedagogical methods, such as phonetics, to teach students literacy beyond religious texts. The *ulema* put up strong resistance to such nontraditional schools.

Conventional approaches to studying education in the nineteenth century focus on factionalism and rivalry between the state and Islamists. Historians frame the era as a contest between the Westernized schools and the Islamic schools. While indeed there was a pull between tradition and modernity, there was also a range of responses in between. There were successes born from integrating Western-style education while maintaining some Islamic education. One of the most prominent educational reformers in nineteenth-century Egypt was ‘Abdallah Nadim, who founded the Islamic Benevolent Society school, which was anticolonial and conservative Islamic yet modern.⁷

The Middle East did not sit by passively in the face of looming Western imperialism. There are signs that changes to the educational system in the Ottoman Empire began well before the fall of North Africa to Europe. The first naval engineering school opened in the Ottoman Empire in 1733, for example. The West was not the main agent for change in the Middle East, as there were many indigenous efforts, driven initially by the desire to train new military and civil administrators.

EDUCATION IN THE COLONIAL MIDDLE EAST

During the nineteenth century, many of the North African Ottoman provinces fell under European control. The French colonized Algeria in 1830 and turned Tunisia into a protectorate in 1881. The British turned Egypt into a protectorate in 1882, and Morocco, which was never an Ottoman province, became a protectorate of France in 1912. At the end of World War I, Britain and France carved up the rest of the Ottoman Empire into the countries that largely form the contemporary map of the Middle East. The borders did not follow existing ethnic divisions, as they were constructed to fit European geopolitical interests in the region. As a testament to the artificiality of the borders, legend holds that the sneeze of the British secretary of state for the colonies, Winston Churchill, caused Jordan’s zigzag eastern border with Saudi Arabia. After World War I, the main sovereign states were Iran and Turkey (in addition to parts of the Arabian peninsula), although they were heavily under European political and economic influence.

European colonial administrators used education as a tool to facilitate their imperial control over the Middle East. This is evidenced in three ways. First, colonial administrators created a two-tier system of education in which a minority of local inhabitants received a European-style education while the majority remained locked out of educational opportunities. The former served in the elite colonial administration, while the latter formed a mass of illiterate, disempowered peasants. Second, the European imperial project functioned through indoctrination techniques. Curriculum in schools taught local inhabitants that they were an

inferior race and unable to rule themselves. (In sovereign countries, missionary schools played much the same role as colonial schools in this manner.) Third, colonial administrators squelched indigenous-led, educational alternatives by strictly controlling traditional Islamic schools. Colonial administrators monitored these schools' subsidies and curriculum through inspection systems.

In terms of the first use of education as a tool, there are numerous ways in which colonial administrators excluded indigenous children from receiving an education. There were four types of schools in the colonies: foreign private schools, government schools, missionary and religious order schools, and madrasas. Very few indigenous children had the means to attend foreign private schools, which largely prepared expats for higher education in the metropole. Government schools set up by the colonial administration generally were not compulsory and required that pupils pay a fee to cover teacher salaries. In British mandate Palestine, for example, schools were overcrowded, and the British expected the villagers to raise funds for the construction of school buildings.⁸

Colonial administrators made French or English the national language of instruction and certification exams, making it impossible for students and teachers who knew only Arabic. Often the colonial government subsidized private schools instead of supporting a public education system. In Lebanon, for example, authorities of the French mandate made it a policy to subsidize private education supposedly to maintain freedom of religion. This, in reality, neglected the more costly responsibility of providing education for all.⁹

Colonial authorities often did not set up public secondary schools. Since obtaining a job in the government required a secondary school certificate, foreigners filled jobs, essentially keeping the majority of people locked in as uneducated peasants. For example, by 1900 Egypt had only three government schools.¹⁰

Another way that the colonial authorities excluded children from education was by not enforcing child labor laws. In Egypt, for example, the British kept the children working in the cotton fields in order to fuel the industrial revolution at home.¹¹ The British argued that Egyptian parents did not have the will to educate their children, so schools were meaningless. When the British colonial authorities did invest in education in Egypt, the money was largely directed toward agricultural courses.

Second, one of the biggest lessons that children who attended foreign, government, or missionary schools received was that their ways were inferior to Western ways. Autobiographies of Middle Easterners who grew up during the colonial era illustrate how teachers, language, and curriculum transmitted shame to children. For example, the Algerian feminist and writer Assia Djebar, who attended a French boarding school for ten months out of the year, recalls her cousins negatively viewing her as Westernized when she would return home for holidays. She felt a sense of exile due to the European-style attire she had become accustomed to wearing at school, as well as her independent lifestyle. Limited schooling and physical confinement were a reality for most girls. The exile was also due to language. Djebar refers to French as the *langue adverse*, or the enemy language. She was unable to write in classical Arabic because she had studied only in French. French was the language of the colonizer; a language "drenched in blood," a language of violence.¹² Since the language of instruction was French or English, not Arabic, this also meant that subjects such as history, geography, and social studies were about France or Britain. The only curriculum that addressed local topics taught children that their culture was the source of their backwardness and hence

colonization by foreigners.¹³ Some Middle Easterners remember a palpable sense of fear pervading their school years. The humiliation and disdain children felt in school meant that their legs often trembled in fear in the presence of foreign teachers.¹⁴ Thus children who attended schools were isolated from their own culture, in their own country.

Third, the colonizers maintained control over the local population by assuring that they did not have easy access to their own schools and by disrupting educational reforms already under way by the local populations. Also, the colonial authorities initiated a decline in the Islamic educational system by putting restrictions on the pious endowments used to finance it. Colonial authorities transformed large Islamic universities into state-controlled institutions. The indigenous political and religious elite gradually began to view the French and British colonial schools as an effective means of social advancement. Parents whose children attended foreign schools or government schools might also hire private religious tutors or send their children to a *kuttab* (a school attached to a mosque) for part of their childhood. Nonetheless the once close tie between high social standing and a purely Islamic religious education broke down.

The French term *évolué* referred to a local colonized subject who “evolved” through a European education. Colonial administrators treated *évolués* as a privileged group and hired them for administrative positions for the colony. The educational system functioned on a divide-and-conquer type mentality. The elite group of European educated locals administered the uneducated mass of locals, who had fewer and fewer Islamic schools in which to organize resistance. In countries not colonized, such as Iran, there was also a shift in the hierarchy of education such that Western-style schools became celebrated because they served as a tool for access to commercial markets and political ambitions.

Scholars of education in the colonial era are careful not to depict colonization as the initiator of modern ideas in the Middle East. Changes to secular education, for example, were well under way even before the arrival of Westerners. The West did not bring an enlightened curriculum to a savage people, as the conventional narrative holds. Further, even among Middle Easterners there was both skepticism and support for the Western-style schools. In the Ottoman Empire, proselytizing missionary schools broke up some local Christian communities.

Autobiographies reveal that children often made decisions for themselves, despite parental control. The Egyptian feminist and scholar Bint al-Shati writes in her autobiography that she appeased her conservative father by not attending boarding school, but worked out an arrangement with school directors so she could borrow books, study at home, and take the necessary exams. Current scholarship on the history of colonial education seeks to acknowledge the valiant efforts children themselves made to negotiate the tumultuous world of school. Additionally, scholars continue to reveal the successes that indigenous people made in sustaining their own schools despite colonial repression. For example, at the end of the nineteenth century, a group of local Tunisian intellectuals, educated in the French system, founded a cultural association (called Jamia al-Khalduniyya) that offered Arabic-language courses on secular subjects. Nearly a half century later, the institution became the University of Tunis. Throughout the nineteenth century, Algerian Sufi (mystic) orders of Islam also played an important role in keeping alive indigenously run educational centers. In British mandate Palestine, the Supreme Muslim Council established in 1925 the Islamic Girls’ School, which combined traditional religious studies with a Westernized elementary school curriculum.

NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Western colonialism came to an end in the Middle East in the decades following World War II. The French withdrew fully from Morocco in 1956, Tunisia in 1957, and Algeria in 1962. Egypt won its full independence from the British in 1952, and Iraq won its in 1958. Israel declared its independence in 1948, at which point Palestine was ruled by various Arab countries (until its current occupation by Israel, which began in 1967). Turkey, which was never occupied by the Europeans, established itself as a sovereign state in 1923. Nationalism was critical to the establishment of all these new states. During the first half of the twentieth century, educational systems played a central role in the production of nationalist ideology throughout the Middle East. The once religious, military, and bureaucratic training objectives of education were superseded by nationalist objectives. There were two central components of nationalist education: anticolonialism/anti-imperialism and the building of loyalties to new leaders and their governments. The experiences of Algeria and Egypt illustrate the first component and Turkey and Israel the second.

The most intense form of colonialism in the Middle East occurred in Algeria, lasting some 130 years. France viewed Algeria as an extension of itself, seeking a long-term policy of eliminating Islam and populating the country with French *colons* (settlers). Almost immediately after the French incursion, Algerian resistance began with Abd al-Qadir's revolt in the 1840s. In the early twentieth century, the Algerian national movement was born; its mission was to promote Arabic culture and language and Islam. The press, radio, political parties, labor unions, and educational systems all provided outlets for disseminating nationalism. Abdülhamid bin Badis and other religious scholars founded the Association of the Algerian Muslim Ulema in 1931. The association worked to educate Algerians in order to promote Arab-Islamic heritage and national identity of Algeria. It demanded Arabic be the official language and that charitable endowments to fund schools be restored. These schools, along with those established by the People's Party, were crucial to developing Algerian national consciousness.

In the decades following independence from European rule, many states in the Middle East remained committed to combating imperialism. This manifested in a short-lived political project between Syria and Egypt to build a pan-Arab state, called the United Arab Republic (UAR). Established in 1958, the UAR sought to build Arab nationalism by making all countries into one Arab country, similar to the unity experienced during the five hundred years of Ottoman rule. Inspiration for the UAR came from the Egyptian president and socialist Gamal Abdel Nasser, who was a hero throughout the Arab world for his fight against imperialism. Nasser viewed mass education as a tool to change the unequal distribution of global power between the East and the West. The UAR adopted the Egyptian educational process in terms of conceptual framework, examinations, hierarchies, textbooks, and administrative procedures. Arabic language, Muslim religion, and military courses were mandatory components of Nasser's educational system. Nasser said it was Egypt's responsibility to develop all the young people in the Arab countries. He loaned Egyptian teachers to Arab countries, received an influx of Arab students into Egypt, and built universities abroad. The mid-twentieth-century Egyptian intellectual and minister of education Taha Hussein

embodied Nasser's commitment to universal, free education in his legendary motto: "Education is like water and air."

In the majority of cases in the Middle East, the nationalist movements sought to create citizens of modern nation-states. This meant replacing people's loyalty to God and his representatives (religious leaders) with loyalty to secular leaders. Nationalists taught people to look to the government, not the *ulema*, to make moral and legal decisions about their lives. Turkey epitomized the trend, transforming in 1923 into a laic state called the Republic of Turkey. Education was a political project of the country's leader, Kemal Atatürk (president from 1923 to 1938). The Law of the Unity of Education, drafted in 1924, brought all school institutions, including foreign and missionary, under the control of the Ministry of Education and abolished Qur'anic schools. Religious education was not permitted in schools between 1927 and 1949. Turkish became the sole language of instruction in the republic, and the alphabet was changed from Arabic to Latin letters. These educational policies were motivated by nationalist ideology in three ways. Schools facilitated the integration of multiethnic and multilingual citizens, strengthening the social fabric of society. The policies attempted to ease tensions between more traditionally educated graduates and secularly educated graduates. And the educational system had a centralized administration, curriculum, and textbooks, encouraging duty to the new ruling state power.

As in many countries around the world, nation-building efforts in the Middle East often excluded ethnic minority groups from furthering their own education. The situation of Kurds in Turkey, Syria, and Iraq illustrate this tendency, as do that of Berbers and Western Saharans in Morocco. Israel's treatment of Palestinians also reflects the systematic discrimination that new states practiced through their educational systems. Zionism, the movement for a Jewish nation in what is now Israel, drove the establishment of separate educational systems for Israeli Jewish students and Israeli Arab (i.e., Palestinian) students. Between 1948 and 1968 Arabs living on the borders of the new state of Israel lived under military rule and attended segregated schools. Zionists viewed Arabs as a threat to their construction of a homogeneous national identity. Significantly fewer types of schools existed for Arab children than for Jewish children. For example, by 1966 there were 1,254 Jewish primary schools compared to 181 Arab primary schools; 131 schools for handicapped Jewish children and 1 for handicapped Arab children; 167 Jewish secondary schools and 4 Arab.¹⁵ In addition to uneven educational opportunities, there was significant bias in the curriculum. As Israel developed as a country, its state-mandated textbooks omitted or vilified Palestinian history. To this day the educational system for Arab Israelis eliminates the teaching of any Palestinian national identity, which is in stark contrast to the fact that national unity is the foundation of Jewish education.

Scholars approach nationalism and education in the Middle East from a nuanced perspective. Nationalism had multiple meanings for different people, even within the same borders. Multiple battles played out regarding educational policies and nationalist ideologies. While certain educational policies prevailed, historians acknowledge the dissonant voices, exceptions, and incongruencies. In Algeria, for example, there was a significant though small segment of the nationalist movement that advocated for the assimilation of Algeria to France. Some *évolués*, such as Ferhat Abbas, wanted Algerians to learn how to become "more" French. Sides taken by Algerians during the eight-year Algerian Revolution reflect the lack of uniformity in nationalist ideology. More Algerian Muslims fought on the French side than in the Algerian army. In regard to Egypt, historians note that despite the badly

needed improvements in education offered by Nasser, the reality was that the country lacked the resources to put his theory into action. Egypt's educational system was overwhelmed and unable to provide adequate facilities and qualified instructors. There is a tendency to talk about the early Republic of Turkey as concomitantly against religion in the public sphere. In reality, some citizens continued to practice popular forms of Islam that did not support secularism. These citizens urged reconciliation of Islamic sentiment and Turkish nationalism, pushing for the reintroduction of religious subjects in the public school curriculum in the 1940s. Additionally, Atatürk was not against religion but against the "wrong" interpretations of Islam. He believed the state must take custody of education in order to cleanse religion and make people see how religion could be in harmony with science.

In Israel, discriminatory educational policies existed not just between Jewish children and Arab children but also within the Jewish community. Despite a rhetoric of equal education among the Jewish community, there were structural inequalities and geographical separation that resulted in Mizrahi (Jews who trace their roots back to Muslim-majority countries) children attending impoverished, separate schools, and Ashkenazi (Jews of mainly European origin) children attending privileged and high-quality schools.

EDUCATION AND CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Since the 1970s four main forces of social control have affected the Middle East: neoliberalism, dictatorship, war, and patriarchy. Similar to much of the rest of the contemporary world, Middle Eastern societies have faced to varying degrees the hierarchies of capitalist class against working class, state against civilian population, armed against unarmed, and men against women. Education has been at the center of each of these forms of social differentiation, as the case studies of Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Iran, respectively, illustrate.

Many Middle Eastern countries adopted a socialist economy in the immediate postcolonial era. In subsequent decades, and particularly since the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, economic liberalization, free market capitalism, and structural adjustment became the norm. For many developing countries in the Middle East and around the world, foreign and domestic private investment created conditions of great social inequality, linked in large part to changes in educational opportunities. For instance, Egyptian president Anwar Sadat's economic policy of *infitah* (openness) in the 1970s, which reversed the Nasser-era public sector-based economy, resulted in education providing less opportunity for social mobility. During the Nasser era, millions of previously poor people joined the middle class through the policy of free education and guaranteed government employment for university graduates. Under Sadat, education for all did not mean equal education for all. One's geographical location and socioeconomic level became key factors in shaping the quality of education one received. Schools became a means of reproducing a pyramid of stark social stratification that still exists today. The bulk of the Egyptian population are members of the poor and oppressed classes who receive nothing but a "subsistence education," the bare minimum from the educational system. The state legally requires all children from age six to attend eight years of education. Most children learn to read and

write at a basic level and, at best, qualify for a technical trade school. Teachers treat students as a single body, without acknowledging individuality, and do not engage in pedagogy besides rote learning and memorization. According to the Middle East education specialist Ahmed Youssef Saad, “[Schools represent] a political contract between the state and its subjects, whereby the former offers to the latter free certificates without education in return for compliance and gratitude.”¹⁶

Within this context, a heterogeneous educational market has developed in Egypt. Private education serves as an alternative for some students. This can consist of private tutoring to supplement education or attending a private school. In ascending order of cost and quality of instruction, there are private schools that offer the same curriculum as public schools, language schools that teach the national curriculum in a foreign language, and international schools that offer foreign diplomas.

Private tutoring plays out alongside public schools and private schools and is a phenomenon that emerged alongside Egypt’s transition to a free market economy. Known as a “shadow education,” private tutoring is out-of-classroom instruction offered at a fee to individuals or groups. It seeks to compensate for the overcrowded public-school classrooms (usually up to eighty students) and underpaid teachers who need additional income to survive. It is most intently pursued at junctures in the educational system, when final grades and examinations determine the student’s future. Students across all social strata participate in private tutoring—at varying costs and quality—and it represents a substantial household expenditure. The high cost of private tutoring and its widespread practice (more than 50 percent of the population partakes in it) undermine the government’s claim to providing free and equal access to education.¹⁷

Education systems have a subsidiary relationship with political systems. This relationship goes beyond the provision of free schooling to the pedagogical vision disseminated by the government. In countries run by dictators, schools generally do not foster critical thinking. Despite the democratic hopes of the Arab Spring, the political landscape of the Middle East remains dominated by autocrats, particularly in the oil-producing countries of the Middle East, such as Saudi Arabia, that are rentier states, where the government derives most of its national revenue from “rent,” or the selling of indigenous, high-value natural resources, such as petroleum, to an external client. Generally the citizenry of rentier states is dependent on the government for an extensive social welfare program funded by the rent. This creates a pattern of compliance in which the government can essentially “bribe” or placate the citizens through expenditures. Since the citizens do not pay taxes, there is a lack of incentive to place pressure on the government, and authoritarianism often prevails. The education system does not cultivate independent thinking that could question this norm.

In Saudi Arabia, the al-Sud ruling family’s financial investment in education is evident, but its commitment to knowledge production, creativity, and arts less so. With the advent of oil wealth in the 1960s and 1970s, the al-Sud family began financing the infrastructure for public education and creating bureaucracies to implement, monitor, and measure educational policy. Currently the state sponsors free education at all levels and enforces mandatory primary education. Education in Saudi Arabia focuses on the accrual of subject information and technical competency. It does not focus on developing in pupils the lifelong learning skills that allow for reflection, questioning, and reformulation of knowledge. There are no research-led Saudi Arabian universities. In Saudi schools there is a heavy emphasis on religious education, which serves to spread a systematic, uniform Islam that furthers the

interests of the theocratic state. The ruling elite often portray alternatives to the existing education system as Western and anti-Islam. They protect their own interests by making education devoid of analysis and constructive criticism. There is some pushback from citizens, and the government's reform initiatives have mildly touched university, but not primary, education.

Modern wars are usually not fought on battlefields between uniformed armies, but instead in civilian areas where the line is blurred between combatant and noncombatant. Despite international law, civilian infrastructure, such as educational infrastructure, is frequently the target of attack. In war, educators and intellectuals suffer injuries and casualties; school buildings and centers of learning are damaged or destroyed. This has been the case in modern wars across the Middle East, from the Lebanese Civil War (1975–1990) and the Second Palestinian Intifada (2000–2006) to the later wars in Libya and Yemen.

Iraq serves as a quintessential example of the phenomenon, having suffered three international wars in three consecutive decades: the Iran-Iraq war (1980–1988), the First Gulf war (1990–1991), and the Iraq War (2003–present). These wars, along with thirteen years of debilitating sanctions (1990–2003), degenerated what in the 1980s was widely considered to be the best educational system in the Middle East. The UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) predicted that there would be 100 percent primary school enrollment for boys and girls in Iraq today had Iraq continued along its previous rate of educational development. Instead between 1990 and 2000 primary school enrollment fell from 90 to 80 percent. Estimates of primary school enrollment today range from 68 to 90 percent, with only 44 percent of pupils completing their primary education at the expected time.¹⁸ UNESCO reported that in 2007 there was only about 48 percent net secondary school enrollment. Of those students, only 38 percent received a passing grade on graduation exams.¹⁹ War causes high dropout rates because it engenders crowded classrooms, poor quality of instruction, acute shortages of learning material, displacement, psychological trauma, assassination or exodus of academics, unsafe or nonexistent school buildings, and household poverty (causing economic pressure on children and youth to supply family income).

Statistics alone do not attest to the impact of war on education. War also politicizes school curricula. As sites of social reproduction, schools can play a role in embedding values that reduce or contribute to a conflict. This has been the situation in Iraq regarding the evolution of sectarian violence. Iraq is approximately 65 percent Shiite and 35 percent Sunni, with a Kurdish minority that is mostly Shiite. In the post-Saddam Hussein era, the new Shiite majority government, backed by the U.S., has used educational institutions as a tool for the country's transition to a new political system. For example, educational officials omitted Saddam Hussein from history textbooks, scrapped courses in Baathist ideology, and renamed schools carrying the former ruler's name.²⁰

Despite the Middle East's movement toward mass education in the postcolonial era, there remains significant gender disparities in regard to quality and quantity of state-sponsored education and cultural attitudes toward education. Gender disparities are readily evidenced in the illiteracy rates of youth in many Middle Eastern countries today. In Morocco, for example, the illiteracy rate of youth fifteen to twenty-four years old currently hovers around 15 percent for males and 30 percent for females. In Yemen, the numbers are 5 percent for males and 25 percent for females, and in Egypt, 10 percent and 15 percent are the rates.²¹ Even in countries where there is near parity in literacy, gender can still present an obstacle in education. This is due in part to the rise in Islamic fundamentalism in the Middle East

since the 1970s. Fundamentalists have emerged in the context of dysfunctional postcolonial governments as well as numerous Western-backed wars and failed neoliberal policies imported from the West. Fundamentalists often seek to regulate women's behavior in their desire to impose a new form of social order, and they often portray women's recent advancements in education as a Western import, even though Islam has always valued education.

The situation of Iranian women after the 1979 Revolution provides a case in point. The revolutionaries of Iran were united against the overthrow of the Pahlavi regime, which they viewed as corrupt and a puppet of the West. However, many were surprised by the dramatic changes the new Islamic Republic of Iran imposed on all aspects of life, including education. The Ayatollah Khomeini launched a successful literacy campaign for men and women. Current male and female youth literacy rates in Iran are both approximately 99 percent.²² This is a huge increase from the beginning of the twentieth century, when overall literacy was 5 percent.²³ Nonetheless women have faced radical restrictions in what they can do with their education. Textbooks and curriculum at all levels of education were rewritten in order to create allegiance to the theocratic leader and transform the youth into warriors of his version of Islam. These educational changes disempowered women and changed their identity. Girls were taught to be supportive wives and mothers who performed domestic chores and cared for children. School classes were segregated by gender and restrictions placed on what females could wear. Educated women were pushed into traditionally female jobs, such as teaching and nursing. Women judges were dismissed. Over the decades the Iranian women's movement has succeeded in breaking down some of the barriers restricting educated women from freely working in the public sphere, particularly in the field of medicine. Further, there is a growing trend of Islamic feminists, such as 2003 Nobel Peace Prize winner Sherin Ebadi, who use their education in Islamic law to push for more gender-egalitarian interpretations of the religion.

CONCLUSION

In the post-9/11 era, Western pundits and politicians have been fascinated with the education of children in the Middle East, raising concern that schools in the region are pro-terrorism centers that teach anti-Westernism. Many scholars respond to these concerns by placing educational developments in historical context. There is a long history of education in the Middle East that is rich in pedagogical and philosophical approaches, intellectual contributions to humankind, and ever-changing institutions. Islam, the predominant religion of the Middle East, does not have an innate bias against teaching democracy, peace, and equality. There is a duty for every Muslim to seek knowledge. Islam, however, should not be mistaken as the sole defining force behind education. The politics of power have played a central role in historically shaping education throughout the Middle East. In the medieval era, wealthy individuals financially endowed schools in order to spread their version of Islamic law. In the Ottoman era, the sultan centralized schools to disseminate a common pedagogy. The British and French used education to serve their own colonial interests. Just as in many parts of the world, the Middle East in the modern era has witnessed the development of state-sponsored systems of mass education to make the nation and citizen.

NOTES

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PART IV

THE EMERGENCE
OF MODERN
HIGHER
EDUCATION

CHAPTER 16

HIGHER EDUCATION IN MODERN EUROPE

VINCENT CARPENTIER

It is possible to explore the historical development of higher education in Europe by looking at three key intersected dimensions: its spaces, shapes, and rationales. This entails examining chronologies, typologies, and interpretations of expansion with respect to three themes: the links and frictions between the global, national, and local spaces or geography of higher education; the shapes or contours of the higher education system in terms of access, participation, and institutional differentiation; and the connections and tensions between the cultural, political, social, and economic rationales driving its expansion.

The history of European higher education can be divided into stages. The first was a shift after the fifteenth century from the spontaneous creation of the early archetypical medieval universities, closely aligned with the professions, to the more measured and territorialized expansion of the late medieval universities. The second was during the early modern period, when the political rationale for universities was strengthened as they became important features of national identity and were increasingly involved in dynastic and religious wars of the time. Next came the late modern era, when successive political and industrial revolutions shifted their political rationale and introduced a socioeconomic agenda that transformed universities and revived other forms of higher education. Finally, in the post-1914 era two world wars and the Great Depression led to a profound shift in the alignment of cultural, economic, social, and political factors underpinning higher education. This created the conditions for a post-1945 drive to realize mass higher education in conjunction with the rise of a welfare state, the knowledge economy, and the cold war. This process has been labeled “massification.” The crisis of the early 1970s interrupted this multifaceted development and challenged higher education institutions with respect to funding, access, and differentiation. This raised significant tensions between their ideological rationales and organizational dynamics that imperiled continued expansion. These questions remain at the heart of contemporary debates on policy and practice in higher education.

SPACES, SHAPES, AND RATIONALES OF HIGHER EDUCATION

The historical study of European higher education has generated many interpretations that reflect its multidimensional and sometimes contested character. This plurality of perspectives underlines the difficulty of offering a holistic account of the origins and consequences of growth in higher education and offers encouragement to consider, when relevant, an interdisciplinary approach to its history.¹

The spatial or geographical dimension concerns the expansion of higher education within its global, national, and local contexts. The global dimension has always been present. European higher education has been influenced by higher learning not only in Europe itself, dating to Ancient Greece and Rome, but also from outside, for instance, in the influence of Egyptian, Chinese, Indian, and Islamic institutions. European nations have, of course, influenced the trajectory of higher education beyond their borders. Certain other countries have, in return, influenced European higher education more recently. The impact of U.S. higher education is particularly noteworthy. Intra-European exchanges have always been a factor, driven by individual student and staff mobility, institutional collaboration, and policy. Although this has contributed to some commonalities in organizational development, European higher education systems have remained linked to national and local priorities. The connections, and indeed the tensions, between these geospatial factors have always existed, but they have evolved across time. The combination of historical layers and current conditions has led to a “glonacal” (global/national/local) lens on higher education.²

A second key dimension to examine is the shapes or institutional contours of higher education expansion. This is evident when considering the alignment, and occasional disjunctions, between patterns of access, participation, and institutional differentiation. Clear distinctions between expansion and democratization have been revealed by extensive inequalities in terms of access, participation, and outcomes for different social groups, especially regarding social class, gender, ethnicity, and other factors. The voices of these groups, previously excluded from historical accounts, have been slowly recovered by studies examining the changing student body. Inequalities of access and participation among groups, within and across countries, are often reflected in differentiation between institutions. Therefore institutional differences may have contributed to problems in accommodating inequalities. The rise of the medieval university as corporations made the expansion of European higher education a distinctive phase in the global history of higher education. Arguably the links between the university and other higher education institutions have differed across both countries and time, resulting in patterns of expansion ranging from highly stratified institutional arrangements to tightly coordinated systems.³

A third dimension to consider concerns the different rationales (cultural, political, religious, social, economic, political) associated with various institutional sectors, such as the church, the state, and the economy. For instance, one influential interpretation holds that the expansion of higher education in the nineteenth century was successively driven by politics, economic development, and technology. The evolving tensions and connections

between these sources of influence reflected a shifting *rapport de force* or consensus concerning higher education, with implications for funding, equity, and quality.⁴

FROM HIGHER LEARNING TO THE CORPORATE MEDIEVAL UNIVERSITY

The period from the twelfth century to the mid-sixteenth century witnessed the gradual development of early forms of European higher education into universities and their subsequent struggle to achieve autonomy within the varied political agendas of the feudal system. From an early stage, the rise of the university raised questions about the control of higher education institutions with substantial implications for their internal governance. There was a difference, however, between the spontaneous creation of archetypal universities based on the professions and the more territorial development of the late medieval universities. During this time enrollment remained stagnant and was restricted to male students.⁵

The early medieval period was characterized by the spontaneous creation of universities out of existing informal arrangements for higher learning. The university was a product of the Middle Ages, especially the twelfth century, sometimes referred to as the century of corporations. Before being associated with higher education, the term “universitas” was used to define a body with an independent status representing the interests of a group of persons. Universities therefore emerged as guild or corporation unions, with rights associated with the status of teachers and students, along with their licenses and titles. In a sense, they were corporate developments of previous forms of higher learning, such as the cathedral schools or the *Studium Generale*. The cathedral schools were traditionally more local and dependent on an individual teacher. The *Studium Generale* prefigured the first medieval universities as communities of teachers and students from various countries traveling across Europe and using Latin as a global language. Moreover the *Studium* was an institution created or recognized by religious or political authorities. This highlights the difficulty in precisely establishing the differences between a *Studium* and a university. Thus the realization of autonomy and the right to act as a corporate body might have become the most distinctive features of a university at this time. Indeed the change from a *Studium Generale* to the constitutional development of the university was often a response to local conflicts. The first universities, after all, often had to answer to local political and economic concerns. The knowledge they produced and transmitted through the classical curriculum (music, geometry, arithmetic, and astronomy) and the areas of higher technical learning (theology, law, and medicine) was considered not only a source of prestige for rulers but also training for the church, the state, and key professions.⁶

The influence of the local context is exemplified by the creation of the first two archetypal models: the University of Bologna (1088), a guild of students hiring teachers, and the University of Paris (1150), a guild of teachers selling their service to students. In the case of Bologna, the student university model was created as a reaction to hostility from its host city. Students (a majority of whom were foreign) felt threatened and unprotected by their teachers. As a result, they formed a guild that slowly led them to change the governance of the university. This model contrasted with the guild of masters developed in the University of Paris as a response to the local ecclesiastical domination. Another archetypal university

followed in England. Oxford (1167) already existed but was enhanced by the arrival of masters from Paris. Cambridge (1209) was created by a scission of certain Oxford scholars. Although clearly influenced by the Paris model, both institutions developed their own colleges housing masters and students together. This distinctive English collegiate model was shaped by these institutions. Differing national models of university organization had a strong influence on the second wave of institutional development through the thirteenth century. Driven by the need to train for the professions, Spain and Portugal created their first universities in Salamanca (1218) and Coimbra (1290), respectively; new ones were created in France in Montpellier (1220) and Toulouse (1229) and in Italy in Naples (1224) and Rome (1303). These developments prefigured the increasing tendency toward territorial identification in higher education to come.⁷

After the fourteenth century, higher education expanded and changed. Although the mission of professionalization remained important, universities became increasingly driven by a political rationale. The spontaneous creation of the early universities gave way to a more strategic expansion of late medieval universities, driven by power struggles in the feudal order. This led to a substantial increase in their number, from twenty to seventy between 1300 and 1500. Universities had to find their place in the midst of political and religious conflict. This trend was accentuated by numerous political skirmishes and wars and a schism in the Catholic Church over the Avignon papacy (1378–1418), leading many scholars to flee their countries. This difficult context led to the creation of new universities all over Europe, based on prior models of the early institutions. Accordingly the *studia* of northern and southern Europe were, respectively, influenced by Paris and Bologna. New development took place in central and eastern Europe with the creation of the University of Prague (1348) by King Charles II, who sought to make that city the center of the German Empire. Prague was followed by the Universities of Vienna (1367), Pecs (1367), Heidelberg (1387), and Cologne (1388). A web of universities gradually covered all Europe with the creation of the first such institutions in Scotland of St. Andrews (1409), Glasgow (1451), and Aberdeen (1495) and in the Nordic countries with the Universities of Uppsala (1477) and Copenhagen (1479).⁸

A key change in higher education during this period—and a direct result of the process of national and regional development—was moderation in the international identity of the first universities. The early forms of international mobility that had contributed to a proto-European higher education system gradually weakened. The international character of universities slowly diminished as they became increasingly influenced by local political power. This trend intensified in the early modern period, which was characterized by a shift from the local feudal order to the construction of nation-states.⁹

FROM NATIONALIZATION TO ENLIGHTENMENT: HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

The early modern period in European history can be divided into two eras with respect to higher education. Until the mid-seventeenth century, a substantial increase in the number of universities was driven by a process of nationalization and religious competition and the

emergence of an increasingly elite student population. After the mid-seventeenth century, a slowdown in the university expansion and the revival of other forms of higher education became associated with slower national development and new demands for more secular, professional, and scientific education associated with the emerging Enlightenment. Three words describe aptly these changes: "expansion, differentiation, and professionalization."¹⁰

Although the evidence should be interpreted with caution, studies show an increase in enrollment from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth centuries. For instance, admissions in Oxford and Cambridge rose from one hundred in 1550 to one thousand in 1650. From 1575/1600 to 1650 the percentages of the age cohort traditionally associated with higher education rose from 1.2 to 2.8 in Germany, from 0.2 to 0.7 in the Dutch Republic, and from 1.4 to 2.4 in Portugal. Such expansion can be interpreted as the combined result of continued national development and religious conflict, which led the church and the state to seek the support of universities. Indeed the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed a sharp acceleration in the creation or consolidation of nation-states in Spain, Russia, France, Italy, Prussia, and Sweden. The increased number of universities has also been linked to the schism between Catholics and Protestants during the Reformation (1517–1648). Universities were factors in the political and religious conflicts of these centuries. This trend further weakened the international character of early universities, with church and state inhibiting the mobility of scholars and students.¹¹

Another notable characteristic of the early modern era is the emergence of a new social rationale of higher education. This may have been linked to elitism, as suggested by changes in enrollment. Institutions became more aristocratic, preoccupied by a new social function of educating the elites. Moreover an embryonic cultural shift was also taking place under the influence of the Italian Renaissance and its revival of humanism based on reasoning and empirical evidence. These new ideas spurred debates regarding the curriculum and new disciplines suggesting the importance of practice alongside theory, and efforts to revive the professional side of universities. This set the stage for additional challenges to universities with the arrival of the Enlightenment.

The development of higher education was not always linear, as shown by the decline of university enrollment in the second half of the seventeenth century, observed in most European countries. From 1650 to 1750 age-group participation fell from 2.8 percent to 1.7 percent in the German Empire and from 1.8 percent to 1.5 percent in the Dutch Republic. New admissions in Oxford and Cambridge from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century fell from one thousand students to around one hundred (roughly the level of the mid-sixteenth century). Many reasons have been offered to explain such decline. A slowdown in the religious competition that drove the expansion of higher education cannot be underestimated. A second factor was the emergence in the late seventeenth century of the Enlightenment, driven by the humanist ideals inherited from the Renaissance and characterized by an interest in science, rationality, discovery, and novelty that universities did not usually address at the time.¹²

The Enlightenment reshaped higher education in two ways. First, it forced universities to change. In certain cases, it contributed to reform. For instance, universities were important drivers of the Scottish Enlightenment. Second, the Enlightenment offered teaching and especially scholarship outside the university with such new or reemerging institutions as learned societies or academies. Learned academies were first created in Italy in the early seventeenth century, soon followed by French and British counterparts. The creation of

societies, such as the encyclopaedists, but also formal higher education institutions such as the *Grandes Ecoles*, indicated that a scientific revolution was taking place outside the university in most countries, with Scotland and Holland representing notable exceptions.¹³

REVOLUTION, UNREST, MUTATION, AND THE CREATION OF THE NEW MODELS OF EUROPEAN HIGHER EDUCATION, 1789–1914

The long nineteenth century was characterized by political turbulence across Europe, strengthening the partisan and economic rationales behind higher education. The revolutions and crises that punctuated the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries offered a mix of threats and opportunities for universities. Overall the period led to further differentiation of institutions and the development or reinforcement of national models of higher education, including the research-oriented German model, the centralized French model, and the collegial English model. The British Industrial Revolution and the French political Revolution broke the political, social, and economic order of the *ancien régime*. As a result, most European countries were rocked by political, social, and economic turmoil, with serious implications for the universities and other higher education institutions. In certain respects, this era, characterized as an Age of Revolution, marked the birth of modern higher education systems.¹⁴

In one of the period's most notable developments, the French Revolution contributed to diversification, centralization, and professionalization in higher education. The revolutionaries distrusted the old universities and their association with the state and the Church. They legislated the *Loi le Chapelier*, which suppressed corporations in 1791 and led to the abolition of the universities two years later. Meanwhile they increased the number of the more professionally orientated *Grandes Ecoles* such as the *Ecole Polytechnique* and *Ecole Normale Supérieure*. Thus the higher education system became more differentiated, although also unstable in the wake of revolutionary and counterrevolutionary episodes. For example, the Revolution suppressed the corporatist universities, but Napoleon re-created them in 1806 under the auspices of the Imperial University, a single institution controlling regional faculties across the country. This was the first European attempt to develop a national system of higher education, centralized and utilitarian, catering to key military and civil occupations. Following the 1848 Revolution, the Second Republic again suppressed the universities until the Second Empire revived them in 1896, transforming the faculties into regional universities.

The spread of the French Revolution's ideal, through inspiration or force, impacted higher education across Europe. The influence of its anti-university posture was revealed by a fall of the number of universities in Europe from 133 to 83 between 1789 and 1815. The Napoleonic professionalization agenda and its focus on developing vocationally oriented institutions was evident in occupied Italy, with the creation of its first *Grande Ecole*, the *Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* in 1810. The centralized Napoleonic model also influenced national higher education systems in Spain (1857) and across Italy (1859). The 1806 defeat at the hands of Napoleon contributed to the creation of the University of Berlin in

1810 and the rise of the Humboldtian model and its emphasis on research and scholarship, the unity of teaching and research, and a combination of academic freedom and state administration and funding.¹⁵

In Britain these changes were less dramatic but still conspicuous. The needs for plurality led to the creation of London University in 1826, a secular and utilitarian university that, unlike Oxford and Cambridge, accepted students outside the Church of England. Diversity was further enhanced with the transformation of London University into University College London in 1836, which joined the new federal University of London with Kings College (1829) and the creation of the University of Durham (1832). Although political and religious factors clearly dominated the British higher education agenda, an economic rationale related to science and professionalization was emerging, albeit at a slower pace than elsewhere. Indeed the English model, symbolized by Cardinal Newman's ideal of the university (1850), focused on the formation of the students' religious and moral character rather than on vocational training or research. Another factor was the English universities' close connections to the country's growing empire rather than the needs of industry. Indeed the first British Industrial Revolution (1760–1820) was primarily based on textiles, which relied upon practical knowledge from individual innovators rather than formalized knowledge from academic or scientific inquiry. Most inventions of the era were developed outside the university, and training workers typically did not require higher education. But from the 1820s onward, English universities were often criticized for their lack of commitment to research and scholarship focused on practical problems. Although some forms of vocational higher learning developed at the time, such as the Mechanics Institutes, there was an emerging view that higher education had to change by giving more attention to science alongside the humanities. However, it would take an additional industrial revolution to make this a reality.¹⁶

The second part of the nineteenth century witnessed major interrelated changes, such as the Second Industrial Revolution, a long depression, and widening colonization. All these developments had compelling implications for higher education, including a strengthened case for instruction and research in science and the early signs of a social justice agenda related to social class and gender. The Second Industrial Revolution (1860–1914) entailed production processes associated with electricity and chemistry, requiring higher levels of technological innovation and formalized and systematic knowledge. Moreover it was taking place in a context of increasing international competition between Britain, the USA, Germany, and France. This new race for innovation contributed to the emergence of the research university and a new form of stratification of higher education systems, differentiating classical and technical institutions around Europe. The Humboldtian model complemented its focus on university research and scholarship with new technical high schools between 1840 and 1890. France increased the number of *Grandes Ecoles* and introduced university reforms seeking to assimilate the German emphasis on science and scholarship, which had been interpreted as a key reason behind the defeat in 1870. Sweden developed new universities specializing in science in Stockholm (1878) and Gothenburg (1891). These changes coincided with reforms made by a key economic competitor outside Europe. The well-known Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1892 in the USA used federal land grants as financial endowments for new agricultural and technical institutions. It took time for Britain to join the trend. Five Welsh universities were created between 1865 and 1882, and the first annual treasury grant to University Colleges was legislated in 1889. In England the development of

civic universities was a combined response to a quest of the middle class for a higher social status and the search for a curriculum addressing new technical or industrial needs. Six civic universities were created between 1900 and 1909 in Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, and Bristol. Despite this progress, there was a lack in state support in Britain compared to Germany and France. Such differences in investment have been linked to a shift in the balance of global economic strength on the eve of the First World War and thereafter.¹⁷

Meanwhile a social rationale for higher education was slowly emerging. Civic university reform and the heritage of the Revolutionary Era had limited universities to largely serving a bourgeois clientele. The working class was still left out, contributing to the emergence of popular education movements. These fostered, from the 1870s onward, the development of University Extension in the U.K. and similar institutions across Europe, such as the *Universités Populaires* in France and Belgium from 1899. While these initiatives were locally successful, they remained limited in scope.

Another dimension of the social justice agenda was related to women's access to higher education. A movement addressing this started in Switzerland in 1867, and one appeared in Sweden in 1873. In France the first degree obtained by a woman dates to 1875. In the U.K. the creation of colleges for women and a slow increase in access to mainstream universities can be traced to the 1850s, although women had to wait until 1878 to obtain degrees from the University of London and 1892 from the Scottish universities. Degrees were awarded to women at Oxford beginning in 1920 and Cambridge in 1948. The drive toward gender equity was a long process with uneven progress across Europe. The proportion of women students, however, kept rising, reaching 27 percent in the U.K. on the eve of the First World War but only 7 percent in France and Germany and 6 percent in Italy.¹⁸

THE ORIGIN, DEVELOPMENT, AND CRISIS OF MASSIFICATION

A process of growing mass participation in higher education, mainly led by public institutions, took place in Europe after 1945. It was clearly the result of long-term transformations in society and the economy, combined with profound changes triggered by two global wars and the Great Depression in the first half of the twentieth century. This process was altered by the socioeconomic crisis of 1973, which did not halt expansion but produced tensions in the existing rationales, spaces, and shapes of higher education.

The first half of the twentieth century was a time of great instability that culminated in a paradigm shift for higher education. This was driven by the convergence of its cultural, economic, political, and social rationales following the two world wars and the Great Depression. The disruptions to higher education institutions caused by the First World War coincided with an increased demand for contributions to the war effort. The mission of the university was important both for training and for applied research for military purposes. The strategic role of higher education was acknowledged in the creation of new institutions, such as the British University Grants Committee in 1919. Temporary funding cuts during the Great Depression did not reverse the overall trend toward a greater public engagement.

The Second World War, with fighting and destruction on a scale never seen, led to disruptions and closures of institutions, pressure on funding, staff and student enrollment in the military, and ideological pressure on the curriculum. However, once again, despite all these constraints and distractions, higher education institutions remained engaged on both the technological front, assisting research in key sectors such as engineering, metallurgy, and chemistry, and on the ideological front in debating fascist, communist, and capitalist ideas.¹⁹

The long-term legacy of the world wars and the Great Depression was to enhance the various rationales for higher education, embracing its teaching, research, and service functions. More important, it helped to connect them, leading to the process of massification after 1945. First, the widespread social, economic, and cultural destruction of the war strengthened the social rationale for education. The fact that men and women from all strata of society were engaged together in a common existential struggle helped to instill new democratic viewpoints that favored progressive and inclusive educational policy. A second key outcome was the reaffirmation of the economic rationale for higher education. Indeed the importance of research and innovation and the training of the workforce was made clear, prefiguring what would later become a human capital agenda for most European nations. Another economic effect of the wars, and of the depression also, was to make the public funding of social systems more acceptable, with a more welcoming attitude toward taxation and the need to address inequality. A third effect was the strengthening of the political or geopolitical rationale for higher education. The wars and the depression initiated an ideological battle between the capitalist and communist political systems at the heart of the cold war, in which higher education systems played a key role.²⁰

These three legacies of the depression and war are important to understanding the postwar era, characterized by developments such as the rise of the welfare state, the knowledge economy, and the decolonization process. Added to this was the cold war, which also impacted higher education. This period, especially the 1960s, is considered a time of massification, with significant growth in enrollment and increased resources (despite persistent inequalities of access and participation).

A first phase of massification of higher education took place between 1945 and 1973, during which the alignment of the social, economic, political, and geopolitical rationales made a strong case for considering higher education a public good. This justified state intervention. In a sense, the welfare state and the human capital agenda for economic development coincided. Tax-funded higher education became an integral part of the postwar industrial economy, characterized by a virtuous cycle in which productivity gains were redistributed through progressive wage policies. At the same time, public spending was turned to social programs, contributing to new sources of productivity. In most European countries, massification took place under public-funded and/or publicly controlled systems of higher education. For many countries, such as the Nordic group and those that adopted the Humboltian or Napoleonic models, this development meant only an acceleration of existing trends. For others, it changed the shape of higher education. For instance, in the U.K. new public provision and increased public funding meant that government contributions to university income rose from 50 percent to 90 percent between 1945 and 1973. For other reasons, state intervention was also strong in certain autocracies in the West, such as Spain, Portugal, and Greece, and the communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe. This increase of state support for higher education in both East and West was accelerated by the strategic role of knowledge in the cold war.²¹

This conjunction of rationales boosted investment and drastically modified both the size and the shape of higher education. The number of universities in Europe increased from 204 to 524 between 1949 and 1984. Enrollment of twenty- to twenty-four-year-olds also increased in most Western European countries, from about 4.5 percent in 1950 to 6.4 percent in 1960 and 17.4 percent in 1975. In many countries, the number of staff increased sufficiently to maintain the student-staff ratio, although in others it resulted in a lower ratio. The drive toward massification was substantial but could not entirely mask the persistence of inequalities in access and participation. For example, the rise of the proportion of women students from 21 to 33 percent between 1951 and 1974 in the U.K. shows that gender access was a key driver of expansion but also reveals that parity was far from achieved. A similar observation applies to lower income and minority ethnic groups, whose numbers and proportions increased but who remained underrepresented, especially in elitist institutions. Similar conclusions can be made for France.²²

Another key change in the shape of the system was the increase, in most countries, of institutional differentiation or stratification to enact the expansion agenda. In Britain, the government implemented the expansion recommended by the 1963 Robbins Report, creating new universities and a new public sector of higher education, including polytechnics and colleges of education. The postwar French plan for expansion complemented the new universities and *Grandes Ecoles* with the creation of *Instituts Universitaires de Technologie*, delivering two years higher education diplomas and new research centers outside universities. Differentiation between universities and technical high schools was also the basis for the expansion of Dutch and German higher education. A key question thus is the extent to which diversification represented greater variety or a new manifestation of inequalities between social groups. It appears that countries like Britain and France limited the extent of the stratification of their institutions, while Germany and the Netherlands held to a single level, and Sweden in general maintained one level. The expansion through differentiation clearly had dissimilar effects on inequality in different countries. The question is whether this stratification was functional or simply reflected social stratification. Overall, during this first phase of massification (1945–1973), the organization of higher education became increasingly national and linked to the maintenance of welfare states. The creation of the European system was eventually characterized by *laissez-faire* policies in relation to higher education. This left important international dimensions of higher education (such as student mobility) to be expressed in geopolitical terms, associated with former colonies and the cold war. In sum, the end of the 1960s saw the massification of higher education that was driven by a robust socioeconomic rationale, shaped by an institutional differentiation, and supported by significant public investment in the growth of national systems of higher education.²³

Most of this changed with the social, economic, and political crises during the 1970s, which directly and indirectly altered the rationales, spaces, and shapes of higher education in most countries. A second phase of massification thus took place in a context marked by rapid and fundamental transformations. The decline of the welfare states, the end of the cold war, the emergence of new global powers and the apparition of new technologies challenged the arrangement of higher education that had developed after the Second World War. The process of massification during that period reached a new level, but inequalities remained. Participation rates increased dramatically overall, and many countries began to approach the 50 percent threshold of universal higher education. Gender parity has been achieved in most countries, although significant inequalities were still in place. The gaps

between socioeconomic groups narrowed but remained important in regard to access, participation, and institutional differentiation.

These mixed results, combining continuous expansion with unfinished democratization, may have been connected with tensions between massification and funding priorities. The economic crisis of the 1970s not only strengthened the economic rationale for higher education but also transformed its focus by giving more prominence to a low taxation agenda, alongside (or perhaps against) the traditional human capital agenda. This shift in focus led policymakers to overlook other noneconomic rationales and to underestimate social benefits. A shift in the social function of higher education slowly weakened its case for being considered a public good. Thus crisis of the 1970s and beyond produced major constraints on public resources to higher education, often at odds with the agenda of increasing access. These developments generated increasing tensions between the goals of greater funding, equity, and quality, producing great pressure to reshape the system. For some countries, the limitation of public spending meant a slowdown of expansion, an increased stratification, and/or serious issues about the quality of the provision. In many countries, austerity led to the development of new public management reforms borrowed from the private sector, which have been strongly debated with respect to their applicability to education and the resulting tensions between accountability and professional autonomy.²⁴

Another change resulting from the crisis was the introduction in some countries of private funding to compensate for the retreat of state support. This includes the implementation of cost-sharing policies (increase in fees for international and/or domestic students and donations) and the introduction of other sources of private funding, such as commercial activities. There have been important debates about the suitability and sustainability of these changes. Key questions include whether more private resources generate additional resources or only (partially) substitute for declining public funding and their effects on access and participation. There are also concerns about the imperfections of the higher education market and the impact of a shift in the role of students from coproducers to customers. These questions have been connected to wider debates on inequality following the 2008 global crisis and its connections to the question of inequality.

Another change in the shape of the higher education system includes the emergence (or the return) of private (or nonprofit) providers and changes in provision with online providers beyond such traditional institutions as the Open University. Debates about the impact of private provisions mirror those concerning private funding. A key question is whether the increase in private funding and the new types of provisions reflect an acceleration in inequality or a movement toward greater diversity.²⁵

These radical changes in the shape of the system cannot be dissociated from substantial transformations of the geography of higher education. Global changes strongly impacting higher education include the end of the cold war, the construction of a pan-European model in higher education, as well as the acceleration of a particular form of globalization characterized by neoliberalism and the emergence of new players (such as China, India, Brazil, and Russia). Global forces accelerated (rather than created) the transformations that started at the national level at the end of the 1970s in two ways. First, the competitive emphasis of the current form of economic globalization, along with greater control of taxation, increased the pressure on public funding in higher education. Second, the General Agreement on Trade in Services set up in 1995 abetted the development of a global market in higher education encouraging competition within and across countries.

Additionally, globalization has accelerated and transformed the internationalization of higher education. Although universities have always been international, there also has been an acceleration of mobility for students and staff and a rise in new types of mobility, including movement to physical (programs or campus) and virtual (online) provision of cross-border higher education. The degree of engagement with internationalization has increased everywhere, but the forms of that engagement and the rationales behind it have differed among countries. Although the political and cultural rationales are still present, the need to generate additional income to counter the reduction of public funding has increasingly been a critical factor for attracting international students and developing offshore campuses and distance learning. The impact of these developments on inequalities within and between countries has been debated, even more so since the 2008 global crisis which revealed key tensions between the global, national and local dimensions. The direction of global higher education might contribute, alongside other social and economic factors, to addressing the interrelated issues of economic growth, equity, democracy, and sustainability.

Arguably, the development of European higher education has had an influence on higher education elsewhere. It involves a mix of rationales, including a closer political integration of the member states, the development of a knowledge economy, and social cohesion. European integration has also influenced the reshaping of the higher education landscape in two ways. First of all, it has increased the connections among higher education systems through the European Union (EU) funding of research collaborations and programs promoting student and staff mobility. For instance, the number of mobile students under the ERASMUS program, a student-exchange program, has increased from 3,000 to 200,000 since 1987.

Second, greater European cooperation has reshaped national higher education systems. For example, the Bologna Process was signed in 1999 by the education ministers of twenty-nine European countries (the process is not an EU policy) to increase the convergence between their higher education systems (a common three-cycle system, harmonization of quality assurance, and transfer of credit and recognition of qualification). Since then the number of signatories has kept on increasing, and a consistent flow of initiatives has been deployed to develop the European Higher Education Area.

The differences between national models of higher education might explain why the policy toward convergence has been diversely interpreted and debated across countries. The impact of the Bologna Process differed across countries because of variation in their national systems. The rationale behind the European policy agenda has also been widely debated. Some welcomed an overdue process of economic and political harmonization, while others considered it a disguised attempt to drive the marketization agenda. The latter view highlighted connections between the Bologna Process and the EU Lisbon Strategy regarding economic development (2000) as evidence of a predominantly economic rationale. However, European cooperation should not be seen as distinct from other influences on higher education, and in many instances has been seen as a driver of national reforms.²⁶

CONCLUSION

Not surprisingly, the history of higher education in Europe reveals a variety of changes and continuities. Of course, the expansion has been massive and provoked substantial qualitative transformations since the Middle Ages, which makes the historical comparison of

higher education systems across time periods difficult. Nevertheless the long view reveals recurrent trends, questions, and mechanisms that are worth considering.

First of all, the historical perspective shows that political, cultural, social, and economic rationales have always been present, but also identifies recurrent historical shifts in their connections and order of importance. The economic rationale is not new and can be traced back to the beginning of the university with the idea of professionalization. It then took a backseat during the more humanistic/Socratic era before assuming a new dimension during the Second Industrial Revolution of the late nineteenth century, becoming a key driver of the postwar national higher education policy. However, although the rationales have been in competition, it is important that they remain aligned to reflect the multidimensionality of higher education. There is a risk that the dominance of the economic and financial rationales can develop hegemonically, weakening the cultural, political, and social rationales that remain important.

A second lesson from the historical perspective is that higher education has always been influenced by connections and tensions between its global, national, and local dimensions. Higher education institutions were from the beginning local institutions with international reach, before becoming increasingly part of nation-building projects. Of course, the level of internationalization is far more important today, and a shift to global practices is emerging and challenged at the same time.

Third, the long view points at a mix of changes and continuities in relation to the shape of higher education which reflect the connections and potential tensions between expansion and democratization. A key question remains whether institutional differentiation drives a real process of diversity rather than a hierarchical process of social stratification.

Overall the long-term perspective shows that the dynamics of articulation between the rationales, shapes, and spaces of higher education were not stable and that the consensus that drove them have changed regularly across history. Of course, shifting rationales, spaces, and shapes are the consequences of larger social, economic, and political forces that are beyond the reach of higher education policy alone.

NOTES

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CHAPTER 17

THE GERMAN UNIVERSITY AND ITS INFLUENCE

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THE main significance of the German university lies in its pioneering an emphasis on the search for new knowledge rather than the transmission, from older to younger generations, of relatively static professional canons. Teaching staff came increasingly to be recruited from scholars and scientists who had researched, discovered, and made public new interpretations and were expected to continue to do so as a part of their official duties. Mere *Gelehrsamkeit* (learnedness) or even *Applaus* (popularity with students), both increasingly prized in the eighteenth century, no longer sufficed in the view of educational reformers at the beginning of the nineteenth century. From then onward, under the supervision of a reinvigorated civil service and in collusion with the more innovative members of the professoriate, reformers rallied behind a demand for more *Wissenschaft* (even though, then as now, a precise definition of the term remained elusive). This meant not only the traditional role of the professor—to absorb and pass on canonical *Wissen* (knowledge)—but the new one of contributing systematically and dynamically to the canon's expansion through original investigation. Students (it was hoped) would learn these new methods and apply them as well. Knowledge would thereby be not only *tradiert* (handed down) in a stagnant canonical form but expanded and improved. Students would be equipped for a lifetime of openness to investigation and the application of the latest scholarly and scientific methods. They would therefore in principle develop habits promoting lifelong moral and intellectual growth—with the goal of achieving *Bildung* (cultivation).

While the specifics of a kind of ideology of *Wissenschaft* did not necessarily transfer easily to national educational systems outside the German-speaking territories of Central Europe (and not even in equal measure to all institutions there), the multiplying triumphs of German scholarship and science over the nineteenth century stirred interest abroad in adapting elements of the reformed German universities. By the end of the century, universities in Britain, the USA, much of Eastern Europe and Scandinavia, Japan, and even, to a lesser degree, France and Russia had taken up and grafted onto their own system some features of the German. The addition of post-bachelor's degrees and graduate schools in

America is one such adaptation. Another, less obvious one came from transplanted habits of thought and practice. For example, half of Stanford University's founding professors (1891) had studied in Germany, and its official motto—*Die Luft der Freiheit weht* (The wind of freedom blows)—derives from the *Invectives* of German Renaissance humanist Ulrich von Hutten.

A related development was the evolution of polytechnical schools into the nominal equals of universities by 1900. They also influenced developments abroad, although in a more diffuse and varied way than the university model. The German path perpetuated a separation of tertiary educational institutions into pure and applied *Wissenschaft*, the latter struggling for recognition as equals to the former during the second half of the nineteenth century. By contrast, other countries either assigned a higher status to their technical and specialty schools (as in France) or integrated many of their functions into existing universities (as in the United States). The reformed German universities of the nineteenth century thus shifted the roles of tertiary educational institutions and the scientific and learned academies founded as far back as the seventeenth century. In what might be termed the French or Napoleonic reform variant, also continued into the twentieth century by the USSR and other countries, the role of promoting science and discovery remained largely assigned to academies (of science, but also of literature and other topics). The preparation of traditional learned professional elites, however, remained the province of colleges or faculties.

This hegemony began to crumble around 1900 on yet another front. Not only did polytechnical schools in Germany achieve equal status with universities and contribute theoretical breakthroughs themselves, but increasing financial difficulties inherent in demanding universities to provide both new research discoveries and the training of ever-larger masses of professional cadres resulted in the creation of a growing set of pure research institutes before World War I (now known as the Max Planck Society's various institutes). These decoupled almost completely the functions of teaching and research; initially the latter involved advanced theoretical approaches to problems with practical applications of interest to industry, the military, and other stakeholders.

Despite losing their dominance as research centers, though, German universities continued to serve as successful enough models to justify comparable concentrations of resources and researchers in higher educational institutions elsewhere. The challenges posed to them during the twentieth century were severe: decimations of student bodies and even teaching staffs by two world wars; financial starvation during much of the time between those wars and after the second as well; and the catastrophic intervention of ideological regimes hostile to many of the very principles of free *Wissenschaft*, whether in teaching or research. What finally emerged as a national "system" of tertiary educational and research institutions by the end of the twentieth century bears many of the marks of a restoration of the successful operating principles of the past, but it clearly has lost the kind of international emulation still common through the first third of the twentieth century.

The postwar and post-reunification restructurings (or, in the view of some critics, restoration) of the German university might be seen as a renewed resort to supposed strengths in previous eras of crisis: the Humboldt model, combining the roles of teaching and research in universities. Whatever the precise contours of that model, its central principle was hatched in the midst of a crisis of morbidity in the eighteenth-century university system in Germany and elsewhere. The swift "creative destruction" of the Holy Roman Empire by Napoleon in the first years of the nineteenth century fertilized further development of often incommensurable

plans to save or transform what was salvageable from the rubble of institutions regarded by many contemporaries as mere relics of a benighted and corrupt Old Regime.

CRISIS AND RENEWAL OF THE TRADITIONAL UNIVERSITY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

There was no Germany before the nineteenth century. True, German was becoming a literary language, slowly replacing Latin for instruction in universities, but some German kings preferred to write and speak French at their courts. The Habsburg emperor in Vienna, the elected head of the mostly Germanophone Holy Roman Empire, ruled in addition multilingual Central European territories stretching to Russia and Turkey. Most German universities in the last quarter of the eighteenth century were relics of the Middle Ages or pedagogically hyperactive Reformation periods. They had mostly been founded as princely or church institutions. By 1700 there were twenty-eight on the territory of what would become the united Germany of 1871, excluding the Habsburg lands. The vast majority struggled along with fewer than three hundred students in 1700, or about seven thousand shared among them, falling from eight thousand a century before and destined to fall to six thousand by 1790. With few exceptions, these universities came in for heavy criticism for their hidebound ways, ossified curricula, corruption, moral laxity, and irrelevance to the scientific and philosophical ferment of the Enlightenment. At the beginning of the century, leading scientific lights such as Leibniz despaired of reforming them and led the movement to create new academies of science (such as the new one in Berlin) to bypass them. At the other end of the century, reformers called for their outright abolition.

Criticism of universities was of course not restricted to the German states or France. Edward Gibbon, the author of the pathbreaking *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–1789), recalled his time at Oxford as “the most idle and unprofitable of my whole life,” owing to the torpor of the faculty.¹ Oxford and Cambridge were at least rich in endowments, which could not be claimed by most Continental universities, largely dependent on student fees. One of the earliest acts of the French Revolution after 1789 was abolition of the universities, along with other parts of the shambolic ancien régime. The suppression of the Jesuit Order between 1767 and 1773 had a negative impact on teaching at Catholic institutions. The post-Reformation religious divisions among the German states and their universities tended to reinforce the authority and hyperorthodoxy of the respective theological faculties, which often kept a tight hold on the other academic disciplines. At the same time, given the usual emptiness of state coffers, professors could be compensated (in addition to risible salaries and student fees) with monopolistic concessions such as selling alcohol or firewood, or given produce from leased farmlands belonging to their meager endowment. These commercial activities distracted some so much that they neglected lecture courses or did not finish them by the end of term.

Once installed in a full professorship (*Ordinariat*), teachers tended to stay put, since there was little academic mobility. It was not uncommon to encounter multigenerational professorial families created by nepotism and intermarriage. Appointments made by nonscholarly

criteria such as family or collegial connections, given the small and evidently diminishing rewards of professorships, trumped attempts to lure innovative fresh blood. The ordinary professoriate may have totaled around 650 in the non-Austrian German lands and slightly under 800 including the six Austrian universities in 1796. While this produced a teacher-student ratio of something close to 1:10, it was not necessarily a good thing, since there were fewer student fees to finance the faculty's work. And while there were auxiliary lecturers, "extraordinary" professors, and private docents, these were almost exclusively men waiting and hoping for an appointment as an *Ordinarius*. Many were also moonlighting from some other lines of work, since *their* compensation from all sources fell far short of a living.

Writing offered some hope for financial gain, but the market favored encyclopedic works and textbooks. Anything like the sort of scholarly and scientific publication announcing new discoveries by professors, such as the monograph or specialized journal article, lay several decades ahead, in the nineteenth century. The more active university faculty members might be admirably called *Gelehrte* (savants), with broad-based knowledge. But few experienced encouragement to bore deeply into problems. Indeed the reward system of the traditional university favored breadth and popularity over profundity and the newly blazed path. Once appointed to a professorship, the multifaceted scholar was often expected to move up the meager career-and-reward ladder by teaching first in the arts faculty, then in one or more of the higher faculties: in ascending order, medicine, law, and theology. The last, as the "queen science," for reasons already mentioned, was least open to new thinking. The legal faculty was somewhat more open to wandering off the arid path of Roman law, but not as much as some increasingly rationalistic state bureaucracies could desire. Since theology and law were the choice of the vast majority of German students aiming for professional careers, one can understand more readily the endless complaints of critics about the widening gap between university knowledge and contemporary intellectual needs.

LIBERAL MERCANTILISM IN HALLE AND GÖTTINGEN AS SOLUTIONS TO OSSIFICATION

Many factors militated against reforming German universities even when isolated statesmen or savants, moved by new concepts of service to God and Caesar, were motivated to try. Entrenched and conservative senior professors, often personally enmeshed with ties to other local elites and (through their students) regional church and administrative hierarchies, remained practically immune to dismissal or disciplinary measures. Paltry as their incomes may have been, they were derived largely from sources beyond the control of whatever state or church patrons might nominally loom over their heads. Economic inducements to reform remained rare, since most German states lived hand to mouth fiscally. Costly military actions ate up the majority of state budgets, with one or another wars or seizures of territory (as in the partitions of Poland) going on roughly half the years of the century. What little money remained for supporting innovative research seemed better spent on royal academies of science, such as those set up in Prussia (1700), Hanover (1742), and Bavaria (1759).

To meet the perceived needs of youth for modern and practical education, another way around the difficulties of university reform lay in creating entirely new kinds of schools. The distaste of sons of the nobility for fusty university education, as well as their ability to pay, fueled the rise of so-called *Ritterakademien* (knights' academies) by the end of the seventeenth century. These typically offered modern and useful knowledge lacking in the university curriculum: fencing, riding, dancing, modern languages, and other subjects often useful for a future career in administration, court life, and diplomacy. They represented a sort of substitute or continuation of the household tutor and/or the Grand Tour, but at less cost. Various military schools and academies and even special schools for military doctors, engineers, and architects met the needs of students poorly served by universities.

A rarer option lay in creating new universities unencumbered by habitual inertia and designed in part to attract precisely the sons of the nobility targeted by *Ritterakademien*. One of the first, the Prussian University of Halle, opened in 1694, was indeed grafted onto an existing knights' academy. Its ideological orientation drew heavily on the Pietist tradition of Lutheranism, elevating "practical" Christianity and moral living over theological hairsplitting and ritual. Its contours as a spiritual movement may be compared to those of John Wesley's Methodism, which it inspired in part. More important, Pietism at least initially allowed more scope for the introduction of new ideas than rival Protestant and Catholic orthodoxies. One of Halle's leading professors, Christian Thomasius, sought to combine the attractive modern curriculum of the knights' academy, scientific subjects, and training for the civil service. Halle attracted many nobles, who paid higher fees and lent a certain social cachet, especially to study law, but it also attracted would-be pastors and schoolteachers in large numbers. The Pietist faculty grew more conservative after a generation or so, however, and with the expulsion of the popular early Enlightenment philosopher Christian Wolff in 1723, the university lost some of its luster as a seat of new learning.²

The possibility that a new university that de-emphasized theology and boosted law and the sort of modern subjects locatable in a philosophical (arts and sciences) faculty could also attract wealthy paying students was not lost on other German statesmen. One, Gerlach Adolf von Münchhausen, functioned much like a viceroy to the absentee ruler of Hanover, George II of Britain. The new university at Göttingen (1734–1737) aimed consciously at recruiting wealthy upper-class students from all over Europe, expected to pay high fees, mainly by teaching a kind of modern law that favored the rights of the nobility (as in England) as opposed to the "regalistic" justifications of expanded royal power (as in Prussian Halle). The nobles' chamber of the Hanoverian estates general (*Stände*) gladly and generously supported an institution that would effectively promote their own Whiggish rights as well as reverse the fiscal drain often entailed in sending their sons abroad or on Grand Tours for education. Hiring theologians unlikely to indulge in extremes or controversy, creating a new academy of sciences and a major library, paying top salaries, even to the elsewhere despised teachers in the Philosophical Faculty, and attracting scholars who had achieved some wide popularity by publication all formed a part of the successful gamble in Göttingen and set new parameters for a modernized form of university education. In addition to emphasizing a new kind of law, it offered an upgraded version of the introduction to fashionable knowledge previously offered by the *Ritterakademie*, making the university into a kind of courtly finishing school and training ground for future modern administrators. Münchhausen himself oversaw his new creation as *Kurator* and later while serving as prime minister.

One new university (Erlangen, 1743) consciously copied the Göttingen model, and a few other old ones attempted some reforms along the same lines, but the inertia of most of the traditional faculties could not be broken until the increasingly powerful waves of change emanating from France after 1789 placed the German university before a potential inundation. The success of the new reformed institutions of higher learning, however, offered a real alternative. And many of the German leaders confronting the Napoleonic hammering of crumbling German institutions had themselves studied at the new universities.

DAWNING OF THE AGE OF THE PROFESSOR, 1810–1860

The wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon overturned the *ancien régime* in most neighboring lands and awoke in many of them new movements adumbrating epochal change. The thousand-year-old Holy Roman Empire collapsed, and its nearly 1,800 member entities, from postage-stamp-size baronies to great powers like Prussia, faced reorganization. Many universities disappeared along with the statelets that had harbored them. Like many invaders who posed as liberators, though, Napoleon fired a new national spirit of resistance. In Central Europe this involved retaining the *form* of the *universitas* while using the crisis to adopt many of the reforms mentioned above.

The founding of the University of Berlin (1810) may serve as a prime example. Halle, torn away from Prussia, had to be closed and a substitute found. The capital Berlin offered an affordable alternative with an empty palace, an excellent royal library, learned members of the Academy of Sciences willing to double as professors, and the pick of nationally noted and ambitious scholars, many recently unemployed because of school closures. During the short-lived period of Prussian reform, the new university achieved relative autonomy to run its own affairs, an expanded degree of academic freedom for both teachers and students, and a high-minded set of pedagogical and research goals drawn from such thinkers as the philosophers Fichte and Schleiermacher as well as the brothers Wilhelm and Alexander von Humboldt. The reorganization and expansion of the public secondary school system, especially of the elite *Gymnasium*, along with tightened requirements for entering the civil service and higher teaching professions, gave an immense boost to the very *Fakultät* most likely to prove its new worth by placing a premium on *Wissenschaft*—the philosophical. Not only formal philosophy but philology, history, and geography and other natural sciences benefited from having internationally recognized, heavily researching and publishing professors. Law and, somewhat later, medicine became equally attractive faculties.

The success of Berlin stimulated other significant new foundings, notably Bonn in 1819 and Munich in 1826, and royally decreed reforms among surviving older universities. Even when some royal decrees worked against academic freedom, as with the sacking of the “Göttingen Seven” professors resisting royal trampling on the Hanoverian constitution in 1837, rival German princes were happy to snap up the distinguished victims. The relative and fragile academic freedom at many universities, at a time of widespread reactionary oppression, helped bring unprecedented attention to professors as spokesmen for new political and social movements, including nationalism and liberalism. Many, along with

their students, became involved in the upheavals of 1848–1849, although the revolutionary Frankfurt “parliament of professors” was largely misnamed. Its failure to create a unified, constitutional, and parliamentary regime in Germany did, however, awaken such defenders of monarchy and elites as Bismarck to pursue unification from above.

Though economically weak, the enlarged German states surviving the Napoleonic era found the pursuit of culture and *Wissenschaft* to be a relatively affordable way to enhance their legitimacy and popularity with a growing middle class. Famous professors and their best students entered a seller’s market as academic mobility increased. In the emerging public sphere, professors speaking and writing even outside their fields of expertise provided much of the leadership for cultural, political, and scientific innovation. Universities were still generally small and undifferentiated enough for a handful of chair-holders to exercise a disproportionate influence locally and even nationally, even while they trained the ranks of civil servants, teachers, pastors, and authors shaping the new national culture.

EXPANSION, COMPLEXITY, AND NEW CLIENTELES IN THE AGE OF THE INSTITUTE, 1860–1918

The half-century after the 1860s witnessed not only an astonishing expansion of the German higher education system but also socioeconomic, political, and military upheavals and growth that partly drove growth and differentiation. Rapid industrialization, urbanization, national unification with popular participation under Prussian hegemony, and an unprecedented optimism about the importance of science and learning characterized the German *Reich* founded in 1871. Marshalling new wealth, many German federal states, often emulated by Austro-Hungarian and other foreign educational systems, invested heavily in secondary schools preparing for university, as well as advanced technical education, including polytechnic colleges, gradually upgraded to university status by 1900.

Student numbers had changed little in the half-century since the end of the Napoleonic Wars, and there were actually fewer students in the period 1840–1870, some twelve thousand to thirteen thousand annually, than there had been in 1830. But then enrollments leaped dramatically to twenty-one thousand in 1880, over twenty-eight thousand in 1890, and over fifty-three thousand in 1910. Growth in postsecondary student numbers would have been even more dramatic were it not for the practical sundering of universities, with their traditional four faculties, from burgeoning technical colleges. This demand provoked a considerable expansion and differentiation in the professoriate as well. At the University of Berlin, normally Germany’s largest, the total number of full professors grew from only forty-nine in 1830 to fifty-two in 1860, but from then to 1910, to ninety-four. The major bearers of new teaching and research functions, however, were the associate professors and lecturers (*Privatdozenten*), constituting a little over 50 percent of the faculty members in 1830 but over 80 percent by 1910. In that year, the mostly unsalaried lecturers, remunerated by student fees, constituted 60 percent of the teaching body out of a total of 491.³ This was a cost-effective way for governments to cope (if not precisely keep up) with added student demand. Yet the widening gap between the full professors (*Ordinarien*) and the younger lecturers hoping

someday to replace them tended to harden into an institutional hierarchy, since the dozens of new state-financed institutes—intended to promote research as well as learning *through* research—were dominated by full professors, and university self-government was also their exclusive bailiwick. Certain faculties, notably the medical and philosophical (arts and science), far outstripped theology and law, with medical and philosophy teaching positions increasing, respectively, by 400 percent and nearly 200 percent from 1860 to 1910.

The rapid rise of the institutes, seminars, and laboratories (collectively called *Institute*) reflected to a large degree the intensity of research in expanding knowledge fields such as medicine as well as natural, humanistic, and social sciences. The older tradition at Berlin and elsewhere was for chair holders to provide their own working materials and tools, usually in their own homes, except for some obvious need for separately housed materials, from libraries to medical clinics. But with the differentiation of disciplines after the 1860s, especially from the 1880s onward, new subdisciplines and fields previously considered mere adjuncts to serious study, such as modern foreign languages, were upgraded to the status of independent scholarly disciplines.

Comparing the list of institutes in 1860 and 1910 at Berlin, it appears that the theological faculty had changed the least. The law faculty, while adding three seminars and a library, tended (with theology) not to raise the discipline to a scientific/research level like the other two faculties. This was less because their professors eschewed research, but the training of pastors, judges, lawyers, and administrators required a relatively closed, syncretic approach rather than revolutionary discoveries. By comparison, the medical faculty had twelve self-standing specialized institutes, nearly twenty hospital-affiliated clinics and departments, and ten other institutes and collections, some subdivided into multiple departments with their own professorial chiefs. The philosophical faculty welcomed eighteen new institutes, some with numerous departments, to the original single one in the humanistic disciplines. The natural sciences gained seventeen new institutes, the majority in their own expensive separate quarters, with labs and other amenities, securing Berlin's reputation in the natural sciences by World War I. At that time, this so-called Friedrich-Wilhelm University had almost seventy institutes, seminars, or comparable separate entities devoted to research and advanced instruction. And while other universities, especially smaller ones, could not match these numbers, their trend went in the same direction.

Together the three largest urban universities in Germany—Berlin, Munich, and Leipzig—enrolled nearly half the students in the country by 1914. But even at the other nineteen medium and small institutions, the expansion of the student body meant that the university no longer recruited mostly from the professional middle class (*Bildungsbürgertum*) and aristocracy, respectively deriving their social standing from education or lineage, but increasingly also from commercial and business families (*Besitzbürgertum*) and even less wealthy strata of the white-collar class, known as *Mittelstand*. Germany arguably had the most socially open higher education system in Europe by World War I, even though critics worried that “overproduction” of graduates, including females by 1914, would create “jobless people with doctorates.”

The fusion of the dual roles of postsecondary teaching and cutting-edge research in the German university was indeed cast into a sort of consensual myth in the first years of the twentieth century, named for the Prussian civil servant responsible for founding the University of Berlin, Wilhelm von Humboldt. Yet even as this fusion of teaching and

research was being celebrated as a unique creation of German *Kultur*, it was becoming obvious that the research needs of an advanced industrial society could no longer be met exclusively by the research university model based in the multiple, culturally autonomous federal states. A national “pure” research foundation, the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft (now known as the Max Planck Society), largely privately financed to create and maintain an expanding chain of principally natural-science institutes outside the universities, was ironically announced by Kaiser Wilhelm II at the centenary celebration of the University of Berlin in 1910.⁴

PRESTIGE ABROAD, DOMESTIC DECLINE, AND THE NAZI CATASTROPHE, 1918–1945

World War I had catastrophic consequences for German universities. Most male students and many younger professors were reserve officers, so what was left of normal teaching and research involved skeleton crews, the recuperating wounded, and an increasing number of women students. The virtual national bankruptcy in the wake of the Paris peace treaties and nightmare inflation reduced universities, like many other institutions, to a threadbare existence. Driven perhaps by the notion that it was better to call oneself “student” than “unemployed person,” and with further opening of access to university education by the new governments of the Weimar Republic, young people overwhelmed the lecture halls and institutes. Resentments resulting from cutthroat competition for scarce employment for university graduates, now including not only disproportionate numbers of Jews and foreigners but large numbers of women, undoubtedly also made many male German students ripe for the nationalistic, xenophobic, anti-Semitic, and sexist propaganda of the Nazi Party, even before the full onset of the world Depression of 1929. The Nazi promise to the aspirants to the class of educated professionals was to throttle the access to university education by these “non-Aryan” and “denatured” people, code for, among others, professional women.

The purges of German universities after the Nazi seizure of power in 1933 added insult to penury. The dismissal from professorships of hundreds of leading scholars and scientists on political or racial grounds during the 1930s constituted an immense loss to German leadership in all academic fields, and an immense gain for the foreign countries willing to invite them, such as the United States. Even as German professors reaped a harvest of recognition for prewar achievements, such as Nobel Prizes, ignorant and ideology-driven Nazi policy promoted such nonsense as “Aryan physics,” declaring that anything dreamed up by such Jews as Albert Einstein had to be wrong. Some disciplines in higher education were more deeply corrupted by Nazi research imperatives than others. Law and medicine, for example, suffered more from Nazi interference than some fields, and Hitler’s interest in the magic of technology promoted some areas of engineering science. But whatever the gains and losses due to Nazi peacetime policies, universities and technical colleges were drained of manpower and practically shut down as World War II rumbled toward the defeat and destruction of Germany by 1945.

REBUILDING, STAGNATION, EXPANSION: 1945–PRESENT

Universities were in many ways even more profoundly affected by “Zero Hour,” as 1945 came to be known. With most of their buildings bombed out, with faculty and students dead, crippled, or in POW camps, with little functioning government after the German capitulation to the four occupying Allies, and with resources scarce, they were in many ways candidates for radical makeovers. Initially joint Allied denazification programs carried out further purges of faculty members, but only in rare cases were they able to attract those who had been purged by the Nazis. The rapid development of the cold war between the USSR and the other victor occupiers (USA, U.K., and France) signaled a relaxation of purges of Nazi fellow travelers by the latter, but in some ways an intensification by the former. Thus the Western Allies began to ignore or water down recommendations for radical reshaping of university education by their own national expert panels.⁵ Universities in the Soviet-occupied zone around Berlin, after an initial period of tolerating both bourgeois and communist antifascists, pursued their own, increasingly radical version of rebuilding universities and other higher educational and scientific institutions along Soviet lines. By 1949, with official creation of rival West German (Federal Republic of Germany, FRG) and East German (German Democratic Republic, GDR) states, it was less and less accurate to speak of a “German university system” sharing similarly organized institutions and goals. West Germany, along with Germanophone Switzerland and, after 1955, de-occupied and neutral Austria, more or less continued a restoration of prewar and at least nominally prefascist norms, while East Germany followed a model similar to other Soviet-dominated Warsaw Pact countries. In the former model, higher education remained largely a concern of the federal states but were largely autonomous; in the latter, they were subject to centralized and Party control, with most serious research functions reassigned to national academies of science.

While the post-1949 political stability under the FRG’s dominant Christian Democrats long favored restoration rather than innovation in universities, the GDR consciously used reforms to turn universities into agencies of social and political engineering. To promote a loyal educated elite, it favored university attendance for the offspring of Party loyalists, to the increasing disadvantage of bourgeois students, and even introduced peasant and worker faculties to overcome the long-standing tradition of practical exclusion of those social classes from higher education. Such reforms brought charges that GDR universities were being transformed into *Kaderschmiede* (mills for party cadres). Also following the Soviet model, responsibility for much original research was transferred out of universities and into institutes supervised by an academy of sciences. But the self-styled “democratic” GDR did not throw open the gates to hordes of students. Its social system did not require large numbers of theologians and lawyers, and it suffered a chronic shortage of workers, partly because millions fled to the West. Its third university reform program, begun in 1968, aimed at homogenizing structures, combining traditional institutes into department-like sections, emphasizing practical aspects of knowledge, and generally trying to push college-age students in the direction of vocational training rather than university study. In the wake of this last reform, the number of GDR university students reached a high point of 143,000 in 1970, only to fall back about 10 percent until the end of the regime.⁶

The growing prosperity of the FRG and the shift leftward of national politics starting with the Great Coalition of 1969 and leading to socialist-dominated governments opened the way for reform and expansion of higher education opportunity there. The worldwide student protest movement of the 1960s took on especially dramatic contours in West German universities. In response to demands for democratization of higher education, new universities and later new types of tertiary institutions such as *Gesamthochschulen* and *Fachhochschulen*, or comprehensive and applied science universities, were founded. Student numbers were stimulated to rise dramatically with more inclusive admission standards and study made affordable through federal grants to students.⁷ A federal framework law for higher education (the 1976 *Hochschulrahmengesetz*) attempted sweeping structural reforms. Other changes with democratic intent reduced the traditional power of the professoriate in favor of students and staff. The resulting increase in students, from just under 250,000 in 1965 to over three times that number a decade later and 1.5 million in 1989, ran parallel to increasing academic unemployment. The addition of the former GDR to the FRG in 1990 as well as further normal growth led to a student population of 2.6 million in 2013.⁸ Despite efforts to increase teaching staff and limit access to some popular disciplines (*numerus clausus*), chronic overcrowding has plagued most universities and other tertiary institutions for decades.

The German university has also fallen under the sway of the Bologna Process (since 1999), multinational agreements intended to harmonize higher education systems of virtually all European and some Asian countries. One result for Germany has been the reintroduction of bachelor's and master's degrees. Critics complain, however, that some of the goals of the process, such as increasing global student mobility and reducing the length of tertiary education, have not been achieved. Narrowing of curriculum to focus on employable skills rather than traditional *Bildung* is another frequent lament among academics. As in many other countries under the impact of globalization, critics complain about the increase in bureaucratic control, a decrease in autonomy of teaching and research, and the intrusion of business models inappropriate to higher education. Finally, in an attempt to counteract the creeping mediocrity of the mass university, German governments have dangled extra funding in so-called *Exzellenz* competitions before those who aspire to become elite institutions. Again critics complain that the rewards of elite status tend to go to institutions excelling in *applied* and marketable knowledge, such as engineering.

THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY IN STATE AND SOCIETY

Debates about the direction of German higher education are of course nothing new. The university whose death contemporary critics bemoan is that of the Humboldt brothers. The reality of the Humboldt model itself has recently come into question as an artificial construct, largely concocted over a century ago by the Berlin theology professor and impresario of such research institutions as the Kaiser Wilhelm-Society, Adolf von Harnack. Ironically enough, the revival of fragments of Humboldtian thought about the idealistic purpose of higher education, the formation of fully developed adult personalities, coincided with the diminution of the universities' role in expanding practical and economically oriented research, as if to console them for their relative loss of power and funding.⁹

Indeed the widespread public acceptance of the importance of education, including higher education, and science—perhaps keener in Germany than in most other societies—has promoted the most extensive scholarship of any major European country. Although much of the voluminous older literature about universities amounted to nostalgic and even hagiographic celebrations of alma mater, the attention in recent decades of serious social and science historians to the subject has yielded exhaustive studies that leave almost nothing left to add. Their only weakness for the rest of the world is that they are mostly published in German and, given their size and complexity, are not likely to find translations.

Whatever the ritual invocations of a high-minded *raison d'être*, the German university has always in practice carried out a professional training mission. Whether aimed at literate Protestant pastors and schoolteachers, competent and loyal legally trained civil servants, or science-oriented physicians produced by university clinics and labs, university education was normally expected to meet the changing perceived needs of state and society. And the professoriate often proved willing not only to pursue *Wissenschaft* for its own sake but to bend it to serve political causes such as national unity, the anti-Catholic *Kulturkampf* of the 1870s, or militarism. One must also recall that the cultural autonomy of the federal states composing Germany throughout most of modern history promoted not only a healthy rivalry among quite diverse institutions but also local innovations and the refreshing chance for professorial and student mobility.

Yet the very same reformed institution emerging from the Napoleonic Wars became so wedded to its four traditional faculties that it generally pushed away the training for newer emerging professions, from engineering and applied science to business administration, the fine arts, and primary education. The consequent creation or elevation of special tertiary schools for such increasingly academic but allegedly vulgar new professions spelled the end of the universities' domination of tertiary education at least since the raising of polytechnical schools (*Technische Hochschulen*) to equal status in 1900. The visions of Humboldt and Harnack a century apart could not easily withstand the contempt for academic traditions shown so forcefully from Hitler to the last GDR dictator, Erich Honecker, over much of the following century.

And yet certain features of the German university remain as a legacy. The notion that academic freedom is a vital underpinning of all *Wissenschaft*, physical as well as social and humanistic knowledge, produced certain institutional guarantees that are still visible as far away from Germany as the USA. The adoption of a version of German academic tenure for professors, promoted by John Dewey and his American Association of University Professors from 1915 on, is one example. Despite the erosion of the German model by Americanization and globalization in recent decades, the respect and deference accorded graduates, especially with the prized title *Herr/Frau Doktor*, reflects an alternative way of valuing knowledge that may outlast some societies' proclivity to admire instant billionaires, popular celebrities, or other curiosities flashing and eclipsing in the global media. Much as careful scholarship has deconstructed the myth extracted from the scattered writings of the Humboldt brothers, the *ideals* behind the questionable ritualized assertions that the German university actually accorded the benefits of scientific thinking and rich personality development to all students remain a legacy vital still today. The notion that the university should be not only a public trust, as a repository of old culture, but a laboratory for the infinite development of human knowledge, and that it should be kept as immune as possible from being instrumentalized by outside political, military, or commercial interests, comes down to today's world largely from German examples and experiences.

Even though university festivals and student music barely resemble the old, elaborate ones of the Wilhelmine era, some students still intone the old Latin favorite, originally an eighteenth-century German product, *Gaudeamus igitur*. It might be appropriate to recall its continued utility today:

Vivat academia
 Vivant professores
 Vivat membrum quodlibet
 Vivat membra quaelibet
 Semper sint in flore.

NOTES

1. Edward Gibbon, *The Autobiography of Edward Gibbon* (New York: Meridian, 1961), 72.
2. One of the first acts of Frederick II on mounting the Prussian throne in 1740 was to restore Wolff to his professorship, but the damage to Halle's reputation had been done. For a more on the eighteenth-century reform movement, see Charles E. McClelland, *State, Society and University in Germany, 1700–1914* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 34–93.
3. Charles E. McClelland, "Die disziplinär organisierte Forschungsuniversität, 1860–1918," in *Geschichte der Universität Unter den Linden, 1810–2010: Biographie einer Institution, Praxis ihrer Disziplinen*, 6 vols, ed. Heinz-Elmar Tenorth (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2010–13), 1:432; Table 16.
4. Charles E. McClelland, "Inszenierte Weltgeltung einer prima inter pares? Die Berliner Universität und ihr Jubiläum 1910," in *Die Berliner Universität im Kontext der deutschen Universitätslandschaft*, ed. Rüdiger vom Bruch (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2010), 243–254.
5. Charles E. McClelland, "American Reform Efforts: German Professional Education after World War II," in "Mutual Influence on Education: Germany and the United States in the Twentieth Century," ed. Jürgen Heideking, Mark Depaepe, and Jürgen Herbst, special issue of *Paedagogica Historica*, n.s., 33 (1997): 265–275.
6. "Anzahl der Studenten an Fach- und Hochschulen in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (DDR) von 1949 bis 1989 (in 1.000)," *Statista*, <http://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/249273/umfrage/studenten-in-der-ddr/>.
7. Federal Training Assistance Act.
8. "Studierende," *Destatis*, <https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/Indikatoren/LangeReihen/Bildung/lrbilo1.html>; "Hochschulen," *Destatis*, <https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/GesellschaftStaat/BildungForschungKultur/Hochschulen/Hochschulen.html>.
9. See Mitchell G. Ash, ed., *German Universities Past and Future* (Providence, RI: Berghahn, 1997).
10. Two recent examples are the six-volume history of the University of Berlin and the equally impressive five-volume one of the University of Leipzig.

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CHAPTER 18

HIGHER EDUCATION IN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

PHILO HUTCHESON

A common assessment of the relationship between Canada and the United States is the statement that they share the longest unguarded border between two countries in the entire world. Such openness suggests the potential of exchange between the two nations that is only partially reflected in the development of colleges and universities in both countries. There are important similarities as well as differences that serve as reminders of the complexities of such key institutions and national contexts.

There is a persistent assumption that Canada is often imitative of the United States and rather dependent on its actions. That assumption has some underlying truth to it, evident in more than one study of Canadian higher education and its similarities to U.S. higher education. Yet it is also clear that Canadian colleges and universities pursue independent paths, with instances of difference from the United States. This recenters the two nations' higher education histories, not on the United States but on both countries. There is also the remarkably erroneous yet common use of "America" to refer to the United States, so it is better to employ the term "United States" as much as possible (or, of course, the abbreviation U.S.). Second, however deep the differences between regions in the United States, there is another divide in Canada very different from the U.S., evident in the official use of two languages. Consequently it is important to examine Canadian higher education in both English and French.

One helpful tool in this regard is the concept of convergence and divergence. To what degree have the higher education institutions and systems in the two nations grown to resemble each other? This matter of convergence must be considered in tension with divergence, those aspects of higher education that were different and at times became even more different; in this case some conditions seem similar, while there are also points of divergence that reflect important differences. Seven themes provide a means of understanding these issues: finances, enrollment rates, racial and ethnic concerns, religion, regionalism, gender, and war.

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN DEVELOPMENT

There are multiple examples of convergence in the development of higher education in Canada and the United States, although in notably different time periods. Both countries enjoy some very old institutions of higher education; Harvard College began in 1636, Université Laval in 1663 (charted as such in 1852, having begun as a seminary training ministers). Both nations' early institutions of higher education had an emphasis on religion; in addition, they consistently excluded women and people of color until the 1800s. Many of the institutions moved from denominational affiliation to a secular orientation. They struggled with the effort to stay financially solvent, often seeking tuition revenue as a solution. And they served as a means for their respective governments to achieve state, provincial, and national goals.

In the United States there are powerful prestige differences among institutions. While there are leading institutions of higher education in Canada—for example, the University of Toronto often understandably receives attention as a premier research university—the combination of longevity and wealth at certain U.S. colleges and universities marks them as especially distinctive. Harvard's endowment has been 30 to 45 billion dollars since the late 1990s, depending on the strength of the economy, far exceeding Toronto's eventual two-billion-dollar endowment of the 2010s. Yet focusing on the differences based on economic factors is insufficient, because institutions of higher education typically struggle with financial conditions and other elements, such as student characteristics. Religion and national interests have also played important roles in the development of these institutions.

Other factors are equally important in terms of differences between the two nations' higher education institutions. Looking at who enrolled in higher education in the two countries, while acknowledging such differences as national economies and religious identities, provides a starting point for a comparative history. That examination makes clear that despite higher rates of higher education enrollment in the United States, the characteristics of who enrolled and what they did in college make clear that the United States has not been more egalitarian than Canada. The U.S. is more likely to encourage higher education as a means to social and economic advancement, but has a history of substantial discrimination against minority groups, particularly African Americans, Jews, Latinos, and other immigrant groups, and against women. Another factor concerns the scale of enrollment: in 1871 there were approximately 1,500 students at 17 colleges and universities in Canada; in the United States in 1869–1870 there were almost 53,000 students at 563 higher education institutions. While both countries experienced enrollment growth slowly, starting in the late 1800s and early 1900s, the rate in each was nearly the same. As a result, the difference in enrollments in the early 1870s continued to be evident. The gap in participation rates narrowed considerably, however, in the 1960s. In 1956–1957, 6 percent of the eighteen- to twenty-four-year-olds in Canada and 14 percent of those in the United States were enrolled on a full-time basis; by 1984 the participation rates were at 14.5 and 21 percent, respectively. While in the mid-1950s participation rates in the United States were more than double those in Canada, three

decades later the U.S. enrollments represented only 30 percent more. By 1988 the gap had narrowed even more; including part-time students, Canada had 62.2 and the United States 67.7 percent of eighteen- to twenty-four-year-olds enrolled in higher education. Both nations saw a persistent movement toward mass higher education after World War II.

An important caveat about the early differences is that normal school students, often preparing to teach, were counted in the United States, but this was not the case in Canada. Additionally, academies were often included in U.S. enrollment counts in the 1800s. Perhaps even more problematic, many U.S. colleges remained afloat by maintaining preparatory departments, enrolling underprepared students as well as younger students to provide secondary education as well as to gain tuition income. For example, in 1880 the president of the University of Arkansas proudly declared that the institution had the fourth largest enrollment in the nation, omitting the fact that 300 of the 450 enrolled students were in the preparatory department.

Equally challenging is the counting of students in junior colleges in the United States, institutions often located in secondary schools historically and heavily staffed by high school teachers until the 1960s. This began with the establishment in the U.S. of Joliet Junior College in 1901 (junior colleges are the historical antecedent to community colleges), while Canada did not have such institutions until the 1960s. Nevertheless, since normal schools, academies, and junior colleges were a form of postsecondary education, the enrollment numbers represent notable differences from the mid-1800s to the 1960s.¹

Consequently the scale of higher education in the United States was, at least until the 1960s, important in terms of access; students there had more choices with respect to enrollment. Another element of scale has been institutional types and purposes. Beginning in the early 1900s in the United States, two-year colleges began a steady growth in the number of institutions and enrollments, a growth that rapidly accelerated in the 1960s. By the end of the 1960s, states established community colleges at the rate of one per week. This institutional type also took hold in Canada, and the two nations have been relatively unique in the global context in terms of two-year institutions. One difference between them is that two-year colleges in the U.S. began with an emphasis on their transfer function, their leaders arguing that they offered opportunity for students to move to four-year colleges and universities; it was not until the post-World War II era that workforce preparation became an equally important, if not more important, goal. In Canada, however, the early two-year colleges had a much stronger mission in regard to workforce preparation (except in British Columbia and Alberta), only in recent decades also emphasizing the transfer function. Another difference between the two nations is that in Québec, students planning on going to university begin postsecondary work in grade 12 at *Collèges D'enseignement Général et Professionnel*, deciding during that experience whether to attend university or pursue a career. These institutions developed as a result of the Quiet Revolution in Québec, when its residents fought for recognition of their language and heritage. Despite these differences, in the case of both nations community colleges provide an additional point of access for students to postsecondary education that tends to distinguish them from other countries.² In recent years, community colleges continue to provide a useful example of differences in scale; a 2013 report indicated that there were about 150 public community colleges in Canada, whereas there were 977 such institutions in the United States in 2011, with an additional 82 private two-year colleges.³

DENOMINATIONAL AND REGIONAL DIFFERENCES

In order to more fully understand the similarities and differences between the two nations' colleges and universities, denominationalism is a necessary complement to differences of wealth and enrollments because of the multiple denominations in the United States.⁴ The control and influence of the Anglican Church over Canadian colleges and universities waned during the nineteenth century, while in both countries the Catholic Church's control of its own institutions lasted well into the twentieth century.⁵ U.S. colleges and universities have operated in a more diverse religious environment, with affiliations ranging over the centuries from Catholic, Jewish, and Baptist to transcendental meditation and secularism. Equally important, it was difficult for colleges, especially those in less populated areas, to sustain enrollment based on students from just one denomination. As a result, pragmatism as well as religious tolerance had a great deal to do with the slow yet steady shift away from a single denominational identity, as occurred throughout much of the United States.

That shift occurred in different form in Canada. For example, the University of Toronto, both in its establishment and later federation with several denominational colleges, evidenced a strategy of institutional adjustment with different colleges within the larger institution, in contrast to the more common adjustment of admission and enrollment at each institution in the United States. In both countries denominations recognized the value of a college degree, which marked status for the degree holder, and the college as an instrument for reinforcing morality. Colleges in both nations experienced religious revivals, although the revivals were less forceful in Canada; on occasion in the United States student revivals shut down colleges, either as a result of their absence from classes or because presidents halted the operations of the colleges to stop the revivals, as happened at Yale College in the early 1840s.⁶

There is another important component of U.S. higher education, which marked a difference from institutions in Canada: regionalism. On the one hand, the competitive market for higher education in the United States was different in each region of the country. This resulted in local civic and ecclesiastical boosters establishing colleges in competition with each other, contributing to the ongoing development of higher education. These dynamics eventually fostered such goals as research and graduate training by the late 1800s. These sorts of activities, along with their secular character, became prized goals at universities in both nations but were accentuated in the United States for over a century, largely due to the competitive nature of institutions there. On the other hand, the University of Toronto, arguably the leading research university in Canada, had a notably later start in its emphasis on research, exemplified by its establishment of a graduate school in 1922.⁷

Regarding expansion of higher education in the U.S., local leaders across the nation were eager to acquire symbols of civilization and status, and a college in town was an obvious advantage. A spire on the college's church was, of course, a statement of inspiration and civilization throughout the frontier, often visible from quite a distance, especially given the tendency to build such churches on hills. Both local boosterism and denominationalism thus played a powerful role in the expansion of higher education in the United States.⁸ Such forms of competition, which occurred at many levels, appear to have occurred with more

vigor in the U.S., beginning in 1701 with the chartering of Yale College as a deliberate and direct response to Harvard.

Regionalism in Canada was evident in differences in the transfer function among community colleges, with an emphasis on workforce preparation in the Maritime Provinces, Québec, and Ottawa, while in the western provinces of Alberta and British Columbia there was greater attention to the transfer function. This is mirrored to some degree in the United States. There private institutions long dominated in the Northeast, and state institutions were more notable in the South, the Midwest, and the West, although each region also has private colleges and universities. The local characteristics of college boosterism in the United States point to the importance of a somewhat different dynamic of development within the broader patterns of growth in institutions and enrollments that marked both nations.

Two additional national differences are important to note. The United States was coming of age internationally in the late nineteenth century, and its leaders were acutely aware that colleges and universities were potential symbols of success internationally. For example, Nicholas Murray Butler at Columbia University in New York City recognized the potential for producing the nation's leaders. And as part of that process, Butler as well as other presidents, such as Abbott Lawrence Lowell at Harvard, carefully developed an admission process to include white Anglo-Saxon Protestant men and exclude Jews. This was partly an expression of nationalism, which featured the assumption that Jews were not representative U.S. citizens. Furthermore, some of the leading universities in the United States extended their interest in national affairs to achieving international prestige; an important component of this was the development of a research ethos among U.S. professors. The flood into U.S. universities of professors who had been educated at German universities that focused on *Wissenschaft* (organized scientific study) deeply changed the institutions and the faculties. For example, college curricula with electives partly resulted from the specialization inherent in research. This was aided by the development of utilitarian curricula, such as the study of business in the late 1800s, partly a response to the expectations of businesses and corporations.

The research spirit became important in Canada as well, although institutions there struggled with the appointment of expert faculty members because most qualified candidates were from the United States or the United Kingdom. This represented an important national difference from the United States, where once universities had established the importance of research, they often drew faculty from their own graduate programs or from other U.S. research universities. As the importance of research grew during the 1900s, other universities and colleges increasingly sought faculty members with doctorates earned from U.S. institutions.⁹

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

Another means of comparing the two nations is a cultural and social interpretation of the history of higher education in each. There was consistent growth from the late 1800s to the early 1970s in the number of institutions and the number of students in Canada. In the words of one historian, the period reflects "the competing tensions of religion and secularity, regionalism and nationalism, feminism and male domination, prosperity and depression, war and peace."¹⁰

These tensions provide a context for an examination of convergence and divergence, with the useful addition of localism, so very important in the establishment of colleges and universities in the United States. In both nations, most colleges and universities struggled with their finances; prosperity was uncommon and financial uncertainty often loomed. Institutions of higher education in the U.S. benefited from more state and federal government assistance than did their counterparts in Canada, although it is important not to overstate that assistance. Few of the institutions receiving monies from the 1862 Morrill Land Grant Act did well in terms of enrollment or even subsistence for decades. And while the 1890 Morrill Land Grant Act did fund black colleges, racist legislatures and governors in both the North and the South hardly embraced or supported those institutions financially. Nevertheless the 1862 Morrill Act established a federal commitment to support higher education.

Another key financial difference between Canada and the United States is the support of very wealthy individuals in the U.S., such as Matthew Vassar, who founded an eponymous college for women, and John D. Rockefeller's substantial funding of the University of Chicago in the 1890s. Finally, U.S. colleges and universities increasingly built their endowments starting in the late 1800s, providing at least some measure of protection against uneven annual revenue. In the case of Harvard University, President Charles Eliot was instrumental in developing a long-term strategy, eventually used by other colleges and universities, to encourage donors to give money for unrestricted purposes. This meant leaving a legacy of fundraising for an endowment that in 2016 was approximately 38 billion dollars. Much of that wealth, however, represented the white males enrolled at Harvard and their subsequent success in lucrative careers, and connections to family wealth. Such extensive funding was not available to black colleges or most colleges for women.¹¹

The higher education of women was also both dissimilar and similar in the two countries. For example, while the United States was more likely to have colleges founded for women, and in Canada women were, initially, more likely to find higher education at academies, nevertheless in the United States many women in the Early Republic (the late 1700s and early 1800s) gained access to higher education through academies. Some of these institutions eventually transitioned into colleges for women, as in the case of LaGrange College in Georgia, which began as a "female institute" in 1831 and became a college twenty years later.¹² The most striking aspect of convergence between the two nations is in the experience of white women in their academic and social lives in college, as well as their shifting expectations regarding their roles after graduation. Furthermore, examining their social experiences in college highlights the extracurricular activities of both women and men. The history of Latina, Native American, and Asian American women in higher education is an area of study still needing substantial exploration.

Men held center stage for centuries in Western higher education, and in the United States and Canada institutions of higher education were all-male for a long time. Although Oberlin College in the United States allowed women to enter in 1834, few institutions followed until the second half of the nineteenth century. In Canada, women were regularly excluded from higher education until the 1880s. An important part of this shift was the slow and deliberate spread of early feminist values, exemplified by Emma Willard, who started a seminary for the training of female schoolteachers in 1821. Over the decades those teachers secured positions throughout the United States and enjoyed independence while establishing themselves in local communities. Although it occurred later in Canada, there was a similar movement toward feminized careers. For example, women at Dalhousie University in the

1880s started moving from attending university without graduating to later completing their studies in teaching or nursing and eventually finding careers in those fields.¹³

Male domination of higher education began, in the Western framework, with the medieval European universities. Given the absence of women, it is important to recognize their reception once they arrived on campus. For example, literary and debating societies were popular among U.S. college students in the 1800s, yet they were typically marked by clear gender and class divides. In many cases women had to form their own literary societies at coeducational colleges and universities; this was particularly the case at prestigious coeducational institutions of higher education such as state flagship universities. In like manner, male and female students at the University of Toronto in the late 1800s and early 1900s typically had separate organizations for their extracurricular activities. Although female and male students continue to experience differences in terms of campus life, the divide has become far less notable since the 1960s. A key example for the United States is in terms of sports, particularly intercollegiate athletics. Initially intercollegiate athletics were the purview of college men (and their coaches and very often faculty members), a domain enhanced by the rise of radio and eventually television revenues. Since the early 1970s participation rates among college men and women in intercollegiate athletics have become more nearly equal, as mandated by federal law and regulations, but nevertheless the two major revenue sports by far remain college football (the U.S. version) and men's basketball. A comparative study of U.S. and Canadian intercollegiate sports in the early 2000s reveals that Canadian intercollegiate athletics receive very little in terms of television revenue. In addition, student athletes at Canadian universities are far more likely to be "pro-intellectual."

At the end of the 1800s and the beginning of the 1900s, both men and women became more interested in the particulars of how a postsecondary education contributed to success in careers. In both nations this was the period when a postsecondary education began to matter a great deal in regard to improved socioeconomic standing. It was also a time when women increasingly saw the opportunity to work after college, although the pressure to eventually pursue the traditional role of wife and mother, though it slowly lessened, it was still clear in the second half of the twentieth century. Furthermore, in U.S. colleges and universities, fraternities have traditionally controlled access to social and economic status on campus. In myriad ways, fraternities controlled social life and access to positions such as student government president and newspaper editor, both of which offered important network connections before and after college. Although fraternities have lost much of the influence they once had on most campuses, their power was great for more than a century. Even at institutions with weaker fraternity systems, such as the University of California, Berkeley, women students encountered difficulties in gaining influential positions in student government, which can lead to greater opportunities after college.¹⁴

THE RISING SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH

A growing role of universities, and to some extent of colleges as well, has been research. War highlights its importance in four intriguing ways: substantial government support deemed necessary to win the war, the disciplines and fields of study that received funding, the roles of women and men on campus, and conditions of academic freedom.

Both Canada and the United States illustrate the importance of research to national goals during World War I and World War II. Institutional and faculty interest in research rose with World War I and accelerated in the interwar years in both nations, although research activity had started well before the Great War. While there was some cooperation between the two nations, such as the production of helium for dirigibles during World War I, institutions tended to focus on their own strengths in terms of faculty expertise and received government support to pursue that research. World War II demonstrated that the governments were interested in using higher education as a means to advance national interest and win the war. This period also saw the growth of faculty and institutional interest in research as a means to advance the reputations and resources of both the institutions and individual faculty members. These research efforts and accomplishments, for the most part in the sciences and technical fields, indicated that rising government investment in research would serve each nation well.¹⁵

Hence for both countries research became increasingly important, although U.S. universities began to intensify their efforts to promote research much earlier than Canadian institutions. The first research university in the United States was Johns Hopkins University, established in 1876, whereas, as noted earlier, the University of Toronto did not open its graduate school until the 1920s.

The breadth and depth of research at institutions of higher education in both nations went well beyond national service in times of war. The increasing specialization of fields and significance of academic disciplines generally defined the creation of knowledge, even as interdisciplinary scholarship was sustained. This was true even in fields not affected by large-scale government investment. An investigation of interdisciplinarity and research in the disciplines provides a useful example. For over forty years, from the early 1940s to the 1980s, medieval studies was within the purview of history departments in Québec. The process in this case was complex, as historians did not create an area of study but instead benefited from one. At the University of Montreal, a combination of enrollment growth in the 1960s (hence a cadre of students), secularization, and leadership from a chancellor and vice chancellor provided the foundation for research activity in medieval history. Although there was a surge of interest in interdisciplinarity in the 1960s, continued specialization led to the shift to history as the core for the field. As in many other cases, the methodology of the discipline came to define the topic. In like manner in the United States, the rise of interdisciplinary studies drew upon both the foundation of academic disciplines as well as the interests of professors in regard to research in such fields as American studies and black studies. One important difference between the two fields, however, is that the former arose at least in part because of the Cold War and the interest in establishing national understanding and importance of U.S. culture, while the latter developed in response to the civil rights movement of the 1960s. In these cases as well as others, powerful political and social concerns had an important impact on the development of area studies, some resulting from federal interests and others from social or political movements. Near Eastern studies and women's studies were also responses to external forces, although in the case of the latter, women on campuses were also advocates for establishing the field. Women in the United States prior to the 1960s often faced a major problem: they could earn their doctorates at U.S. universities, but those institutions were unlikely to hire them. In addition, their research efforts often focused on the application of the social sciences to solve social problems or in finding a space in working with male scientists to continue their efforts to be scientists.¹⁶

Overall, research and mass higher education capture two central aspects of colleges and universities in both countries. Student life changed, often substantially, during periods of war, while peacetime socializing activities (i.e., dances, dating) consumed a great deal of student attention later. Interestingly, one common change in student life in both countries during the world wars was the increasing involvement of women in leadership activities, such as the editorship of student newspapers. Women were also active in supporting efforts to win the war, often predicated on expectations about the proper feminine role of providing support to men, for example, by volunteering for the Red Cross. The lives of college men changed as well; in both Canada and the United States, young men joined campus military corps in preparation for serving in the armed services.¹⁷

Faculty members often faced different challenges during war. Central to academic freedom is the right of faculty members to conduct research or teach based on their expertise, regardless of the challenges to different segments of society. War put particular pressure on social scientists who chose not to engage in propaganda efforts that would likely compromise standards of scholarship. While academics in both countries tended to support the efforts aimed at national interests, the Cold War was far more important to the United States than to Canada. As a consequence, U.S. professors experienced more threats to their work as the effort to identify and even dismiss communists and other perceived outsiders intensified.¹⁸

CONCLUSION

There are historical differences and similarities between Canadian and U.S. higher education in rates of enrollment, institutional prosperity, racial and ethnic issues, religion and secularity, regionalism and nationalism, feminism and male participation, and experiences of war and peace. More often than not, however, convergence over time has done more to shape Canadian and U.S. institutions of higher education, albeit with nuances that require careful attention.

Both nations witnessed the growth of higher education from early emphases on preparing the elites to a broadening of access, albeit at different paces. Even as late as the early 1960s, Canadian higher education enrolled only approximately 9 percent of the college-age population, while in the U.S. the rate was about 30 percent. The United States had already embarked on the path to mass higher education after World War II; it would not be until later in the 1960s that Canada began the same effort, as well as increasing its emphasis on research.

In addition, there are some very wealthy colleges and universities in terms of endowment in the United States, although most institutions of higher education in both nations have struggled financially. A major difference is the number of wealthy donors in the U.S., who since the late 1800s have done much to ensure the success of colleges and universities, even among those whose endowments do not reach into the billions of dollars.

There is one important matter of divergence in terms of racial and ethnic identity. While both Canada and the United States have had tribal colleges, only the United States has had black colleges and Hispanic-serving colleges and universities. It is a cruel irony—given the consistent challenges and near genocide experienced by Native Americans, whom colonial colleges such as Harvard, Dartmouth, and William and Mary claimed to want to educate—that their education began so early in the United States. There is no comparable historical

condition of exclusion in higher education in Canada exemplified by black colleges in the United States and their origins as institutions designed to serve former slaves. This presaged the struggle of these institutions for recognition in a variety of arenas, including accreditation and even sports. In view of the limited opportunities for white women and people of color in both nations, they share an enduring legacy of inequality. In the second decade of the twentieth century, as the United States entered World War I, the U.S. Army sought to evaluate the intelligence of its soldiers in order to determine who was qualified for which assignment. Assumptions about differences in intelligence became associated with seemingly objective assessments based on testing, without attending to such basic characteristics as years of schooling.¹⁹ Such assumptions continue to be evident in the twenty-first century, in the continuing reliance on standardized testing. Gender distinctions also remained prevalent, evident in expectations regarding the roles of men and women after higher education.

Both nations' religious denominations played an important role in establishing and maintaining colleges and universities. A key difference is that in the United States, a multitude of denominations and different religions resulted in competition among the institutions for students, but also eventually in research and prestige.

In both countries, male students, faculty members, and administrators held positions of power, both in access to student activities and in research pursuits. In the post-World War II era, a number of previously marginalized groups made gains on campuses in Canada and the United States, although they continue to face marginalization.

In times of war in the twentieth century, faculty research interests in the natural and physical sciences resulted in each federal government focusing on the capacity of colleges and university to serve the national interest. Academic freedom faced more challenges in the United States, including in the decided tendency in the 1950s to dismiss professors suspected of communist affiliation.

In summary, Canada and the United States have shared a number of important characteristics, with the historical caveat that events and shifts in institutions and constituencies occurred at different times. Both nations' early colleges emphasized religion but moved to a more secular focus. White women as well as men and women of color had little or no access until the 1800s; access on the basis of gender, race, and ethnicity, and institutionally in terms of community colleges has increased since then. Financial stability continues to be a challenge.

Increasingly, governments viewed institutions of higher education as means for achieving national goals. Yet differences remained, more often than not in particulars. The sheer size of the higher education enterprise in the United States is an important difference. Competition among U.S. colleges and universities appears to be stronger than in Canada, as is the historical condition of local boosterism. Canadian colleges and universities certainly have had their boosters, but in the U.S. both private and public institutions of higher education began institutional competition and boosterism in the eighteenth century. Private funding of higher education in the United States has a rich tradition, beginning in the late 1800s, and has not slowed, although black colleges did not have the same level of funding as predominantly white institutions. U.S. colleges and universities produced their own doctoral graduates, thereby providing them with faculty members. The most public face of U.S. higher education, starting in the 1960s but with deep roots in the early twentieth century, is intercollegiate athletics, while there is evidence that the Canadians continue to emphasize academics over

sports. These two nations share one innovative institutional form: the community college. Divergence in particulars and convergence in general thus continue to characterize the institutions of higher education in these two nations.

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CHAPTER 19

HIGHER EDUCATION IN ASIA

ANTHONY WELCH

HIGHER learning in Asia combines ancient roots and modern branches: highly diverse, its past still haunts its present, while it also faces an array of newer developments and challenges. As old as Confucianism, the influence of which is still felt today in Korea, China, Taiwan, Vietnam, and Japan, higher education in Asia has long embraced an array of religious traditions (Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam) and a wide range of development points, with highly advanced systems such as in Singapore, those in middle-income states such as Thailand and Malaysia, and very poor systems such as in Myanmar, Afghanistan, and Laos. Many systems currently proclaim lofty ambitions, while many more struggle with issues of finance, governance, access, and equity. An enduring debate is over the balance between honoring local traditions and knowledge, and incorporating knowledge from outside, largely from the West. A broad process of change occurred, initially making identifying academic core and periphery relatively unproblematic, but which by the end of the period under review exhibited a much more multipolar world of knowledge, in which some Asian systems are still largely peripheral, whereas others have made great strides.

THE CONCEPT OF ASIA

The concept of Asia itself is problematic, both geographically and conceptually; it has been portrayed by some Asian (and non-Asian) scholars as a European cultural artifact, imposed on a diverse range of “others”: peoples, cultures, and languages.¹ Comprising some 45 to 50 nations, with a total population of more than 4 billion, it is generally held to embrace the regions of South Asia (India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives, and Sri Lanka), the countries of Central Asia (Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan), East Asia (China [including Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau], Mongolia, the Koreas, Japan), Southeast Asia (the ten member states of ASEAN, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations) [Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam], parts of the Middle East (Israel, Jordan, Bahrain, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Lebanon, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, United

Arab Emirates, Yemen) and what is often called the Caucasus (Turkey, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia). (Afghanistan is here included in Central Asia but is sometimes/often included in South Asia.) These definitions, while by no means universal (what the West terms the Middle East and Near East are now more commonly termed West or Western Asia), give a sense of the complexity of Asia as a concept, and by extension the difficulties of doing justice to the growth and diversity of higher education within it.² Regionalism, ethnic identities (numbers of which breach national borders), and spreading globalization represent further conceptual problems for any analysis of recent decades.

THE PAST HAUNTS THE PRESENT

It is not possible to understand the development of modern systems of higher education in Asia without seeing them in a long historical perspective. The Confucian example provides perhaps the clearest instance. A form of higher learning that came to life around the same time as the Platonic Academy, it was formalized in the Tang and Song dynasties more than a millennium later, with a core curriculum based on the Four Books and Five Classics, and persisted until the earliest years of the twentieth century, in both China and Vietnam.³

Another example, arguably, is the first Asian institution of higher learning, the Jixia Academy, established in 360 BCE, during the Warring States period of what is now China; its teachers included Mencius (孟子), Hsun Tzu (孫子), Zou Yan (鄒衍), and Shen Dao (慎到), the last a precursor to both Taoism and Legalism. When Cai Yuanpei, Chancellor of Peking University (1916–1926), set about reforming and modernizing the institution, he deliberately invoked both the *rencai* spirit of the Jixia Academy as well as the Confucian emphasis on self-cultivation and moral virtue.

India too, of course, boasts venerable ideologies and institutions, such as its ancient Pathashalas (पाठशाला) and Madrassahs. The influence of some of its venerable institutions is still invoked, such as Nalanda, in current Bihar, a once famed Buddhist scholarly center that at its peak enrolled several thousand students, some from current Nepal, China, Tibet, Central Asia, and Korea. One of its most illustrious alumni, Xuanzang (玄奘), helped to spread Buddhism to China, bringing 657 scriptures to Chang'an—current Xian—as a result of his seven-year stay at Nalanda. Now in the process of being reinstitutionalized and reinvigorated, its curriculum deliberately embraces the revival of ancient languages—one more example of the past haunting the present. Taxila, or TakshaShila, founded around 2,700 years ago in what is now Pakistan, featured a wide curriculum comprising both the sciences and the arts. Along with Vallabhi, in current Gujarat and Vikramasila, in current Bihar there were rival centers of Buddhist higher learning, the latter organized around six colleges, each with 108 teachers, and a central House of Science. Of early Islamic centers of higher learning in India, mention should be made of Hauz Khas madrasa in current Delhi, founded in 1352 by Firuz Shah; it was one of the foremost Islamic institutions of the Tughluq Sultanate, and one of the largest and best-equipped seminaries in Dar Al-Islam (the Islamic world).⁴

Last, it is vital to consider the wider importance for modern systems of higher education of early centers of Islamic higher learning. This includes Baghdad's famed Bayt al Hikma (بيت الحكمة, House of Wisdom) and Al Azhar (الأزهر جامعة) in Cairo, which has a longer genealogy than the universities of Paris or Oxford but also embraces African examples, notably

the Sankore mosque university in Timbuktu (current Mali), and al-Karaouine (لقرويي جامعة) in Fez, Morocco. These centers acted both as magnets for scholars from within and outside of the Islamic world (Dar al-Islam) and as major centers of scholarship and learning in diverse fields (mathematics, astronomy, medicine, philosophy). While the golden age of Islamic learning is long past, this too is an enduring tradition, the influence of which has spread to other parts of Asia and to which further attention is given later in this analysis.⁵

THE ONSET OF THE MODERN ASIAN UNIVERSITY

Asia's first modern universities were only founded much later, beginning in the sixteenth century, and often infused with significant elements drawn from the West, routinely by Christian missionaries. St Paul's College in Macao, founded in 1594 as a Jesuit institution, is claimed to be the first Western university/college in the East (notwithstanding that its sister Jesuit institution, St. Paul's College, Goa, had been founded some fifty years earlier, in 1544, and by royal ordinance of King Dom João III, extended for secular studies in 1556); it attracted students from some sixteen countries, east and west, during its significant history (1594–1762).⁶ Of notable interest was the objection of a contemporary official to the Macao proposal, contesting whether this was “perhaps a project of Westernisation.”⁷ This recurring dilemma, expressed at the end of the sixteenth century, is an enduring theme: how to incorporate elements of modern (largely Western) knowledge, while retaining key elements of Asian traditions. Christian institutions persist, largely in Korea and the Philippines; in other areas of East Asia, the legacy of early missionaries is much less evident. Their presence in parts of Africa and Latin America remains somewhat greater.

The era in Japan known as the Meiji Restoration (1868–1912) was one of unparalleled international outreach, a quest for reform ideas, including in education. The Iwakura mission, among others, scoured Europe and America for the most advanced forms of learning, yielding significant reforms in higher education. The judgment at the time, that the German system was the most advanced, meant that it formed the greatest, but not the only, influence on the development of the Meiji-era Japanese higher education system. The private Keio University (Keiō Daigaku, 慶應義塾大学), grew out of an earlier European-style institution (Keiō Gijuku) founded in 1858, before Meiji, although it established only one university department with three faculties, of economics, law and letters, in 1890, and was not awarded the title of university by the Japanese government until 1920. Tokyo University (Tōkyō Daigaku, 東京大学), founded in 1877, was forged from preceding schools of Chinese and Japanese literature, medicine, and Western learning, and claims descent from a private institution of Confucian studies founded by Hayashi Razan in 1630. Kyoto University, founded as the second imperial university in 1897, is still regarded as the second nationally, in both prestige and research output, after Tokyo.

Claims to be the first modern university in China are contested, but perhaps the most useful account in brief is that in 1895 Sheng Xuanhuai, who gained permission from the Qing Emperor Guangxu to establish the Sino-Western College (Zhongxi xuetang), the kernel of what subsequently became Beiyang University (1903) and later Tianjin University

(Tianjin Dàxué, 天津大学, 1951). A year later (1896) the same Sheng Xuanhuai again secured approval from the emperor to establish Nanyang College (Nanyang gongxue), the genesis of what became (Shanghai) Jiaotong University ([Shanghai] Jiaotong Dàxué, 上海交通大学). Two years later (1898) Emperor Guangxu decreed the founding of the Imperial University (Jingxi daxuetang), the predecessor of Peking University (Běijīng Dàxué, 北京大学). All three remain among China's leading universities, with Peking generally thought to be the pearl of the system. A notable influence upon Peking University was the pioneering reformer Cai Yuanpei, whose time at Leipzig University and later in France was influential in his subsequent period as chancellor of the university (1916–1926). He attempted to synthesize the best of East and West and indicted what he saw as the pedantic scholasticism of traditional Chinese higher learning.⁸ Hunan University (Hunan Dàxué, 湖南大学, 1926) in Changsha lays claims to an even longer genealogy that includes the famed Yuèlǔ Academy (Yuelu Shūyuàn, 岳麓书院), founded in 976, under the reign of Emperor Kaibao (968–976), during the Song dynasty, although the institution has gone through many different iterations over the centuries.

In Southeast Asia, the establishment of the University Santo Tomas in 1611, named after Thomas Aquinas, represented the first such institution in the region. Licensed to grant degrees in theology and philosophy in 1619, it was accorded university status by Pope Innocent X in 1645 and granted the right to award other degrees in 1680 by Innocent XI. With a history longer than Harvard's, it remains a major Catholic institution of consequence in higher education, although with a prestige that is now probably more appreciated locally than globally. Its long-standing history bears some comparison with some of the longest serving, and among the most prestigious, higher education institutions in Latin America, which are also Catholic.

COLONIALISM AND THE POSTCOLONIAL DEVELOPMENTAL STATE

The impact of colonialism on Asian higher education systems has been both profound and enduring, if by no means wholly positive. Disrupting local traditions, colonialism raised thorny issues of how to preserve local strengths, epistemic, linguistic, administrative, and cultural, in the face of often imperious imports. Some states, most notably Japan, which avoided colonization, nonetheless saw U.S. occupation advisers after World War II “recommend” the wholesale adoption of an American model that profoundly influenced the subsequent development of the system. States such as India, Malaya, Singapore, and Burma (now Myanmar) were strongly influenced by British colonialism, while Indochina was more influenced by French ideologies and institutional models. Spain influenced the early development of higher education in the Philippines, while Russia and subsequently the Soviet Union influenced the Central Asian republics (and, for a time, China and Vietnam). American influence was greatest in the Philippines (twentieth century), postwar Japan, and the south of Vietnam before 1975. Due to its wider impact, British colonialism has had a more powerful and enduring influence in Asia. But the local also reshaped the global: while some have argued that no Asian university is truly Asian in origin, this fails to acknowledge

how strongly local tradition reshaped, and at times resisted, Western models. Lord Curzon, viceroy of India at the turn of the twentieth century, who proclaimed, "The East is a university in which the scholar never takes his degree," was not the only one to be amazed at how unlike the original were local "copies."

The French influence in Vietnam paralleled to some extent the experience in Francophone Africa, where the first modern university in Morocco, for example (the University of Rabat), was instituted in 1957 and later reconstituted as Mohammed V. Agdal University in 1975. Unlike British colonialism, French efforts in Africa were more directed at extending secular French culture and hence discouraged missionary endeavors. In Vietnam, the latter half of the nineteenth century saw French colonialism extend northward from the South (then termed Cochinchina), resulting in the spread of minor versions of French higher education institutions, particularly in Hà Nội and Sài Gòn. The net result was the production of a relatively small number of local scholars, whose further intellectual development was tied to the metropole: France. Somewhat unlike the African experience, Catholicism was another French import; indeed the Church was given initial authority over the universities of Hue and Da Lat before the reunification of the country in 1975, after which they became state institutions. The romanized alphabet had been developed by the French priest Alexander de Rhodes in the seventeenth century; it gradually replaced the use of Chinese characters, which were a base of traditional Confucian higher learning. Early foreign institutions included a school of medicine and pharmacy (later Hà Nội University of Medicine), a teacher training college, a college of engineering, and a college of law, all in Hà Nội.

The goals of the colonial endeavor, however, clashed with the nationalist ideals of independent-minded students, such as Ho Chi Minh, later radicalized after mixing with French and Russian communists in France. Hence, as elsewhere in Asia, the colonial aim of building a local elite strongly affiliated with and dependent upon the metropole was by no means always achieved. Indeed, in some ways local universities proved to be seedbeds of nationalism and colonial dissent. But they were more modest institutions, with more limited aims, often focused on training local administrators, familiar with the colonists' language, for the civil service, as well as limited numbers of other professionals, such as doctors, lawyers, agronomists, and pharmacists. The more modest ambitions of colonial administrators meant that in the early 1940s, one estimate was that a mere 3 percent of the Vietnamese population had been educated; most remained illiterate. France's final defeat at Điện Biên Phủ in 1954 presaged the eclipse of further French influence in higher education in Vietnam and also Indochina more generally, although the recent establishment of the University of Science and Technology in Hà Nội (2009) marked a deliberate choice of French partners by the Vietnamese government. Likewise the defeat of U.S. and allied forces in 1975 led to the unification of the country under socialist rule and the decline of American influence in the South (the North having been more influenced by the Soviet model).⁹

Of the countries of Southeast Asia to have achieved independence in the aftermath of World War II (Indonesia, 1946; Philippines, 1946; Malaysia, 1957), the dilemma of replacing colonial administrators and academic staff with locals in the face of limited state capacity and widespread competition for skilled personnel influenced the development of national higher education systems. Thailand, alone of all ASEAN systems, was not colonized by a Western power, although limited European influence was evident before World War II. Some argued that the Japanese invasion in 1941 had lasting effects, whereas postwar developments were often more influenced by U.K. and U.S. thinking. The umbilical cord

attaching Philippines higher education to the former colonial power, the USA, remained largely unbroken, while in Indonesia, at the onset of World War II, the fact that only one-third of faculty were Indonesian (some of whom left to participate in the struggle for independence) presented a challenge in the context of postwar development and expansion.¹⁰

British rule in India saw, *inter alia*, the establishment of the Hindu (later Presidency) College in Calcutta (now Kolkata) in 1817, the first "European" institution of higher learning, and subsequently the universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Delhi in 1857, that, like the University of London upon which they were modeled, functioned initially only as examination bodies. In all these institutions, the language of instruction was to be English, and, paralleling French colonial aims, the aim was to cultivate and maintain a British sensibility, Western knowledge, and British dominance.¹¹ In the initial phase of the British East India Company, both the emphasis on trade and the desire to cultivate local goodwill had seen support given to local institutions, such as Poonah College, Calcutta Madrasah, and Benaras Sanskrit College, in which the medium of instruction was Sanskrit, Persian, or Arabic. English replaced Persian as the official and court language only in 1837; hence English medium education came later. Such institutional models uprooted long-established traditions of indigenous higher learning, leading to Gandhi's scathing assessment in 1931 in a speech at Chatham House, that India was then less literate than fifty or one hundred years earlier (as was Burma, he claimed), due to the colonial failure to pay due regard to long-standing local epistemological and pedagogical traditions. Nonetheless the system expanded to include around 20 universities and more than 600 affiliated colleges upon independence in 1947. By 1980 this had expanded further to 132 universities and 4,738 colleges (many of which were government-subsidized private or grant-in-aid), which collectively enrolled around 5 percent of the eligible age group. Some criticized this *de facto* nationalization of private higher education as depressing both initiative and quality, but quantitative growth continued unabated.

Although not strictly colonialism, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, in support of a Marxist-Leninist client-state regime with little domestic allegiance, certainly led to significant reshaping of the local higher education system, including institutional innovations, revised curricula, fluctuations of staff and enrollments, and the reshaping of existing or founding of new institutions, including Kabul Polytechnic University in 1985, Balkh University in 1987, and Herat University in 1988. Overall enrollments fell significantly, partly as a result of a decision by the Soviet-aligned Democratic People's Republic of Afghanistan to lower the age of conscription from twenty-two to eighteen. Numbers of academic staff were either executed or jailed; perhaps as many as a thousand fled the country. As a result, the discipline of engineering could no longer be offered at Kabul University, a key institution. Notwithstanding attacks, hundreds of Soviet specialists served diligently in various universities, despite the fact that the introduction of compulsory classes in dialectical materialism, for example, provoked an exodus of some local staff. As was common among socialist regimes (such as Vietnam's), thousands of local students were sent to the Soviet Union for further education. Despite or perhaps because of the Soviet intervention, the major outcome was ruinous, with warfare between pro- and anti-Soviet forces resulting in the murder of numerous intellectuals (including numbers of Soviet specialists at both Kabul University and the Polytechnic University) and the sacking of museum and library collections.

Debates surrounding the developmental state bear on some of these developments, to greater or lesser degree, and all the more so since the term arose as an attempt to characterize

the phenomenon of state-led development and rapid economic growth in East and Southeast Asia. Clearly, in the East Asian states of the Republic of Korea, Japan, and China (including Taiwan) higher education was and remains a pillar of the overall goal of accelerated national development. Much the same is true for key ASEAN member states, such as Singapore, Vietnam, and Malaysia. Given this, it is no surprise to find that current knowledge economy discourses represent but the latest guise of human capitalist theories, in which higher education forms a key component. Confucian-heritage East Asia, in particular, drew deeply from this well, as did Vietnam, long influenced by the same philosophy.

INTELLECTUAL REPRESSION: ATTACKS ON HIGHER EDUCATION

The development of modern higher education in Asia has been largely one of progress and growth, notably in recent decades. This has been both quantitative and qualitative, albeit at times more the former than the latter. Nonetheless no history of recent decades would be complete without treatment of its interruption by cataclysmic events. The three cases below were not unique in character to Asia. African colleagues too have been persecuted, as seen in the arrests of academics in Kenya in 1982, political persecution of academics and closure of universities in Nigeria in 1989, attacks and imprisonment of academic staff in Chad and the Democratic Republic of Congo, detention and threats in Zimbabwe, book burning under Apartheid South Africa, and the Red Terror initiated by Ethiopia's Derg regime (1974–1991), which led to a major exodus by high-skilled Ethiopians and the creation of a substantial knowledge diaspora. Partly as a result, Africa suffers more than anywhere else from brain drain effects, a phenomenon that has significantly impeded swifter rates of progress in higher education. In Latin America, too, the banning of political science and sociology and the forcing of some two thousand academics and twenty thousand students from universities by the Pinochet regime in Chile (1973–1990), the political persecution of students and faculty unleashed by the Argentinian military coup in 1976, and the increasing repression by Nicaragua's Somoza regime after 1974 are notable examples, if not entirely unique.¹²

Nonetheless the three episodes below stand out in terms of scale and impact. The period from the mid-1960s to the early 1990s, in particular, was witness to some of the most terrible and tumultuous episodes, when simply being a faculty member or educated at a university was itself perilous: Cambodia's, Afghanistan's, and China's higher education systems are notable examples of universities being entirely co-opted in the service of a utopian ideology aimed at total societal integration. In each case, a regime arose that was so fundamentally antithetical to formal higher education that the closure of institutions of higher learning, destruction of libraries, museums, and laboratories, and persecution of scholars and students resulted.

China's Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), unleashed by Mao Zedong as part of a struggle against the "Four Olds" (old ideas, old culture, old customs, and old habits), resulted in the effective closure of all universities across the country for three years (1966–1969), and many for an entire decade, with more than 5 million educated urban youth (*shangshan xiexiang*) and many scholars being sent to the countryside, including to May 7th Cadre schools, to learn from the experience of peasants or laborers. Many experienced years of painful privation;

some were killed or tortured, while others committed suicide. Library and museum collections were destroyed. After a decade of chaos, violence, and anarchy, in 1976 higher education enrollments had still not regained the 1966 total, although the proportion of women, probably including those from rural areas, had risen appreciably. An entire cohort of China's best and brightest, the so-called Lost Generation, now aging, missed the opportunity for higher education.

Cambodia's murderous Khmer Rouge regime (1975–1979) oversaw the wholesale closure of universities, some of which were turned into reeducation camps or agricultural units, and engaged in systematic persecution of the educated class, thousands of whom were simply murdered. A subsequent Asian Development Bank estimate concluded that between 75 and 80 percent of both academic staff and students were massacred or fled. Upon the Vietnamese entry into Cambodia in 1979, it was estimated that no more than three hundred individuals with postsecondary education remained; of these, most left Cambodia as soon as it was possible to do so. In the most substantial prison at the time, the notorious S-21, of approximately fourteen thousand prisoners, numbers of whom were intellectuals, only around twelve survived. The long-term legacy was one of destruction—of institutions, knowledge, and individuals who gave life to both.

The rise to power of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan had a catastrophic effect on higher education. Kabul University's unique library collection was sacked, laboratory facilities smashed, and many academic staff forced to flee, numbers never to return. What was not shelled was looted or destroyed by a regime more concerned with supposed spiritual purity than the advancement of higher learning. Kabul University's collection of some 200,000 books and specialized resources on Afghanistan was laid waste, and students there and at other universities were told that books were not needed. Innovations of the time reflected Islamic ideology; they included the establishment of Tehqeeqat-e-Islami University (Islamic Research University), subsequently closed by the Taliban, and the Islamic University, established by Hizb-e-Islami under its leader Gulbuddin Hekmatyar in 1989. Other institutions reflected external Islamic influence: the Abdullah Bin Masoud University, transferred from Peshawar in Pakistan and launched in 1991 by Jamiat-e-Islami after the Soviet withdrawal, the Academy of Islamic Education and Technology, founded by the Islamic Relief Organization of Saudi Arabia and the Rabita-e-Aalam-e-Islami (Muslim World League) in Hayatabad, Peshawar. Ummahatul Momineen University, established in Peshawar in 1989, had particular significance for women, although it later languished. Once again, however, the larger legacy was of loss and destruction.

While in each case subsequent reconstruction and expansion more than replaced the physical losses, the legacy of destruction of lives, knowledge, and opportunities has been harder to recover from.¹³

THE CONTRADICTIONARY LEGACY OF MODERNITY

Recent decades have seen the growth and maturation of higher education systems throughout Asia, albeit very differentially and not without associated tensions and challenges. In this process of substantial change, growth loomed large. But much more than expansion is

evident: in world terms, higher education in Asia has undoubtedly attained a greater presence, and not merely in quantitative terms. Once seen, if at all, as a locus of exoticism, and perhaps as a source of hard-working graduate students to populate Western systems, the final decades of the twentieth century and beginning of the next saw increased differentiation both within and among diverse Asian higher education systems. Hence the degree to which individual Asian systems integrated into what became the global knowledge system, and their particular position within it, came to differ appreciably. While globalization processes, as well as rising regionalism, increasingly posed a challenge to national systems of higher education, Asian as well as Latin American and African governments have not always been so willing to loosen the reins controlling academic institutions, nor to yield much ground to global considerations, compared to domestic priorities. While regionalism shows promise in Asian higher education, including in ASEAN and ASEAN-plus contexts, notably with China, it is as yet much less developed than in Europe, where mobility schemes such as ERASMUS and SOCRATES are widely accepted by national governments. Asia reveals more rhetorical support than willingness to cede control to regional initiatives.

One of the more obvious tensions of recent decades arose from the process of massification of higher education systems (mass higher education is generally defined as enrollments that embrace at least 15 percent of the age cohort), a spreading phenomenon that reshaped higher education in many Asian states, as well as in some parts of Africa and Latin America. Over the last two decades of the twentieth century, higher education enrollments in developing countries effectively doubled, and while individual rates of increase differed significantly, there was little sign of abatement overall. Of most notable concern was the growing gap between spiraling enrollments and plateauing public finances.¹⁴ Governments in East and Southeast Asia, in particular, even in Taiwan, Japan, Korea, and China, which faced an imminent decline in their populations, pushed ahead with often ambitious plans to expand higher education, both to cater to rising demand, as more and more of the population completed secondary school and aspired to enter higher education, but also as part of the drive to boost national development, described above. In many cases, however, this resolve did not extend to matched increases in funding. Indeed it was not uncommon for funding to actually decline in real terms, at least when measured in per-student figures. This led to a number of related effects. Perhaps the first was the heightened pressure on resources, including academic and administrative staff, libraries, laboratories and classrooms, and student accommodations. Perhaps the starkest example was the dramatic growth of the Chinese higher education system, which expanded exponentially in the years from 1999 to around 2004, experiencing annual enrollment growth rates of between 25 and 35 percent. The resultant strain was soon evident on all aspects of the system: difficulties in recruiting well-qualified academics, stretched library resources, substantially worsened staff-student ratios, inadequate student accommodations and teaching rooms, and harried academic and administrative staff, with less time for students or research. In order to cope with swelling enrollments, many universities embarked on major building projects and new campuses, taking on major debts in the process and at times attracting charges of corruption.

Privatization was a related effect of the increasing inability or unwillingness of national governments to adequately finance this growth. This trend is interesting for a number of reasons, not least because the development of public higher education systems had been associated with the rise of the nation-state, to varying degrees, including in postcolonial Asia, Latin America, and Africa. Privatization took two linked forms: on the one hand in a

number of Asian systems, the growth of the private system outstripped growth rates in the public sector (although not in the Philippines, Taiwan, Japan, and Korea, where it was already larger than the public).

A parallel trend effectively privatized public-sector higher education institutions, to differing degrees. As public funding declined, at least in per-student terms, the pressure to increase enrollments continued unabated, and public universities were pushed to diversify their sources of income. This took a number of forms, but a common recourse in Southeast Asia was to institute parallel programs, variously called extension, executive, or diploma programs, for high fees. Entry standards were much lower than for the mainstream public institution and in some cases effectively meant open entry. While the programs were taught by the same individuals as those in the public sector higher education institutions, they operated either in the evening or on weekends and soon attracted widespread criticisms for poor standards and inadequate facilities. Corruption allegations in Vietnam, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Thailand variously related to issues such as enrolling far more students than the set quota, misleading advertising, charging extravagantly high fees to allow entry into public institutions to some wealthy private students (known as *Jalur Khusus*, or “special path,” in Indonesia), collusion with state officials, altering students’ grades to allow them entry, and inadequate financial transparency.¹⁵ In Afghanistan, new private-sector higher education institutions sprang up, some of dubious quality. Often staffed by academics from Pakistan, whose qualifications were not always the highest, or lacked adequate provenance, their official status was uncertain. In Myanmar, private higher education institutions also existed in practice, although not in law. Both the Afghanistan and Myanmar examples served as illustrations of an ongoing issue: the limited extent and quality of regulation of the higher education sector, including at times burgeoning private institutions, in a context of strained state capacity and limited transparency.

A further long-standing legacy issue, treated in the allusion to Cai Yuan Pei’s efforts to reform Chinese higher education in Republican China, has been the problematic attempt to synthesize East and West. Well captured in the Chinese aphorism *Zhong xue wei ti, xi xue wei yong* (Chinese [ethical] knowledge for essence, Western knowledge for practical use) and evident in Meiji Restoration attempts to glean the best of Western knowledge while retaining Japanese core values, many Asian systems articulated the problem, but few resolved it satisfactorily. Much the same dilemma persisted in African higher education, perhaps best articulated in Mazrui’s posing of the twin imperatives: to look both inward toward ancestry (including its Islamic heritage) and outward toward wider humanity.¹⁶

Among numerous Asian systems of higher education, ambitious agendas were enunciated that often included the goal of establishing world class higher education institutions. In Malaysia, the Universiti Sains Malaysia was designated an APEX university and provided with additional resources, accompanied by heightened expectations that it would leap into the ranks of international research universities within a short period. The response of Vietnam was to establish “model” universities, largely in partnership with more established systems such as the German or French. Singapore, by far the wealthiest system in Southeast Asia, adopted a two-pronged approach, investing substantially in its own domestic higher education institutions while also attracting some major institutions from the U.S., for example, to establish branch campuses. The widespread pressure to publish in English and in leading journals produced mixed results. China, one of the most overtly stratified higher education systems, deliberately selected a few dozen leading higher education institutions for additional

resources and associated expectations. The strategy succeeded, with more and more of its leading institutions being listed in various world rankings schemes. India, the other Asian giant, was comparatively far less successful. Among Southeast Asian systems, Singapore, despite its small size, was best represented among the various rankings. By contrast, Islamic higher education institutions rarely appeared on the lists.

The trend toward privatization tended to entrench another troubling pattern. In many Asian systems, public higher education had traditionally been dominated by middle-class and urban youth, leaving the talented poor with recourse only to either private-sector higher education institutions or overseas institutions, if scholarships were available. The expansion of the private sector widened opportunities, but too often to poor quality institutions, with limited curriculum options, often centered on business, IT, and perhaps selected languages. But many private institutions charged high fees (while high-demand programs at public universities were also raising theirs). Effectively, then, many poor students were often faced with paying higher fees for lower quality programs than their middle-class peers in public institutions. In a number of systems, too, ethnic youth were structurally disadvantaged. In India, policies of reserving places for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Classes, and others have not proved entirely effective in ending inequalities. Malaysia's long-standing preferential policy toward ethnic Malays (Bumiputras) effectively disenfranchised many of its ethnic Chinese and Indian citizens, despite the policy being formally abandoned in 2003. In Myanmar, Muslim Rohingyas were barred from professional faculties and discriminated against in education more generally. In Africa too, bitter ethnic feuds sometimes resulted in losers being effectively barred from higher education. In South Asia and Central Asia, female enrollments remained disproportionately low.

As Asia's economic rise continues, with economic growth rates—Japan excepted—well in excess of those in North America, Europe, or Oceania, the much touted era of the global knowledge economy has seen higher education assume a more prominent role. The former emphasis on primary and secondary schooling and to some extent vocational education has now been supplanted by a wider recognition of the role that higher education has to play in promoting economic and social development. As several Asian economies moved beyond the era of a core of manufacturing industries sustained by cheap labor, they increasingly confronted the challenge of avoiding the so-called middle-income trap. To do so meant reorienting the economy away from a dependence on manufacturing and toward greater reliance upon service-sector industries and a more high-tech knowledge-based economy, for which higher education was a key prerequisite. These trends, together with unrelenting demand, are unlikely to guarantee equity for the foreseeable future, while the competitive pressure to have at least one or two institutions ranked among the lists of world-class universities is also unlikely to relent.

The combination of a venerable past, a sustained respect for education, teachers, and higher learning, and a state-led development model in an increasingly global competitive environment has served selected Asian higher education models well. Others, much less well. Clearly the development of a more multipolar world of knowledge, the contours of which have become increasingly evident over recent decades, has seen Asian higher education assume a more prominent role, more fitting with its storied past. At the same time, the limits of state-led development for institutional autonomy and academic freedom were pointed out by the presidents of both Harvard and Yale, as well as some domestic critics within Asia, as constraining the further rise of Asian universities. Equally, as the above analysis

demonstrates, significant inequalities persist within and between systems; most institutions, and some entire systems, remain peripheral rather than core. A genuinely inclusive higher education remains a goal for Asian higher education systems, although some have made great strides. The tantalizing promise of a successful synthesis of knowledge drawn from the best of East and West, however elusive thus far, still offers much. Regionalization, while at a much less mature stage than in Europe, shows promise, both in ASEAN and ASEAN-plus, particularly with China.¹⁷ Equivalent strategies are evident in Latin American and Africa, albeit more developed in the former.

While much has been accomplished, much more basic historiographic work remains to be achieved on the evolution of individual Asian systems of higher education (as also those in Africa and Latin America, although the latter is arguably better served by Spanish-language accounts than English),¹⁸ as well as comparative historiographies and the history of regional trends, the spread of intellectual and institutional movements between different territories (including of religious traditions), and issues of class/caste, gender, ethnicity, and rural-urban inequalities. While the efforts of UNESCO and its Institute of Statistics as well as studies conducted by the Asian Development Bank and World Bank mean that higher education scholars are now better served by more comprehensive databases and information, such analytics do not always serve the interests of historians and the important link between the past and present.

In an era of unparalleled expansion of higher education, a key challenge for much of Asia relates to the model of humanity that is desired. The rich humanistic traditions of China and India, for example, have much to offer the world, including in higher education. But how to blend the best of such rich interpretive traditions with the best of modern Western forms of higher education remains a challenge for much of Asia. To meet this challenge, the historical gaze, of both local and international scholars, must make an important contribution.

NOTES

1. See, inter alia, Edward Said, *Orientalism*, 2nd revised edition (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1994); K.-H. Chen, *Asia as Method: Toward Deimperialisation* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press 2010).
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CHAPTER 20

THE PROFESSIONS AND PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

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HISTORICALLY the three learned professions were law, medicine, and theology. At times in higher education, theology outshone the other two because many colleges and universities were founded and operated by religious organizations. In modern higher education, however, theology is typically an academic subject like philosophy or literature, and clergy tend to be educated professionally in seminaries. The professions now also include architecture, education, psychotherapy, dentistry, veterinary medicine, engineering, accountancy, and others.

Professional education is subject to some unusual tensions. Those tensions provide the context for a discussion of the history of education in four professions: law, medicine, architecture, and teaching. Law and medicine have long and well-documented educational histories. Architecture is a contrast; it was recognized as a profession later than the other two, and it entered universities from the equivalent of artists' studios. Primary and secondary school teaching was recognized as a profession even later, and education departments entered universities through a more circuitous route.

A profession is different from other occupations. A professional has a fiduciary obligation to work in the best interests of the client or patient. All professions involve licensure or some other regulation limiting entry to those who can prove knowledge or, in the most rigorous licensure, both knowledge and skill. Business is not a profession. A business person is unlicensed, has no fiduciary obligation to customers, and needs no specialized education. Several of the best known entrepreneurs left college without degrees and may have benefited by doing so.

"Professional school" and "professional education" are not synonymous. The latter is by far the broader concept.

In the United States, a medical school graduate has a doctorate but is not immediately qualified for a license to practice medicine. A year of postdoctoral hospital internship is required before licensure, and additional years of hospital residency are required for specialization. These internships and residencies are the postgraduate medical education,

and the institutions that offer them are separately accredited. The Liaison Committee on Medical Education accredits medical schools, and the Accreditation Council for Graduate Medical Education accredits postgraduate internships and residencies.

In many countries, law is studied immediately after secondary school. It is the equivalent of what Americans consider a major subject for a bachelor's degree. To become licensed in those countries, the graduate must complete a full-time law practice course of a year or more, or its equivalent, taught outside a university, followed by an apprenticeship supervised by the national association of lawyers. There a professional education is the sum of the law degree plus the law practice course plus the apprenticeship.

A profession is based on ways of thinking that remain a mystery to those outside the profession. This is not limited to domain knowledge such as the rules of copyright law or the symptoms of heart diseases. It is also, and perhaps more importantly, the patterns of thought needed to *use* that knowledge, which Donald Schön called knowing-in-action. To a lay person, the ability to *use* domain knowledge seems magical. But to a professional it is part of the state of being, so ingrained into the psyche that the professional does not imagine life without it.

Both knowing—and knowing-in-action—are important. Teachers in professional schools often use a phrase that begins “Thinking like. . .” “Thinking like a lawyer” is using law and other tools to solve the kinds of problems people bring to lawyers. “Thinking like a doctor” is using medical knowledge to diagnose and treat disease. “Thinking architecturally” is visualizing the resolution of design issues. Preparation for a profession is the acquisition of both knowing *and* doing.

Domain knowledge in a profession can be—and often is—taught as pure knowledge, without any instruction in how to use that knowledge in professional work. A teacher might stand before a hundred or two hundred students and lecture on human anatomy or the rules of procedural law. A student who listens attentively, takes good notes, and reads the textbook carefully will probably learn a fair amount about anatomy or procedural law. But without more, the student will have no idea how to diagnose disease or plead a case.

A professional's knowing-in-action cannot fully be explained in words except to someone in the same profession who already understands it. This creates the most difficult educational challenge in all forms of professional education. When Schön talked to students in a variety of professional schools, he found that “in the midst of their education for practice there was a profound sense of mystery . . . because what the teachers knew how to say the students could not at that point in their experience understand.”¹ In a profession, a student can learn how to think in action only by doing work the student does not know how to do.

The history of professional education can appear incoherent. At one place and time, the learning of a profession might be welcomed into universities and enjoy much prestige there. At another time and place, the opposite may be true. This inconsistency is more apparent than real. University faculties and administrators consider research about and teaching of domain knowledge to be a dignified function of higher education. Historically the opposite has been true of research about and the teaching of knowledge-in-action. Knowledge-in-action can really be taught only through what Schön called “deviant traditions of education for practice—traditions that stand outside or alongside the normative curricula” and that do not reside in lecture halls.²

Since the late nineteenth century, the most profound change in professional education has been the gradual elevation of knowledge-in-action to a status closer to that of pure

knowledge. In medicine, this is the history of the teaching hospital, and the pivotal event was the founding of the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine in Baltimore, the hospital opening in 1888 and the medical school in 1893. In law, it is the history of the law school clinical and other skills courses, and the pivotal event was the creation of the Council on Legal Education for Professional Responsibility, supported financially by the Ford Foundation, beginning in the late 1960s and continuing through the 1970s. In architecture, there was no pivotal event because that profession is also a fine art, where knowledge-in-action has always had primacy.

In any profession, knowledge-in-action is learned experientially on a site where the profession is practiced or in a setting that simulates such a site. In a teaching hospital, the student assists in treatment or treats patients under supervision. Medical education calls this "bedside learning." In a law school clinic, the student advises and represents a client under a teacher's guidance. In other law school experiential courses, the student will write legal memos and briefs, negotiate, advise, and do simulated courtroom work, but without an actual client. In an architecture school, the student will create building designs in a design studio.

The degree of experiential learning differs from one profession to another. Although the design studio and the teaching hospital are the heart of architectural and medical education, historically in law schools experiential learning barely existed, and even today it is considered at most a supplement to the teaching of domain knowledge. In the United States, which requires no postgraduate law practice instruction or apprenticeship, law school graduates are perhaps the least prepared, among all professionals, to enter practice. Medicine, clinical psychology, architecture, education, dentistry, veterinary medicine, and pharmacy all require far more experiential learning in their professional schools and after graduation.

In some eras and in some places, licensure was not required. Surgery, for example, was routinely performed by barbers. In many countries well into the nineteenth century, anyone could give legal advice, call himself a physician, or design a building. Licensure put an end to that. It also changed professional education, which afterward was required to teach everything necessary for a student to pass a licensing exam.

In countries where the government operates all or nearly all of higher education, quality control at the institutional level is performed by an education ministry or by entities under an education ministry's supervision. In countries where most institutions of higher learning are privately operated, that function is performed instead by accreditation: a college or university is evaluated by administrators and faculty from other colleges and universities. This is peer review, in which the public typically has only a token role.

Professional school accreditation, however, is not purely peer review. It is usually a joint venture between educators and the relevant profession. Professional school accreditation is different because students there do not receive a general education. Professionals have a vested interest in making sure that graduates are qualified to practice their profession. In this respect, law is the weakest profession in the United States. In architecture, only one of the four members of an accreditation site inspection team will be an educator. The other three will be an architect, an architecture student, and a representative from the licensing authorities. But in law typically five or six members of a seven-person site inspection team will be faculty and administrators at other law schools or universities. Only one will be a lawyer or judge.

In addition to accreditation, quality control comes from professional education itself. Education improves the standard of practice of a profession not just by teaching domain

knowledge and knowledge-in-action but also by discovering them. For domain knowledge, medical school laboratories and teaching hospitals produce prodigious amounts of research on diseases and treatments.

Discovering knowledge-in-action is less obvious because it does not lend itself to publication as readily as pure science does. In order to teach students how to practice medicine, true teaching hospitals, beginning with the one at Johns Hopkins, have had to discover what to teach—the most effective forms of diagnostic reasoning, for example. Knowledge-in-action advances through accumulation of incremental insights that usually are not attributable to identifiable authors. Gradually, over long periods of time, education comes to a common understanding, a tacit codification, of which intellectual processes work better than others.

It is a reasonable but unproven hypothesis that the standard of practice—and knowledge *about* practice—is higher in professions that have permeating experiential learning than in professions that do not. This can happen only where teaching knowledge-in-action is a collective endeavor. Apprenticeship systems, for example, would not do that unless the masters form a community of their own to share insights among themselves. A profession's standard of practice can rise only if insights are spread throughout the profession. And an insight is only a narrow thought unless discussed by others, studied, and tested empirically.

Despite the spread of knowledge about practice, professional education has had an uneasy relationship with universities. Bologna—along with Paris, the oldest European university—began in the eleventh century primarily as a school for the study of law and grew from that into a university in the modern sense. But professional education has also at times been treated with suspicion or even disdain in universities and dismissed as trade schools. Knowing and being able to *do* can sometimes have less prestige than simply knowing without activity. Thorstein Veblen wrote that law teachers are like athletic coaches and that a law school “belongs in the modern university no more than a school of fencing or dancing.”³ A university values its faculty members primarily according to how much publishable knowledge they produce, and educating for a profession—for being able to *do* as well as know—can appear to be an endeavor that would not produce knowledge for knowledge's sake.

The same tension can occur inside a professional school. Some parts of the faculty will specialize in teaching domain knowledge, while others will specialize in teaching how to use that knowledge. Those who teach domain knowledge often work with material that can be published in a form that meets university expectations. Those who teach how to use professional knowledge might not be in that position, even though what they teach may be equally rigorous intellectually.

Of the four professions, medicine has the highest prestige in a modern university, architecture has lower status than law, and teaching has the lowest. Because medicine is a science as well as a profession, a medical school faculty as a whole can produce a ready supply of publishable discoveries that faculty members elsewhere in a university, in a chemistry or physics department, for example, will recognize as methodologically rigorous. Architecture is at the opposite end. It is both a profession and a fine art. Because it is a visual field—filled with images rather than words or numbers—it produces relatively few publications of any kind. It does not discover knowledge. It is the most artistically creative profession, and its contribution to knowledge is the built environment we live in. Unlike medicine, law, and even architecture, teaching is often considered a semiprofessional field and has suffered from status anxiety. Moreover, because most people have experienced schooling, many believe that they know what should be taught and how to teach it.

Professions have long histories of educating themselves outside universities. The earliest form of professional education was apprenticeship. As a profession gradually took on the characteristics of a guild, it might regulate apprenticeships, and it might supplement them with explanations delivered orally to groups of apprentices. Or a senior professional might give lectures and charge apprentices a fee for attending. All this might eventually coalesce into a freestanding professional school, one not affiliated with a university.

At the same time universities might have departments, often small ones, teaching some aspect of that profession. Two parallel educational systems would coexist. Because until the early twentieth century, a university education was considered a luxury, as it is still in some countries, a university credential would be associated with higher status in a profession. In some instances a university offered a better education, and in some instances it offered an inferior one.

A freestanding school in linguistics or Asian studies, unaffiliated with a university, would seem anomalous if not impractical. Scholars need a large interdisciplinary library and other shared facilities, and students need to be able to take courses in many different fields. But a university's professional schools tend to operate separately from the rest of the university even when located on the same campus. They usually have their own libraries; their students rarely take courses in other departments; and their buildings often are not on the university's campus.

Freestanding professional schools continue to exist, particularly in the United States. Some, such as the Mayo Clinic's Medical School, are widely respected, and freestanding schools generally provide solid education. But they are fewer now than earlier. A number of freestanding schools have been absorbed into universities, usually after the professional school ran into financial difficulties and the university thought its reputation might be enhanced by adding a law or medical school.

LAW

What is now the University of Bologna began in the eleventh century as a place where students gathered to learn law. They did not enroll in a school. Originally there was no school. A student arrived, rented a bed in which to sleep, and sought a tutor. Later, feeling exploited by tutors and landlords who charged too much and delivered too little, students organized and threatened to move to some other town and hire tutors there unless rents fell to reasonable levels and tutors charged less and taught more.

Lackadaisical teaching outraged students, each of whom paid a tutor individually and felt cheated if the tutor's instruction was insufficiently rigorous. Students collectively agreed on regulations they expected all tutors to obey, and a disobedient tutor would be boycotted. According to Charles Homer Haskins:

The professor was put under bond to live up to a minute set of regulations which guaranteed his students the worth of the money paid by each. We read in the earliest [student] statutes (1317) that a professor might not be absent without leave, even a single day, and if he desired to leave town he had to make a deposit to ensure his return. If he failed to secure an audience of five for a regular lecture, he was fined as if absent.... He must begin with the bell and quit

within one minute after the next bell. He was not allowed to skip a chapter in his commentary or postpone a difficulty to the end of the hour, and he was obliged to cover ground systematically, so much in each specific term of the year. No one might spend the whole year on introduction and bibliography.⁴

Eventually the tutors themselves organized and formed colleges and faculties, which affiliated with each other and coalesced into a university as theology, medicine, and other subjects were added. The tutors had the upper hand because they were permanent and students have always been transient.

“Law is for the bad man,” said Oliver Wendell Holmes, and the Bologna students’ regulations were for the bad tutors. There were also very good ones, for example, Pepo, who was called “the bright and shining light of Bologna,” and Irnerius, who, according to Haskins, was “the teacher who gave Bologna its reputation.”⁵

Students did not gather at Bologna to become lawyers. They gathered to learn law, which is not the same thing. Before the social and behavioral sciences were created, learning law was important to understanding the world in which one lived. Law is primarily enforceable rules, and educated people knew the rules. This was true in Europe well into the nineteenth century, before law became more modern, intricate, and specialized. Educated people knew law even without studying it in school. In a letter to Balzac, Stendhal could say that while writing *The Charterhouse of Parma*, the first great French novel, “in order to acquire the correct tone I read every morning two or three pages of the *Code civil*,” which we know as the Napoleonic Code and with which Stendhal would be familiar as it set out his rights and obligations as a citizen of a civil society.⁶ Some law students in early universities became lawyers, but we know not how many. It could have been a small percentage.

Only as an academic subject could law be the core from which a great university grew. As an academic subject, law was studied just for the sake of knowing it. If a student wanted to *do* something with it—to practice law by using it as a tool to solve problems—the student would have to learn the *doing* elsewhere. A student could learn law in a university and then apprentice with a lawyer. That might not, however, have been the most common route. Families wealthy enough to afford the luxury of a university education might not wish a son—and they were all sons—to enter the trade of lawyering.

Through the middle of the nineteenth century, the study of law in universities tended to follow two models. One started in Bologna. In Continental Europe, law was—and still is—an undergraduate degree, part of a general liberal education. To an American observer, this resembles an undergraduate student’s major field. Today a European undergraduate law degree does not qualify its holder to obtain a law license. For that, postgraduate preparation, typically outside a university, is necessary. At the undergraduate level, law was and still is studied by future lawyers together with prospective higher-level civil servants and business executives, among others.

That was the historical model and is still the current model in the civil law countries of Continental Europe and its former colonies. Britain evolved toward the Continental model of an undergraduate law degree followed by postgraduate preparation for licensure. But the United States gradually developed university law *schools*, graduation from which would qualify a graduate to take the bar examination and be licensed without postgraduate preparation.

In the mid-nineteenth century, most American lawyers had been educated as Lincoln had been, by reading law while working as an apprentice in a lawyer’s office. During and

after the Jacksonian era, popular sentiment held that educated elites should not control professions and that anyone should be able to practice law if literate enough to read it and memorize some of it. The very few university law schools were small departments with tiny full-time faculties. An elite lawyer in a cosmopolitan northeastern city might have attended a university law school, but as a substitute for a liberal arts education and to obtain a credential largely proving that the lawyer came from a family wealthy enough to support him as a gentleman student.

This changed beginning at 1870 at Harvard, where Christopher Columbus Langdell became dean of a small law faculty of only three full-time teachers. Over the following two decades, he led the school in developing all but one of the characteristics that define an American law school today: a three-year degree preceded by undergraduate study in a field other than law; teaching Socratically from a casebook; the law library's role as the center of the law school; and an academic faculty with little experience or interest in practicing law. The one defining characteristic that did not begin in this period was the teaching of knowledge-in-action. The only skill taught in a Langdellian law school was that of reading and analyzing judicial opinions, which is a small part of the practice of law.

Although putting a lawyer's entire education under university control might seem like an advance, it was also a limitation. Partly because universities are comfortable teaching knowledge and uncomfortable teaching knowledge-in-action, U.S. law schools taught only law as knowledge until the development of clinical, legal writing, and other skills beginning in the 1970s. A 1928 report on American legal education for the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching observed, "There is probably no other practical calling the preparation for which is so unrelievedly academic as that which is provided for American lawyers by most American law schools," especially as compared to schools of medicine, architecture, dentistry, and engineering. To some extent, this is still true today. A recent study of over two thousand U.S. lawyers identified twenty-six capabilities essential to the practice of law, only three of which are part of the required curriculum in most U.S. law schools.⁷

Although the United States shares the common law heritage with other English-speaking countries, legal education outside North America evolved in the opposite direction. Even before Europe's Bologna Process began in the 1990s, English legal education had come to resemble the Continental European model in overall structure, although English law is so fundamentally different from European civil law in both content and analytical methods that individual courses and subjects cannot be taught in the same way in a common law system as in a civil law system.

The English legal profession is divided into solicitors, who are primarily office lawyers, and barristers, who are courtroom advocates. Most solicitors and barristers have law degrees, but a law degree is not actually required. An aspirant can instead get a degree in some other field and then take a one-year conversion course. To become a solicitor, a graduate takes a one-year legal practice course followed by a two-year apprentice-like traineeship working under supervision in a solicitor's office. To become a barrister, a graduate takes a one-year professional training course followed by a one-year pupillage similar to a solicitor's traineeship. The courses are heavily regulated by the solicitors' and barristers' professional organizations.

Thus in England five years are needed to become a barrister, and six years in most cases to become a solicitor—all of that time spent learning law and how to practice it. But in the United States, it takes a minimum of seven years to become a lawyer, longer than virtually anywhere else in the world. In spite of that, an American lawyer has spent much *less* time

than a European lawyer studying law and lawyering. Only three years of the American seven are spent in a law school. Before that a student is required to spend four years studying something other than law—anything, in fact, that the student happens to choose. Neither the law school nor the licensing authorities care what it is.

This uniquely American requirement of a four-year, non-law degree preceding law study began at Langdell's Harvard because he preferred to be surrounded with men (women were not permitted) who were cultured and had a classical education of the kind that made one capable of reading Virgil in Latin. But the requirement spread throughout American legal education for a different reason. It was not believed that four years of non-law study were thought necessary to sharpen *every* mind. The only minds at issue were those of immigrants and the children of immigrants, especially Jews. The goal was to exclude by more than doubling the cost of a legal education and, for those not excluded by cost, to inculcate the supposed superior values to be found in an Anglo-Saxon college environment.

Socratic teaching from casebooks, perhaps the most distinguishing feature of U.S. legal education since 1870, has had little influence beyond North America. Outside the common law family of nations, it is irrelevant because civil law and other legal systems do not create law through judicial precedent. Even within the common law world—countries whose law is descended from English precedents—Socratic casebook teaching has had only limited acceptance.

European legal education spread internationally through colonial empires in Latin America, Africa, and large portions of Asia. In almost every instance, the colonizing nation's law became the colony's law, and local lawyers were educated according to the colonizer's methods, often in the colonizer's home country. "In Singapore and Malaysia, for example, nearly every lawyer was trained in England."⁸ Before he became a revolutionary, Gandhi practiced law in South Africa and India. He learned law in England, argued in court in the style of an English barrister, and wore English-style suits rather than the bare loincloth of his later years of civil disobedience and insurrection.

After independence, a former colony's legal education might gradually evolve into something more accurately reflecting local cultural norms. In some instances, however, this happened not at all. Although Hong Kong is now part of China and answerable to the Chinese Communist Party, courts in Hong Kong operate exactly as English courts do, Hong Kong statutes closely resemble those enacted at Westminster, and the two Hong Kong law schools are based on English models. Indonesia, on the other hand, has gone its own way, and little of Dutch legal education remains. A colonizer's law and legal education tended to persist after independence because the period of decolonization coincided with the beginning of world modernization in industrial commerce and individual rights, for which European law had well-established norms.

Even in countries that were not formally colonized, such as Siam (now Thailand), modernizing a local legal system often meant adopting large aspects of European law, including European legal education. Japan, which was never colonized, imported American and British legal education methods during the post-World War II U.S. occupation, and recent reforms have been modeled on current practices in American law schools.⁹

Internationally over the past half-century, the most significant U.S. influence on legal education has been the spread of experiential teaching. In the United States, the Council on Legal Education and Professional Responsibility provided financial support in the 1970s to U.S. law schools that opened teaching clinics. In the 1990s, when former Soviet-bloc

countries were converting their legal systems to conform to non-Soviet norms, American clinicians began to help law schools in those countries to set up their own clinics. This has since spread to Western Europe, Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Nowhere, however, not even in the United States, have clinics acquired the role that teaching hospitals have in medical education. In law everywhere, pregraduate education focuses less on knowledge-in-action than in any other profession. And although the United States originated clinical education, American lawyers are admitted to practice with less experiential learning than in many other countries.

MEDICINE

During the Middle Ages, the Islamic world was far more advanced than Europe in the sciences, including medicine. The idea of a hospital, for example, originated in Baghdad in the eighth century.¹⁰ A hospital is essential to medical learning and education because only there can experienced physicians and surgeons share techniques and learn from each other while the inexperienced can learn from their elders' examples. By the time of the European Renaissance, however, Islamic countries were no longer the world leader in medicine.

Beginning in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, medicine in Europe was taught in universities or freestanding medical schools at Bologna, Montpellier, Oxford, and Paris, among other places. But most physicians and surgeons learned their work as apprentices. These were primitive learning experiences because no professional organizations or governments supervised them. The master passed on to the apprentice less knowledge than ignorance.

The first American medical school was opened by the College of Philadelphia (now the University of Pennsylvania) in 1765. Kings College (now Columbia University) opened its medical school in 1767, and Harvard followed in 1783. But an American who wanted medical school training would rather, if his family could afford it, study in Europe. Before the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine and its teaching hospital opened, European medical education was incomparably better than anything in America. But that was irrelevant for large portions of the U.S. population. They were treated by physicians and surgeons who had not learned any of their medicine in a school.

For many centuries, the basic issue was whether school training would drive out apprenticeship as acceptable education. In each country where that happened, the basic issue then became the relationship between the academic teaching of domain knowledge and the practical teaching of clinical knowledge.

Today the first and second years of American medical education primarily cover a basic science curriculum in large classrooms. The third year is often called the year on the wards because it is spent in clinical rotations in bedside learning mostly in a teaching hospital. In the fourth year, students complete their rotations and take some electives. The student is then awarded an M.D. degree and begins postgraduate medical education in internships and residencies. In other countries, medical education is roughly similar but not identical to this.

In the United States, William Osler and Abraham Flexner were the two central figures in creating this form of education. Today—more than a hundred years after their initial impact—their names appear more often than those of any other individuals in searches of current issues of American medical journals. Osler was not a lecture-hall teacher. And Flexner

was not even a physician or a surgeon; he had no medical training at all, but rather was an educational reformer of colleges and universities.

In Europe, students had been taught in hospitals to varying degrees according to the place and the era. Hospital teaching had been common in Germany, Britain, and France at least since the eighteenth century, and there is evidence that it had occurred well before that. In the best American medical schools, it was happening by the mid-nineteenth century. But it was not bedside learning as we understand the concept today.

Usually the student simply watched the teacher practice medicine. The teacher might hold rounds, strolling through wards followed by dozens of students, who crowded each other to get a view of what the teacher might be doing or to hear something of whatever conversation the teacher might be engaged in. He might ignore them, or he—always a *he*—might deliver a spontaneous mini-lecture, using the patient as a prop. This was not learning by doing. It was learning by watching and listening. It might amount to a lecture with a demonstration, as illustrated in Thomas Eakins's paintings *The Gross Clinic* and *The Agnew Clinic*. The surgeon-professor operates on a patient and explains what he is doing while students sit in galleries watching and listening.

The single most important event in the history of medical education, and perhaps all professional education, was the founding of the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine and its teaching hospital in Baltimore. The hospital opened in 1888 and the medical school in 1893. The hospital opened first because it was the intellectual center of the medical school. Bedside learning was not to be an afterthought to classroom learning. Instead classroom learning's purpose was to get the student to the bedside, where clinical thinking could be learned.

Before Hopkins, American medical education was inferior to the European in almost every respect. After Hopkins—and after what Flexner did on the basis of Hopkins—that was no longer true. American medical education improved dramatically, and it became extraordinarily expensive. Maintaining a teaching hospital is a staggering expense. Less so but still costly are the laboratories in which students work out the basic science introduced in classrooms.

Hopkins was a clean break in at least three ways. First, although a Hopkins clinical teacher might start by practicing medicine while students observed, quickly the student would begin diagnosing and treating while the teacher watched and critiqued. The student would learn how to *do* by doing. Something like this had happened in some places and times in Europe, but it was infrequent if not rare, and it was not institutionalized as the *entire* clinical experience for *every* student.

Second, before Hopkins the hospitals where students were present had not been true teaching hospitals. Mostly they were hospitals that happened to permit teaching on the premises. The Johns Hopkins hospital, however, was designed specifically for teaching and learning. Students were its reason for being.

Third, a hospital that allowed teaching on the premises had been only loosely connected with or at most an appendage to a medical school. But the Hopkins hospital was the centerpiece of the medical school. The curriculum was organized around the hospital.

The catalyst was Osler, a Canadian who had been teaching at the University of Pennsylvania and was appointed the hospital's physician in chief. The wards were his classroom, and his goal was to ingrain in students what he called "clinical wisdom." He wrote, "The natural method of teaching the student begins with the patient, continues with the patient, and ends his studies with the patient, using books and lectures as tools, as means to an end."

Osler wrote *The Principles and Practice of Medicine*, “the first great textbook of modern medicine” and in its time “the dominant medical textbook in the English-speaking world.” He became a world-famous physician whose diagnoses patients would travel great distances to obtain. But he did not consider those to be his most valuable achievements. Instead he wrote, “I desire no other epitaph than the statement that I taught medical students in the wards.”¹¹

Flexner, a theorist in learning and teaching, saw to it that every American medical school would either convert to Osler’s model or cease to exist. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching commissioned him to investigate the quality of medical education. His book-length report to the Foundation in 1910 is one of the most influential documents in American higher education.

Flexner held every American and Canadian medical school to the Hopkins standard, and he named the ones that failed that standard and explained in detail how they failed it. He wrote—and this is the most widely quoted passage in his report—that in the best medical schools “the student no longer merely watches, listens, memorizes; he *does*. His own activities in the laboratory and in the clinic are the main factors in his instruction and discipline. An education in medicine nowadays [in 1910] involves both learning and learning how; the student cannot effectively know, unless he knows how.”¹²

On the Flexner report’s publication, a *New York Times* headline read “Factories for the Making of Ignorant Doctors; Carnegie Foundation’s Startling Report That Incompetent Physicians Are Manufactured by Wholesale in This Country.” The public was so shocked that a credible medical school became impossible without a teaching hospital on the Hopkins model. Every medical school in North America either acquired one or merged with another school that had one or closed for good. Some freestanding medical schools were absorbed into universities. Many perished.

It was at this point that medical education truly entered the American university both physically and intellectually. American universities were re-creating themselves on the German model as centers of both learning and research. The concept of a true teaching hospital was a substantial intellectual achievement and afterward lent itself to research as well as learning because every part of the practice of medicine was available for empirical analysis. Medical schools became the benchmark against which other professions’ schools were measured.

After Flexner’s 1910 report, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching sent him to Europe to evaluate medical education there. He delivered that report in 1912, concluding that no true medical school existed in England because no institution provided a complete medical education, combining the academic with the clinical.¹³ Oxford and Cambridge taught only the domain knowledge that American medical schools call basic science. Students graduated with a bachelor’s degree in medicine and then got clinical experience through what amounted to an apprenticeship in a hospital unaffiliated with a university. As apprenticeships, these positions were quite good. But they were only apprenticeships; their learning was by osmosis rather than the result of teaching.

In France, Flexner found that all the medical schools were in universities and had dedicated wards in charity hospitals, but “the French medical school is nowhere conceived as an organic whole.”¹⁴ The academic faculty on university campuses and the clinical faculty in the distant charity wards ignored each other and did nothing to coordinate their curricula and teaching. Flexner was impressed with the clinical teaching, but he felt that the French

hospital teaching methods relied too much on having students observe and imitate what their teachers did rather than giving them responsibility and critiquing what *they* did.

Flexner found the German method of clinical instruction to be a demonstrative lecture in which the teacher described a medical problem and a correct way to solve it. Some of these lectures included exercises in which students performed tasks in the classroom rather than with the patients on the wards. The student was not learning “how to unravel the puzzle that the patient presents.”¹⁵ German clinical teaching had once been more individualized and closer to the Hopkins model but deteriorated in the late nineteenth century under the pressure of rapidly increasing enrollments.

In all three countries, Flexner saw little adherence to the pedagogical self-discipline necessary for the student to gain knowledge-in-action, expressed thus by C. M. Jackson in 1913: “Never tell a student anything he can observe for himself; never draw a conclusion or solve a problem which he can be led to reason for himself; and never do anything for him that he can do himself.”¹⁶

Through formal and informal colonization and example, European concepts of medicine and medical education spread throughout the world. A colonizing power would typically establish its own health care systems and require professionals to meet its licensing and educational requirements. In countries that hadn’t been colonized formally, missionaries might establish standards through example when they founded hospitals and schools. China, for instance, had twenty-six medical schools in 1916, and thirteen of them were run by missionaries.¹⁷

In American teaching hospitals, the learning environment has eroded over recent decades. The intimate teaching of Osler’s Hopkins is becoming more difficult to find. It has not disappeared, as similar teaching did in Germany toward the end of the nineteenth century. But the declines have been strikingly similar in the two countries and eras. In Germany it happened when enrollment exploded and outstripped faculty resources. In the United States, managed care and shrinking government spending have diverted clinical faculty members into generating revenue through faculty practice plans. Many of them now teach little or not at all.

ARCHITECTURE

Just as medicine is both a profession and a science, architecture is both a profession and a fine art. Both the profession and the art are learned in the design studio, where students plan buildings, are critiqued in their work, and learn how to think architecturally. An architecture school is organized around its design studio, and architectural education’s values and practices are studio values and practices. The history of architectural education is essentially the history of the French *atelier* and its evolution into the design studio.

A studio teacher assigns a problem by specifying a site and the type of building the student must design for it. The student sits at a design table and thinks by drawing. Lawyers think in words, engineers think in numbers, and architects think in pictures. In the design studio, the student might work for long periods in silence. The teacher might occasionally watch for a while and then move on to watch other students, conversing little. Or the teacher might ask the student a few questions or make some brief comments. Or the teacher might

comment visually by drawing something related to the student's design while the student watches. The two will have communicated with each other much more than the few words might suggest.

The design studio resembles an art class in which many students are drawing the same model. In fact the design studio and the art class have a common ancestor. In 1816 the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris was created from the merger of the Académie d'Architecture, founded in 1671, and the Académie de Peinture et de Sculpture, founded in 1648.

Henceforward painting, sculpture, and architecture were "taught as one discipline,"¹⁸ and architectural education began to take its modern form. In regard to architecture, learning in the Ecole was learning in an *atelier*, where students shared space with a *patron*, a master architect approved by the Ecole. There students critiqued each others' work, and the master might deliver judgments, either helpful or destructive.

Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, a few American architects who had studied in France began teaching in their own *ateliers* in the United States. By the turn of the twentieth century, formal education in a degree-granting architecture school was the common credential of a young American architect. When American universities opened architecture schools, they hired *atelier*-trained faculty, who renamed the *atelier* the design studio, adapted its practices to a university setting, and created side courses to supplement the studio and prepare students for it.

In England, architectural education followed a different path. Sir Christopher Wren, the architect of St. Paul's Cathedral, was appointed surveyor-general of the Royal Works in 1669, and he treated the Works "not just as an organisation for erecting and maintaining buildings but also as a school of architecture and of building in its broader sense, wherein all manner of skills and aptitudes might be nurtured and developed." One carpenter gradually took on greater responsibility and, after showing some promise, learned architecture by assisting and eventually became an architect himself. A joiner did the same thing. So did an apprentice plasterer.

Outside the Works, an aspirant could enter into apprenticeship or pupilage with an architect. An apprentice paid for instruction with labor, and a pupil paid with money. By 1819 two-thirds of the architects in England had learned in pupilage. Other routes existed as well. Uneducated but talented people might enter through crafts, as builders might start to design the structures they built. At the opposite extreme, educated and creative members of the upper classes might practice architecture based on "the Renaissance belief that the arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture were simply three branches of the same art of design (*desegno*) and that transfer across them was therefore easy."¹⁹

Atelier learning did not enter this characteristically English chaos the same way it entered American architecture, which energetically emulated French methods. But the concept of architecture as art had been well established in England, and it is difficult to learn any art without a studio. Eventually licensure required formal training in architecture schools, which educated not only in classrooms but also in studios.

Architectural education's history is less complex than that of other professions because the core issues were more quickly resolved. Schools did not need to defeat apprenticeships. They absorbed them, as with the Ecole and the *atelier*. And it was not difficult to determine the allocation of resources between the teaching of knowledge and the teaching of knowledge-in-action. In the arts a person who knows an art but cannot do it is a spectator.

TEACHING

In the United States, the history of education for the profession of teaching is a progression from normal schools to teachers colleges to university postgraduate education departments. Normal schools were the earliest American institutions preparing enrollees for careers as teachers in primary and secondary education. Massachusetts founded the first normal school in 1839; later in the century normal schools were established throughout the United States. They filled a pressing need as local governments created and expanded public school systems. A normal school might have a one-, two-, or three-year curriculum, in some places longer, and “students dropped in and out . . . as the institutions served their needs and interests” in a profession where hiring was often at the whim of local officials who understood little about education. A normal school preparation was not generally a requirement for career employment, and it was never true that most teachers had attended a normal school.²⁰

In the first half of the twentieth century, normal schools evolved into teachers colleges granting four-year bachelor’s degrees, typically under state sponsorship. Some teachers colleges grew into universities. For example, a normal school founded in Tempe, Arizona, in 1885 became Tempe State Teachers College in 1925, Arizona State College in 1945, and Arizona State University in 1958. It now has over eighty thousand students on four campuses, its own medical and law schools, as well as a graduate school of education.

While normal schools were becoming colleges, a bachelor’s degree was becoming a prerequisite to employment as a primary or secondary school teacher. A bachelor’s program would cover the subject—math or history, for example—that the student would teach after graduation. In a postgraduate education department, a teacher would earn a master’s degree in the *skill* of teaching. Typically a school district would hire a person with a bachelor’s degree to teach in a primary or secondary school, and that person would subsequently earn a master’s degree. By 1986 this had passed the threshold to becoming normative: more than half the primary and secondary school teachers in the United States had master’s degrees.

Since at least the 1980s, American schools of education—which include colleges and departments of education in universities—have been vehemently criticized and demeaned, an easy target blamed for supposedly poor teacher preparation and low student achievement. David Labaree argues that this critique has impacted the caliber of students and faculty attracted to the schools, the way the public has responded to the schools’ research and teaching, and the schools’ influence on K–12 education. Moreover schools of education have faced a daunting challenge in preparing teachers, since teaching is a complex process requiring its practitioners to motivate “cognitive, moral, and behavioral change in a group of involuntary and frequently resistant clients.” In their efforts to find legitimacy and status, schools of education found common ground with other nonelite professional schools like those of nursing and social work.²¹

This scapegoating of American education schools emerged as part of a nationwide angst about schooling that had been growing during the 1960s and 1970s. In 1983 the federal government issued *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform*, a scathing report declaring, among other things, that teacher preparation programs needed substantial improvement. Some reforms were tried. One approach was to push for alternatives to university-based teacher preparation programs, as for example, placing scientists and

mathematicians directly in schools without training in pedagogy. Another approach was to develop professional development schools, strong partnerships between universities and schools, to strengthen the preparation of teachers. Modeled after medical schools' teaching hospitals, this concept, proposed by prominent associations like the Holmes Group (composed of deans of education) and the Carnegie Task Force on Teaching, focused on both content and pedagogy and included recommendations to raise teacher standards, develop career ladders, and establish accountability measures. Consistent among the reform efforts was the idea that the status of teaching should be raised to the level of law and medicine.²²

In other countries, twentieth-century educational reform efforts similarly affected teacher preparation institutions. In England in the 1980s and 1990s, the push was to improve the quality of teaching through contradictory means, by both centralizing and decentralizing control of schools. Control was centralized with a national curriculum and national assessment on student achievement at the same time that control was decentralized with efforts to empower schools in decision-making. The result was incoherent and poorly conceived reform efforts in teacher preparation. Control was similarly at issue in Japan, where teacher education reform efforts from the 1950s through the 1980s pitted the Ministry of Education against the powerful Japan Teachers Union. After a protracted struggle, the government in the late 1980s succeeded in gaining greater authority in the certification of teachers and other matters concerning teaching and teacher education. Reforms in teacher education were not at the forefront in younger countries that achieved independence as late as the mid-twentieth century. In Indonesia, for example, which became fully independent in 1949, the national focus was on expanding access to elementary schools, and this effort only began in the late 1960s. By the 1980s and 1990s, the effort to increase educational access moved to secondary and higher education institutions. In this context, the issue of improving teacher preparation programs did not receive close scrutiny until the 1990s. Since then, issues of teacher quality, low pay, and the reduction of teaching appointments due to budget cuts have negatively impacted teacher preparation programs.²³

NOTES

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3. Thorstein Veblen, *The Higher Learning in America* (1918; repr. Stanford, CA: Academic Reprints, 1954), 211.
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5. *Ibid.*, 12.
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13. Abraham Flexner, *Medical Education in Europe*, Bulletin No. 6 (New York: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1912), 192.
14. *Ibid.*, 231.
15. *Ibid.*, 179, 167.
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PART V

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INEQUALITY AND
DISCRIMINATION
.....

CHAPTER 21

INEQUALITY IN EDUCATION

JUDITH KAFKA

THE historical record on inequality in education is in many ways clear. Across the globe and since the advent of formal schooling, children from wealthier families have had access to more education, and more costly education, than their less affluent peers. Children from wealthier and higher-status families have also had superior educational outcomes than their less fortunate peers, whether measured in years completed, degree attainment, achievement test scores, or posteducational careers and income. Yet within this general historic truth lies considerable variation in terms of how, to what extent, and by what political justification these inequalities have existed and persisted. Historians of education have sought to explain variations in inequality across time and place and to situate those inequalities within a larger sociohistoric context—often with the hope that illuminating the past will help to make sense of, and perhaps inform, the present. One overarching finding from this large and varied body of research is that reform of school systems' organization and practices is frequently a necessary but insufficient strategy in reducing inequalities in education.

THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN EXPANDING EQUAL ACCESS

At the most basic level, inequality in education can be defined by unequal access. In societies without any public provision of schooling, educational inequality is often quite severe: those with the means may purchase an education; everyone else is reliant on their families and/or charitable schooling provided by local civic or religious organizations. Historians agree that in general access to education has increased across most of the world over the past two centuries. While recent reports suggest that in some nations access to higher education may today be on the decline, this is a relatively new development within a larger

history of educational expansion; globally, increasingly more youth have attended school for increasingly more years with every passing decade. Historians have also been in relative agreement about which countries and regions provided mass access to education and when, with portions of the United States and Prussia leading the way in the nineteenth century, much of Europe and North America catching up and in some cases surpassing the early leaders, developing nations of Asia and elsewhere following suit, and widespread access to formal education generally occurring later in much of Latin America and Africa.¹

Historians are in far less agreement, however, about which cultural, political, and economic conditions help explain regional and national variation in access to education. At the center of the debate is a question about the role of the state in promoting equal access to education and the relationship between democratic governance and school enrollment rates. For much of the twentieth century historians tended to assume that centralized control over schooling led to increased access, as top-down rule-making, especially when accompanied by funding, could override local resistance and discriminatory practices. Yet in recent years many scholars have challenged the notion that centralization of authority over schooling has historically increased access. Drawing on large-scale, longitudinal data sets to make regional, national, and in some cases local comparisons, these scholars conclude instead that the *type* of governing authority and the degree to which it represented the general population may have mattered more in terms of broad access to education than whether this authority was part of a centralized or localized system.

Some historians have argued that local control actually produced greater access to schooling in many communities—especially in nations with strong civic organizations and/or a powerful ruling class uninterested in expanding educational opportunity. These scholars note, for example, that it was local control of education in the United States and Prussia that allowed those states to become leaders in the provision of mass education in the nineteenth century, while the centralized systems of France and England served as obstacles to educational equality, largely because their ruling elites were opposed to increasing access to the masses.²

On the other hand, some scholars maintain that historically centralization of educational authority has been crucial to expanding opportunities—in part because strong centralized governments had both the political and the economic means to implement universal schooling. Small, in-depth studies of nineteenth-century Switzerland and Sweden, for example, found that state intervention in education, and in particular the infusion of government funds, led to greater equity in both access and resources. Others have argued that the establishment of a centralized education system, with expanded access to schooling, has often been part of the process of state formation itself, pointing to examples as diverse as nineteenth-century France, Prussia, and the northern United States, as well as the Scandinavian states of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and the East Asian states of Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Taiwan.

Still other comparative historians have argued that the *type* of state mattered in the expansion of educational opportunities even more than the intensity of its formation, and most specifically, that democratic governance was more strongly associated with educational access than the strength of the state itself. Researchers interested in the relationship between political and economic inequality and educational opportunity in Latin America, for example, have found that political and economic elites had little incentive to provide public education to the masses in grossly unequal societies and that increased public

spending on schooling was often related to increased democracy, while the concentration of wealth—and specifically of land—was related to minimal educational access.

As a group, these scholars' general argument is that plantation-style landholders saw no need for an educated workforce in the way that industrial capitalists may have, and that the landed elite were therefore unlikely to invest public dollars in schooling for the poor. As Peter Lindert explains, where "political voice was restricted to those holding substantial property, poor children got little help from the taxpayers." Other scholars have made a similar argument relating landholding practices to schooling, noting that land reform or wider land distribution was associated with expanded access to education in a variety of contexts, ranging from district variations in India, to state comparisons in the United States and histories of land reform in Japan, Korea, Russia, and Taiwan.³

In summary, research on the history of basic access to schooling across much of the developed and developing world points to a complex set of interrelated factors to explain why some regions and nations provided education to the masses when others did not. To the extent that there is one common thread running through all of these studies it is that nations and regions offered and expanded public education when those in power perceived that doing so would produce benefits beyond the gains accrued by individual students and families—whether those benefits were understood to be political, social, or economic.

Much of the research reviewed above uses large-scale data sets to track public investment in education through time and across nations and regions and assumes a relationship between schooling and economic productivity—often characterizing all schooling, once accessed, as equal. Yet the relationship between equality in access to schooling and a nation's economy is not clear-cut, in part because school attendance does not guarantee the attainment of specific skills demanded in a labor market. Moreover, not all schooling, once accessed, is equal. Thus many historians have looked beyond access to schooling as an indicator of educational equality and instead have examined differences in students' experiences and outcomes across populations.⁴

THE ROLE OF THE INSTITUTION IN STRUCTURING INEQUALITY

In many nations and regions, expansion of educational access went hand-in-hand with increased differentiation of educational institutions, thereby increasing inequality within education even as inequalities in access were reduced. In some cases formal differentiation entailed distinguishing between private and public sectors; in others the most meaningful distinction was between rural and urban schools, or among schools designated by student race, ethnicity, gender, or religious beliefs, or among schools assigned different educational purposes. The historiography of differentiation in education is similarly varied, and also highly contested—for two main reasons. First, since at least the middle of the twentieth century, scholarship exploring the historical origins and effects of structural differentiation in schooling has occurred against a backdrop of efforts to reduce inequality in what has often been labeled "educational opportunity"—a term that can refer to differences in educational outcomes, educational inputs, exposure to educational content, or access to the highest

level or highest status educational institutions. Thus the history of structural differentiation in schooling has been interpreted in particular policy and legal contexts, and battles over those interpretations have had clear implications for the present.

The second reason the historiography of structural differentiation in education is so contested is that the field is still largely responding to the historical “revisionists” of the 1960s, 1970s, and in some parts of the world, 1980s, who challenged the traditional narrative of institutional expansion of education as a social good. This perspective has been expanded, modified, and contested through the years, as scholars have considered its implications in the context of colonialism, racial and ethnic oppression, and gender-based differentiation. Some scholars have rejected the revisionist narrative outright, viewing public education as an imperfect, but not completely failed, effort to equalize opportunity through democratic means. Others have been more sympathetic to the revisionist argument in general but reject the notion that differentiated educational systems were created solely by the elite and imposed unimpeded upon the masses. These historians have pointed to ways that teachers, students, families, and general citizens rejected or adapted educational structures to meet their needs, subsequently helping to shape the broader institution of schooling.⁵

Regardless of these debates, it is clear that while each nation’s history of educational differentiation is distinct in important ways, there are many similarities across much of the globe. In most of Europe, formal differentiation in schooling entailed parallel “streams” established in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with classical, college-preparatory institutions like the Prussian *Gymnasium* and the English grammar school primarily educating children of the upper classes, while their more “modern,” technical, and less prestigious counterparts were open to a wider population.

Scholars have debated the origins of these differentiated systems, as well as the principles that guided them. Some have taken a functionalist perspective, maintaining that differentiated curricula corresponded to differentiated occupational requirements, as changing industry and technologies required the acquisition of new scientific and applied knowledge best obtained from a technical, even vocational, education. Others have taken a traditionally revisionist stance and argued that the development of parallel tracks or streams, whether in distinct schools, as in most of Europe, or within a single school, as in the case of the comprehensive high school in the United States, was an intentional and largely successful effort to maintain class privilege under the guise of democratization. Still others have argued that the formal curriculum was largely beside the point in the systemic differentiation of schooling; differentiation served to signal status attainment for those who accessed the highest realms of the education system rather than to facilitate the learning of any specific skills or capabilities.⁶

Whatever its origins, there is no question that institutional differentiation both reflected students’ status and was meant to shape their prospects for the future. In England, for example, a largely localized system of quasi-public and private schooling that developed in the late nineteenth century was brought under state control with the 1902 Education Act, which established a parallel system in which students’ academic and occupational futures were designated at an early age—almost always in relation to their parents’ class status and ability to pay school fees. The Consultative Committee to the Board of Education explained in 1906 that schools prepared students for “different walks of life.” While “higher elementary schools” ended at age fourteen and were intended for those entering “the lower ranks of

industry and commerce,” secondary schools might prepare youth for higher education and were meant “for the higher ranks and for the liberal professions.”⁷

In Australia, “corporate” secondary schools established in the nineteenth century were intentionally modeled after the English boys’ and girls’ grammar schools. Some Australian states later developed public, single-sex secondary schools, which used competitive exams for admission and charged fees, opening up new educational opportunities to a developing middle class. Yet, as in England, the expectation remained that most youth would complete their education at the primary level while their more affluent peers would attend private or church-based high schools intended to prepare them for postsecondary schooling. In much of northern Europe “modern” or “applied” secondary schools established in the late nineteenth century were intended to prepare youth for work in the expanding middle-class fields of commerce and industry while continuing to limit access to the elite, “traditional” institutions that prepared students for university and participation in the learned professions.

In addition to class-based differentiation, many early school systems differentiated students by gender, often allowing only boys to enroll in top-tier institutions and barring girls’ access to the equivalent coursework. Gender distinctions were justified on moral and practical grounds: women were understood to be of different temperament and serve a different social purpose than men, and many leaders believed that education should reflect those differences. Catholicism in particular often played a conservative role in seeking to maintain such gender differences. As a Belgian Catholic leader remarked in 1903 in response to interest in the American model of coeducation, “In Europe . . . we will never raise our seminarians, our future soldiers and sailors, like girls, nor our girls like them.” Yet recent scholarship has also pointed to instances in which Catholic leadership played a role in broadening girls’ access to secondary and postsecondary schooling—particularly in instances in which Catholic schools were competing with Protestant institutions for students, as in Ireland. In some colonial settings, most notably the Middle East, nuns and missionaries from a variety of denominations developed vocationally oriented schools for working-class girls, but also some university-preparatory institutions for the elite. Even when elite girls had access to the same curriculum as boys, however, in much of the world girls tended to be educated separately, at least at the secondary level, well into the twentieth century.⁸

The history of educational differentiation in the United States diverges from the European model in two ways. First, across much of the Midwest and North, public education began early in the nineteenth century with “common” primary schools open to all white youth, regardless of family background or gender. Although by the early twentieth century school leaders in many American cities had changed tactics and began separating or “tracking” students by perceived ability and/or likely occupational futures—distinctions that overwhelmingly correlated with students’ family background—this form of differentiation was never as rigid as most European and European-style streams. American tracks tended to coexist within the same school (and sometimes even within the same classroom), usually enrolled boys and girls together, theoretically allowed students to move in and out or take courses across tracks, and, if taken to completion, terminated with the same degree (a high school diploma). This is not to minimize the class and gender sorting that did occur in U.S. schools. Tracking functioned to designate students by their perceived role in society and was intended to limit educational and career opportunities for those assigned to the

lower tracks, whether by exposing them to different curricula or merely by signaling where they belonged. Yet compared to other forms of differentiation, tracking in the United States was neither as apparent nor as fixed as other institutional models.⁹

The second way that educational differentiation in the United States was somewhat unique compared to other nations was that most U.S. systems differentiated schools and students by race (and at times ethnicity). This happened by law, as in the South prior to 1954, or by practice, as in much of the rest of the nation. Unlike tracking, racial and ethnic segregation tended to be decidedly inflexible in the United States. Throughout the country, African American, Mexican American, Asian American, and Native American children were often educated separately from their white peers and frequently funneled into programs and classes intended to prepare them for work in agriculture or domestic and unskilled labor.

Sometimes this segregation was framed as pedagogically based and in students' best interest. For example, some educators maintained that Mexican American children should be taught in classrooms with other Mexican Americans for language reasons, even if they were instructed exclusively in English, and in some cases even if the students in question were fluent English speakers. At other times educators and school leaders made clear that differentiation by race or ethnicity was based on prejudice alone. In Buffalo, New York, for example, a principal explained, "Other children should not be mixed-up with the colored as their standards of morals is so much lower"; teachers in Gary, Indiana, argued in 1918 that the "promiscuous association" between black and white children should not be allowed, "particularly in a school with a large number of foreign pupils. They will soon lose sight of the color line."¹⁰

In recent decades historians have shown that even if racial segregation in American schooling was intended to maintain racial oppression, what the historian James Anderson refers to as "the basic tradition" of "schooling for second-class citizenship," families, students, and teachers in those communities often did not accept that premise. Instead they viewed education as a means of liberation and a tool for improving the social and material conditions of the individual and the community. Scholarship on the history of African American schooling has been particularly robust in this regard; historians have examined the ways segregated black schools, black high schools in particular, served their students in terms of curricular offerings, quality of instruction, promotion of community values, and the importance of "racial uplift." Other scholars have focused on the ways that families from racially and ethnically marginalized and oppressed communities fought to eliminate structural inequalities in American education. Families and community leaders struggled against segregation and opposed unequal resource allocation, curricular differentiation, and forms of school organization and governance that excluded their participation.¹¹

The United States was not the only nation to segregate its students based on racial or ethnic classifications. Colonialism and imperialism brought European notions of race and racial difference to regions across the globe, and scholars have both documented and interrogated the ways that colonial and postcolonial powers developed school systems that differentiated by both race and class. In Fiji, for example, the British colonial government established elite boarding schools for the children of Fijian nobility in order to prepare them for their future roles as civil servants and local leaders, while schools intended for the Fijian masses and the children of Indian immigrants were expected to focus on agricultural,

vocational, and homemaking skills; European children meanwhile attended completely separate schools. In apartheid South Africa, the Bantu Education Act of 1953 ensured that government schools were racially segregated, and their purposes were explicitly distinguished by race. Not only were schools for the Bantu (African) intended to prepare poor black youth for distinctly subservient roles in South African society, but white Afrikaners often viewed education as an overt tool in a larger battle of sociopolitical and economic domination. As the education administrator of one province stated in 1961, "We must strive to win the fight against the non-whites in the classroom instead of losing it on the field."¹²

Yet here, too, historians in recent decades have problematized the top-down or traditional "center to periphery" narrative of colonial and postcolonial educational history, in which institutional structures or student classifications were transported from Europe and the United States and imposed upon colonial subjects. Scholars argue instead for a hybrid or "transnational" understanding of the development of structured differentiation in schooling, noting that not only were educational institutions often adapted for various contexts, but that the flow of ideas ran in more than one direction. In particular, some historians maintain that people under colonial rule did not always accept second-tier, vocationally oriented schools as legitimate, even when such institutions were the only options offered. For example, in the 1920s many Haitian people "vote[d] with their feet" by refusing to enroll their children in the vocational and agricultural schools the occupying U.S. government attempted to establish. These Haitian families instead demanded a French-style, classical, academic curriculum to which only the elite had access.

Clive Whitehead makes a similar observation about indigenous families across much of India and Africa under British rule in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; they recognized, he argues, that only "an English academic type of education" would lead "to social and economic advancement and rejected anything less as second best." Whitehead's larger argument is that the British eventually learned that "the fate of education policy, especially in a hybrid setting, was frequently determined less by the government than by the attitude of the governed."¹³ This is not to suggest that indigenous peoples in Southeast Asia or Africa (or elsewhere) created their own educational institutions independently of colonial rule, but they played a role in what did (or at times did not) develop.

MAINTAINING DIFFERENTIATION AND THE ROLE OF TESTING

Whether differentiated school systems were imposed or co-constructed, and whether they were driven by demand or government action, the rigidity with which class and social distinctions determined a student's track or institutional placement could vary considerably. Class-based differentiation in particular was never absolute in most countries. Many school systems provided some kind of limited pathway for a small number of exceptionally talented lower-class or lower-status youth to advance educationally. The proper identification of these geniuses to be "raked from the rubbish," to use Thomas Jefferson's phrase, or granted "sponsored social mobility" in British terminology, has been at the heart of many

efforts to reduce inequality in education across the globe—or at least to expand educational opportunity for the meritorious poor—and historians have devoted considerable scholarship to examining these strategies and their results.

Scholars have been particularly interested in the relationship between efforts to identify “merit” or “ability” in schoolchildren in the early twentieth century and newly developed standardized tests that framed intelligence as innate and measurable, and thus identifiable in the lower classes. Initially developed in France as a means of distinguishing the mentally deficient from those of normal intellect, variations of so-called mental, intelligence, or IQ tests were utilized in many school systems as a means of classifying youth and the kind of education they should receive. Historians have examined justifications for the use of standardized tests as a means of sorting students and have sought to place these justifications in historic context by locating the rise of intelligence testing within the growing fields of eugenics, psychology, and psychometrics. Historians have also pointed out the inherent fallacies in the notion that standardized testing was an efficient method of establishing meritocracies. Specifically, scholars have demonstrated that intelligence tests did not measure what they claimed; instead the tests reinforced social inequalities, reified economic stratification, and justified racial and ethnic oppression. However, intelligence tests did not, as it turned out, affirm gender distinctions.

A desire to frame intelligence as biologically determined may have made the United States particularly open to a seemingly objective means of classifying educational potential—especially when the results confirmed racial and ethnic inequalities. Recent historical work demonstrates how the American use of intelligence tests to sort groups as well as individuals influenced testing regimes in other countries similarly seeking to balance notions of democracy with the maintenance of racial or ethnic categories.

In early twentieth-century Brazil, for example, intelligence testing at times served as a linchpin for evolving beliefs about race as biologically determined but open to modification through appropriate social policy. Thus at the same time that various Brazilian governments pursued “whitening” efforts aimed at indigenous and Afro-Brazilians, some school systems administered intelligence tests that reified racial categories in meritocratic terms. As Isaias Alves, the U.S.-trained head of the Tests and Measures Service in Rio de Janeiro, explained in 1932, “If democracy should be the form of government for the society...it must be based on a new educational order that gives the more capable the opportunity to rise to positions of leadership.” In his view, intelligence tests could be used to harness the democratic potential of state-supported education while simultaneously rejecting the illusion of egalitarianism: opportunity would be differentiated, but based on intelligence rather than a societal designation. The subsequent test results affirmed for Alves and other Brazilian educational leaders that schools should differentiate between the more and less capable and that those labels neatly overlapped with existing racial and economic categories.¹⁴

Yet historians also note that democratic notions of meritocracy were not a necessary condition for the use of mental testing as a means of differentiating students. Indeed testing regimes were adopted in many nondemocratic settings. In Southeast Asia, for example, intelligence tests developed by C. Henry Rice, a psychometrician who trained at Princeton University, were first used to both document mental differences between castes and to establish greater efficiency in missionary schooling. Even within the confines of colonialism, Rice believed that intelligence tests would help to “find the most capable, and to educate

them for the leadership of their own people.” Later versions of Rice’s test and an alternative developed by Scottish-trained Venkatrao Vithal Kamat were used by local Indian governments, and eventually the Indian centralized state, to organize their school systems by differentiating students based on measured intelligence.

Mental tests were also widely used in Soviet education in the 1920s for the purpose of distinguishing ability and selecting students for specialized schools. The tests grew increasingly controversial, however, as their results continued to correlate with class and ethnic distinctions, even though Soviet social policy was supposed to have eliminated, or at least reduced, these kinds of social differences; in 1936 psychological and intelligence testing was banned in schools in the Soviet Union, and educators returned to their “prerevolutionary traditional methods” of selection, including using “school marks and teachers’ impressions about behavior” to sort students.¹⁵

As the case of Soviet Russia makes clear, while in some arenas intelligence tests perhaps provided a sheen of scientific objectivity to a contentious process, they were certainly not required for student sorting. Educational differentiation preceded the rise of intelligence testing, and many countries and regions continued to rely on other methods to sort students even as the tests grew in popularity elsewhere. In the Netherlands, for example, a silent reading test believed to be more predictive of student success than intelligence tests was widely used for admittance into the upper branches of secondary schools in the 1930s. In Scotland, “qualifying” exams intended to measure knowledge rather than ability were used for selection before the rise of intelligence testing and remained the primary tool through the end of the Second World War; the French system used a similar set of tests intended to demonstrate educational achievement rather than intelligence. Indeed the use of mental testing in the United States may have been more “anomalous” than normative, and even there many school districts continued to sort students into tracks without the use of testing of any kind, while other districts overruled test results when they conflicted with teachers’ judgments. This was particularly true in regions outside the formally segregated South, where black and Mexican American youth were often placed in lower-level or vocational tracks regardless of test scores.¹⁶

Thus, while eugenics has been widely discredited and most scholars today reject the notion of using mental testing to identify racial or ethnic differences in intelligence, some historians argue that, understood in context, the use of such tests to identify *individual* ability may have been better than other forms of selection in use at the time. Historically, many proponents of intelligence tests viewed their use as far more egalitarian than existing forms of educational selection, which critics argued were overly influenced by social and class factors (including, in many nations, parents’ ability to pay) and nonpredictive of student achievement. As California school administrator Virgil Dickson claimed in 1923, testing was “more democratic than former systems because it offers to every child a freer opportunity to use his full capacity.”¹⁷

Testing regimes remain in place today in many countries and cities, justified as the best, most fair, and most accurate means of allocating access to top-tier educational levels, schools, or specialized programs. They are often framed as measurements of knowledge and/or achievement rather than assessments of intellectual ability. Because test results continue to strongly correlate with class and racial differences, however, since at least the 1980s many nations have sought to reduce unequal educational outcomes through reforms aimed at the institution of schooling itself rather than schools’ method of selection.

SCHOOL REFORM IN THE POSTWAR ERA

The mid-twentieth century saw a flurry of studies in Europe, the United States, and elsewhere highlighting social inequalities in relation to schooling; it was evident that class rather than ability produced much educational opportunity. Historians have pointed to several factors to explain the increased concern about institutional differentiation in the years since World War II. They include a renewed interest in social justice, particularly in the context of a war that was won (at least in the West) in the name of democracy, the growth of socialism in the aftermath of a global depression, enrollment pressures stemming from a population boom and increased demand for access to secondary schooling, and new questions about the notion of intelligence as an innate and measurable construct.

In much of Europe and elsewhere, the primary means of seeking to increase equality of educational opportunity in the postwar era was to change how or when students were sorted or selected for the upper echelons of schooling. Specifically, many observers and educators asserted that because of existing class biases, some very capable boys (and possibly girls) were never given the opportunity to rise to the level of their potential. For many national leaders, the concern was less about providing opportunity for individual social mobility and more about promoting economic efficiency. These leaders sought to identify and cultivate untapped potential in the masses, often referred to as a “reserve of talent,” rather than allow this reserve to be “wasted” as an unused resource. In the foreword to a 1959 book entitled *Educational Guidance and the Pool of Ability*, Scottish educator William MacClelland articulated this view quite clearly: “Nations who wish to retain their places in the present ruthless world, competition in scientific and other fields must make full use of the resources of talent of their citizens; and for this purpose they will have to take steps to ensure that those who have the ability to come into the pool take advantage of the appropriate educational facilities.”¹⁸

In some countries the response was to provide greater access to secondary schooling, often through the creation of new, publicly funded high schools. Expanded access to secondary schooling did not mean expanded access to top-tier, college-preparatory secondary schooling, however. In England, for example, even after the Education Act of 1944 made secondary school attendance compulsory and free, studies showed that the use of selective exams, coupled with the elimination of scholarship seats, meant that the proportion of working-class youth admitted to exclusive grammar schools actually *decreased*. In Australia few students who attended the free public high schools completed their programs, while those who enrolled in fee-charging schools had much higher rates of completion and university attendance. Educational “opportunity,” it seemed, was still greatly dictated by family background.

Another response to the problem of “educational wastage” was, in many countries, to delay or eliminate selection entirely, thus offering all youth the same education and decreasing the chances that untapped talent would be lost in the lower streams. Reformers reasoned that if more students were given the same, or “common,” schooling experience for more years, they would have a more equal chance of progressing to the next level of schooling, whether the next level was advanced secondary schools or, increasingly as enrollment in secondary institutions expanded throughout Europe, university. In Sweden, Norway, and

Denmark comprehensive schools that kept youth together until very late in their adolescence were the most extreme version of this new model, but nearly every Western European nation and many others eventually delayed separating students into different types of schooling. In many cases educational and political leaders looked to the U.S. comprehensive high school as a model, noting that even with tracking, a far greater percentage of U.S. youth, and lower-class youth in particular, completed the years of schooling needed for admittance to a university than did youth elsewhere. According to a 1967 study, for example, 63 percent of American youth from working-class backgrounds completed the “pre-university year” (last year of high school), compared to only 3 percent in England and 1 percent in West Germany.

Yet the results of delaying selection—“going comprehensive”—proved disappointing across much of Europe and elsewhere. Sociologists and economists have used a variety of methods for calculating “educational opportunity” in relation to class and social status, but generally conclude that for the most part expanded access to higher levels of education increased participation across populations but did not significantly alter inequalities between them. That is, more youth of all backgrounds attended secondary schools in the second half of the twentieth century, but the predictive value of relative privilege remained stable: children from higher-income and/or -status families remained more likely to enroll in upper-echelon educational institutions and more likely to complete their studies. This was true even in socialist countries that had explicit policies in place intended to reduce both social inequality more generally and inequality of educational opportunity specifically.¹⁹

In the United States, postwar school reform was not aimed at class-based educational sorting but at racial segregation. Reformers first banned state-mandated separation of students based on racial categorization, and then sought to undo racial segregation in areas where, while not required by law, the practice had been condoned or enabled by government action. Historians have debated the success of school desegregation in the United States, which lasted roughly two decades and took on many forms and permutations. When students from different backgrounds attended the same schools, many of the overt signs of structural differentiation dissipated, including unequal distribution of resources and access to curriculum. Yet new structures of differentiation were often implemented in their place. Large desegregated high schools, for example, often had remedial classes or lower-level “general” academic tracks that did not seek to prepare students for college or skilled jobs and in which African American and Latino students were overrepresented. The growth of special education designations, particularly around identified behavioral and emotional problems, was another form of structured differentiation and served to remove a disproportionate number of poor and African American and Latino youth from the regular classroom, as did exclusionary disciplinary policies that resulted in higher suspension and expulsion rates for African American boys in particular.

Moreover, while racialized inequities in student outcomes were at their lowest during the height of school desegregation in the United States, federal court decisions limiting the reach of desegregation orders to city borders for much of the country meant that residential segregation served to maintain racial differentiation in schooling in many communities. Thus later reform efforts focused less on reducing racial segregation in schooling and more on equalizing opportunities within differentiated settings through reallocation of resources or decentralized decision-making.²⁰

Racial and ethnic differentiation in schooling occurred in much of Europe in the late decades of the twentieth century as well, although in general this historic form of differentiation and its effects have not been well researched. Religious and ethnic discrimination existed in earlier eras in Europe. The history of the Roma, in particular, serves as an example of cross-national state-sponsored school segregation and/or exclusion prior to World War II. Yet most countries did not begin to address racial and ethnic diversity in their student populations until after the war, as changing labor markets and the end of colonialism brought increasing numbers of immigrants from Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean to Europe. The educational histories of these groups remain relatively understudied.

The most established national historiography in this regard is from England, with Chris Mullard's influential assertion in 1985 that British policy toward immigrant and nonwhite students went through three phases: assimilationist (from the postwar to 1965), integrationist (from 1965 through the early 1970s), and pluralistic (from 1970s through 1985). Other scholars have followed or responded to this construction, arguing that integrationist policies were really just another version of assimilationism, for example, or tracing the ways that formally integrationist policies were used to deny minority youth access to schooling.²¹

Some scholars have also pointed out that in many countries, children from lower-status families have historically been more likely than others to be labeled in need of special services, a designation that often separates youth from their peers, physically and/or categorically. Often termed "special education," this form of structured differentiation in schooling, which increased after World War II, is in need of more attention from historians of education. Nevertheless its relatively modest historiography makes clear that it has provided greater opportunities for some youth and limited options for others.

Segregating children with disabilities from the general population was common to varying degrees throughout the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries. Justifications for the practice shifted through time and place, as did the extent to which such children received any education at all. The earliest specialized schools were often for the deaf and blind, but institutions for youth termed "feeble-minded," "idiots," or "imbeciles" also existed in many countries and regions, as did schools for delinquents and children simply considered difficult to teach. Often specialized schooling was available only for those whose parents had the means to pay tuition (and sometimes boarding expenses); otherwise the education of those labeled disabled was taken up by charity organizations or simply not available. In those cases, children with special educational needs either remained at home with their parents or attended school with their peers—sometimes successfully but more typically with fairly negative results.

Where specialized educational settings *did* exist alongside regular schooling, they were often portrayed as a means of protecting society from possible contagion and/or the educational burden special-needs children were understood to impose. At the same time, however, segregated settings were also often thought to be in the best interest of the children they served, as such settings could be organized to provide a specialized education appropriate to particular kinds of students' needs and abilities. Special schools and classrooms would "save these children from themselves," in the words of Milwaukee's superintendent of schools in 1907, and also "save the state from the harm" these children could cause.²²

In the postwar decades, school systems across the globe broadened access to education for students with a variety of physical, cognitive, and mental disabilities, while simultaneously increasing the categories and designations of students in need of special services. Historians have pointed to multiple, complementary explanations for this vast bureaucratic

expansion in special education, noting that shifts in scientific understandings of intelligence and disability coincided with an increased focus on individual rights and a rejection of exclusionary eugenics, broadening access to schooling for the disabled. At the same time, the rise in special education designations in most countries occurred alongside a general postwar focus on increasing educational opportunity and extending the age of compulsory education. Many school systems experienced rising enrollment rates, especially among the poor and traditionally disenfranchised, and students from relatively impoverished backgrounds and/or members of racial and ethnic minority or immigrant groups were disproportionately represented in the new, special designations.

In the United Kingdom, for example, new regulations stemming from the 1944 Education Act created eleven specific special-needs categories for students, ranging from blind and partially sighted (now considered distinct populations) to the maladjusted and the “educationally sub-normal” (ESN). ESN was a particularly important new category, intended to be more technical than prior labels of “backward” or “mentally defective” and more inclusive of students who were considered “normal” based on IQ tests but demonstrated problems associated with either their learning or their behavior. In a few short decades, the percentage of students labeled ESN (later changed to ESN-M to indicate a moderate or mild “subnormality” as opposed to students labeled ESN-S with more severe diagnoses) more than doubled, and a disproportionate number were from immigrant homes. Similarly, in the Netherlands the government created a new type of special school in 1949 for youth with IQs in the normal range who were identified as having learning or behavioral problems. Working-class youth were disproportionately represented in this category, and their numbers grew exponentially in the decades that followed, even as the Dutch developed more and more categories of special schools, up to seventeen in 1967.

Some historians maintain that the expansion of special education designations and services in the second half of the twentieth century served to extend existing forms of educational differentiation, usually in the name of meeting students’ particular educational needs. In the United States, the postwar expansion of special education categories coincided with school desegregation efforts, often allowing schools and districts to forestall racial integration through the provision of “compensatory” services intended to address the social and psychological effects of poverty and racial oppression. In Boston, for example, school administrators and public officials in the 1960s intentionally defined “disadvantaged” as a disability partly to qualify for federal aid and partly out of a belief that students living in social and economic isolation, with unstable families and little connection to larger American society, really were “handicapped” and required specialized instruction.

In addition to viewing poverty and cultural differences as disabilities, U.S. schools and educators often misdiagnosed African Americans and English learners as suffering from learning disabilities; when diagnostic practices were challenged in court—and specifically the use of IQ tests to label and track students—some school systems began identifying poor and minority students as behaviorally or emotionally disabled instead. Many European nations utilized similar practices; even as they worked to reduce segregated settings by promoting greater “inclusion” of special-needs students within the general population, more and more students from ethnic and racial minority groups received labels of emotional or behavioral disorders and were removed from the regular classroom and/or precluded from advancing to higher levels of education. Scholars note that school “accountability” measures adopted in the late twentieth century appear to have exacerbated this trend, as schools assessed by student scores on standardized exams have a practical incentive to shift

low-achieving students to special settings or exclude them from school entirely. Thus while the expansion of specialized educational services in the postwar era brought much needed attention to the diverse instructional needs of a wide variety of children, this form of structural differentiation may have also exacerbated racial, ethnic, and class distinctions.²³

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

In recent decades, and partly in response to the perceived failures of earlier efforts, activists, philanthropists, and policymakers seeking to decrease inequalities in education through institutional reforms have shifted their focus away from reducing structural differentiation and toward what many broadly refer to as increasing “educational opportunity” regardless of institutional setting. Their strategies can essentially be divided into two categories: efforts to “level the playing field” through supplementary services like early childhood education and targeted compensatory programs that funnel additional resources to schools with high poverty rates, and neoliberal policies aimed at holding schools and educators accountable for student achievement through test-based interventions and the market mechanism of school choice. In addition, some advocates and researchers have begun to look more closely at what happens *in* the classroom to identify causes for the relatively low academic achievement of the disadvantaged and argue that improved access to academic content (sometimes termed “opportunity to learn”) and/or culturally appropriate pedagogy may serve to reduce inequalities in educational outcomes.

Full histories of these most recent reform efforts have yet to be written, but researchers engaged in both large-scale comparisons and local case studies of recent school reforms point to three central patterns upon which future historians will likely elaborate. First, several decades of evidence make clear that market-based choice programs exacerbate inequalities between schools rather than reduce them, unless the choice programs entail intentional, equity-aimed measures. Specifically, choice often leads to increased racial and class segregation, and choice models that allow schools to select students (through competitive admissions) promote additional academic inequalities in both access and outcomes. Second, state-provided or supplemented early childhood education programs seem to be a promising means of weakening the predictive power of family background on students’ educational outcomes, although the *type* and *quality* of program appear to matter considerably. Third, while the value of mandating a common curriculum for all students is still highly contested, evidence indicates that testing regimes alone are unlikely to create equal access to content and instruction and have been found to foster academic *inequalities* when matched with high-stakes “accountability” measures that penalize schools, teachers, and students for low scores.

This review of research on the history of inequality in education reveals both the potential and the limitations of institutional reforms aimed at decreasing educational inequalities. While state action can expand access for some and likely weaken the predictive power of a student’s racial, ethnic, and class background on his or her academic performance and advancement, history suggests that unless reforms address the broader social and economic inequalities within which schooling is located, the relatively advantaged will likely continue to find ways to protect their existing status within the realm of schooling.²⁴

NOTES

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CHAPTER 22

GENDERING THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION

LUCY E. BAILEY AND KAREN GRAVES

GENDERED analysis has enacted a radical intervention in the production of knowledge in educational history in recent decades through highlighting women's roles and experiences, exploring gendered educational forces, institutions, practices, and policies, and expanding the theories and methodologies through which the field produces meaning. Broadly conceived, the field encompasses women's, feminist, and gender history and diverse sites and periods of study that collectively thicken our gendered understanding of the landscape of educational history. Although distinct in their central concerns and emphases, these approaches within gender and history continue to overlap, intersect, or unfold concurrently in practice, creating productive tensions that shape the field. Scholars' focus on women and gender initially emerged from the desire to understand women's lives in history more fully. They critiqued the operations of gendered power in conventional history and historiography that claimed universality and objectivity even while excluding women and focusing on masculine social, institutional, and political realms. In the politics of knowledge production, it has traditionally been Woman, rather than Man, that signals gender's historical presence. That is, gender shapes the craft of history but is often unspoken. To paraphrase Mary Ann Dzuback's assessment of the history of higher education: gender is a central story of education.

The perspective of how the field as a whole is gendered depends in part on how the boundaries of the field are drawn. This is both a theoretical and a methodological matter and, for many gender scholars, also a political one. Reviews such as this one are profoundly political projects, as Patti Lather suggests, in inevitably constructing rather than simply reflecting the field they represent.¹

Taking stock of gendered patterns in educational history involves acknowledging that forms of knowledge in a given field have different statuses, which can shape visibility, networks of association, and the outlets in which information circulates. The reach and the production of gendered historiography is inevitably selective and uneven, shaped by disciplinary silos, the material conditions of embodied academic labor, and the uneven availability of resources to support historical research and teaching in different institutions and

contexts intra- and internationally. The boundaries are also fluid given the uneven traffic between and among gender studies, history of education, gendered history of education, and other fields of history.

The interdisciplinary theorizing that informs gendered educational history effects a dispersed and eclectic historiography produced in history of education journals as well as monographs and journals in gender and women's studies, history, and such fields as ethnic studies, curriculum studies, and social studies. While educational history journals reveal the most concentrated attention to gendered history in education, the broader scope of scholarship includes biographies, monographs, edited collections, and journals in other areas. In addition, historical content and "sensibilities" ground a range of contemporary educational foci, such as gendered analyses of teen pregnancy, cheerleading, and campus beauty pageants. Analyses of men, masculinity, and gender relations have increased in explicitly gendered scholarship even as their primary producers remain women.

The varied theoretical turns that have shaped the academy inform the current field of gendered educational history. It reflects diverse approaches to women's and gender studies that are practiced concurrently. Scholars engaged in gendered projects can have entirely different conceptions of what such a project entails—whether one, for instance, focuses research on an institution that served women historically or analyzes gendered relations and institutions through theoretical lenses. This diversity is an important component of understanding the field. These approaches reflect varying conceptions of gender, attention to diversity among women and men, degrees of theoretical engagement and transparency, and methodological expressions. Perhaps testament to the growth of gender and women's educational historiography is that it has developed sufficiently to invite scholars' revisiting and retheorizing of guiding conceptual frameworks and previous claims. The tools and potential sites of gender analysis are endlessly reinterpretable as new data and questions surface to inform new lines of research.

However, while gendered scholarship has grown in dimension and texture since the 1990s, its potential for the field is still unrealized. There remains uneven coverage of topics and periods, as well as significant gaps in the visibility of knowledge of entire regions of the world in key history of education outlets. A recurring question is this: Which women represent the field, and what are the implications of that conception of history? If the portrait of women's and gender history were centered on Asian or Latina women, for instance, how might knowledge claims and the view of growth in the field be profoundly different? Differences among women, as well as analytic intersections among gender, race, sexuality, class, and nation, are vital but still unfolding areas of study. Linda Eisenmann's 2001 assessment of women's historiography as increasingly sophisticated but "still relatively young" remains salient.² And the questions facing history of education as a whole—including the declining purchase of history courses in colleges of education—have implications for which aspects of gendered history are transmitted, in which spaces, and to whom. Do historians embrace these diverse elements, or do the approaches retain different statuses? Does educational history inform current schooling practices, or are historians speaking only to each other? Gender scholars have asked recurring questions about the degree to which overtly gendered histories have shaped the field.

THEORETICAL TURNS FRAMING WOMEN'S AND GENDER HISTORY

Theoretical shifts in the academy fueled by the linguistic turns in the 1970s and more recently in narrative, spatiality, and materiality have been central to animating gendered processes in history. Gender scholars engaging in these theoretical shifts have expanded historians' conceptions of the malleability of gender, its intersectional nature, the methods for investigating it, the historical sites where it might reside, and its connections to the politics of knowledge production and representation. Like conceptualizing the boundaries of a field, how we conceive of a gendered historical project is itself a theoretical endeavor. Certain sites of analysis signal "gender" to us, such as domesticity, teaching, elementary schools, while the gendered fibers of colonialism, organizations, or curricula might require greater teasing out.

The contemporary gender field reflects theoretical and methodological developments, including a range of approaches to analyzing historical events—from the tools of Walter Benjamin to social reproduction theory and black feminist thought—drawn from social science disciplines or philosophy. Feminists have long critiqued grand narratives and disembodied views from nowhere that shape the production of all scholarship, so some thus conceptualize the historian as an embodied, raced, gendered, historically situated being whose positioning inevitably shapes how he or she imagines and pursues knowledge. New conceptions of history have emerged to consider historical accounts as mediated, partial, and situated—and gendered—rather than *windows* or *mirrors* of the past, and prompted returns to the past to ask different questions from different vantage points, to wrest new insights from their fractures and fissures, and to consider other tales that might be told.³ While some might summarize these changes as revisionist, some gender scholars are wary of a qualifier that implies previous history was real or authentic. Such tensions within the field productively fuel gendered analytic questions in historical work.

A BRIEF SURVEY OF ORIGINS

The different emphases in women's, feminist, and gender educational history reflect these broader theoretical shifts and intellectual diversity that endure concurrently in practice. The approaches share some allegiances yet differ in terms of their overt embrace of theory and the gendered subject they imagine and seek in the historical record. While shifts from women's to feminist and then to gender history are sometimes described as sequential, this tidy narrative of origins obscures the ways approaches can overlap and meld, materialize unevenly in areas of study, and appear concurrently within the same genre. Biographical studies, for example, often exhibit these different kinds of approaches. Collectively the traditions share a corrective and visionary mission to transform educational historical

knowledge, whether by recovering and adding lost histories or disrupting masculinist epistemological commitments that limit the methods and topics deemed legitimate.⁴

Broadly conceived, women's history focuses on women's lives, perspectives, and activities; traces the development of policies, institutions, and curriculum that served women; charts educational patterns in diverse geographical and historical contexts; and/or broadens understanding of women's lived experiences as educated subjects. Thomas Woody's two-volume overview of the history of women's education in the United States was foundational in this regard, surveying topical areas in education based on substantial documentary sources. More than fifty years later analyses of women's access to higher education in the United States and work on secondary and higher education in Victorian England extended understanding by analyzing women's experiences in different periods and the social forces that shaped their development.⁵ Generally relying on the category of woman as the meaningful locus of analysis, approaches in women's history offer important correctives to historical gaps and extend knowledge of female schooling, school workers, and students. Recent scholarship still reflects this spirit.

Feminist history brought the theoretical and political commitments of 1960s and 1970s activism to bear on its practice, extending a key distinction between the biological designation of sex and the sociocultural category of gender. It examined the gendered ideologies, norms, and scripts shaping social roles, educational opportunities, and embodied experiences in a range of sites and periods. And it joined efforts to disrupt the homogeneity implied in the category "woman." Women's educational experiences and opportunities—and the production of historical knowledge—have been profoundly shaped by race, class, ethnicity, and nation, among other forces, and scholarship has too often reflected the implicit conception of woman as synonymous with "Anglo" or "European." Woody's classic work reflects this orientation to women that excludes race and ethnicity and offers limited attention to class. Feminists also developed new conceptions of historical subjects, conceiving of women as agents rather than passive victims, who actively negotiate the ideologies and material conditions of their lives within the constraints of a given historical context.

Joan Scott's seminal work detailing gender as a productive category of analysis expanded gendered theorizing of common historical approaches that relied on essentialized categories of man and woman that held limited promise, she believed, to trace or critique power relations in social and political history. The surface unity of the term "gender" belies its diverse meanings and theoretical allegiances. Nourished by social constructionist and poststructuralist thought, Scott suggested that gender is an open, contested, and variable (rather than static) essence that is a constitutive aspect of social relations that functions in discourse to signal sexual difference and power. This destabilizing of the historical subject of women marked a key shift in gendered historical analysis, reflected in, for example, Marjorie Theobald's *Knowing Women: Origins of Women's Education in 19th Century Australia* and Petra Munro's analyses of teacher's life history narratives, *Subject to Fiction*, among others.⁶

While "gender" at times denotes "woman," the elasticity of the concept as a site of analysis also includes the processes that produce it and the sites and objects in which it resides: architecture, organizations, spaces, processes, buildings, veils, buckets, washing boards, even slips of paper we call letters can become gendered objects. Gender's expression and salience, like other social locations and categories of analysis, fluctuate across time and context. The characteristics we often perceive as natural to males or females reflect cultural and social meanings at given historical moments. Central to this understanding is relationality, that

masculinities and femininities, for instance, are coproduced, shifting, and intersecting with other axes of social location that shape educational access and experiences. The decentering of the subject of woman has spurred intense conflict in the field with continuing import. For some, such lines of theoretical flight intrude on efforts to recover yet unclaimed and marginalized histories, while for others they signal a clear break with authentic historical traditions worth mourning.

A DEVELOPING HISTORIOGRAPHY

The gendered historiography has thickened and developed in key areas, reflecting the varied emphases in feminist and gender history. However, pressing gaps remain. But the story is as much about constellations as it is about gaps. Where has scholarship gelled and crystallized? As historians examine the field, where does gendered analysis seem to be a natural fit—a site of nourishment? Is it always on the bodies of women and their historical practices—and where do people believe it intrudes or is irrelevant? How is the subject of gender and education itself in flux, in the process of change, along with history of education overall? How much of it has been about conceptual reframings and unsettling dominant understandings? Who are the primary voices in the field, and how do they direct it? And who is listening? What about the voices on the edges, producing snapshots or dissertations or directing their political commitments elsewhere? These questions are part of the discourse of educational history that shapes what is considered inside and outside the field. They inform our consideration of how much gender has shaped the practice of educational history.

Several key pieces provide informative touchstones in this regard. A historical dictionary of women's education in the United States, a multivolume history of women in science, as well as select pieces published in *History of Education* and *History of Education Quarterly* highlight insights that are useful to draw together here: the enormity and (im)possibility of integrating a field that has undergone significant changes and continues to envision new interpretive frameworks to trouble the norms by which the craft of gendered history unfolds.⁷ This is a field that remains in motion.

In 2004 the president of the British History of Education Society Ruth Watts delivered an address titled "Gendering the Story: Change in the History of Education." At the time she cast a critical gaze back on changes in the field to consider the extent to which gendered analysis had shaped the terrain of educational history since 1976. Her analysis centered primarily on the journal *History of Education* as a grounding site and window onto broader processes. Noting the steady presence of women as knowledge producers, increases in journal articles, and varied forms of gendered history, she concluded that the field had blossomed in key ways. Watts offered a bibliography to accompany her lecture that included nearly one hundred articles in the period of review, emphasizing the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Our review of articles across dozens of journals in which history of education scholarship was published between 1993 and 2014 revealed approximately 350 articles that incorporated gender analysis. While counting is a limited conceptual tool to convey a sense of influence or representativeness, it does provide a sense of patterns. Similar to the 2004 survey, this study found articles on different periods, in different geographic areas, focused on different

levels of schooling. As might be expected, overlapping approaches to gender history included both explicit and subtle tackling of gender issues; nineteenth- and twentieth-century historiography was represented more extensively than other periods. Nearly half of the articles in the search of major outlets in the history of education address education in the twentieth century. Studies that bridge the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and those focusing specifically on the nineteenth century account for about a quarter of the articles. Scholars devoted only about 5 percent of the articles to the period prior to 1800, and the majority of those focused on the United Kingdom and Ireland as sites of information. Some topics were more heavily represented than others; higher education, for instance, was the focus of more than seventy pieces.

Methodological turns are evident if selective in research approaches; biographies and life histories continue to recover histories and add knowledge about educators, students, and activists in educational history in both hagiographic and deeply theoretical ways; revisiting and reframing gendered knowledge thickens and nuances the historiography; and scholarship on underresearched groups of women has expanded, though still with gaps. Scholarship stretching formulations of gendered analysis includes projects incorporating masculinity, intersectionality, science technology engineering mathematics (STEM), international and transnational, postcolonial issues, indigeneity, performativity, relationality, materiality, affect and space—among others that are produced today. What these diverse developments share is a portrait of productive tension and eclectic embracing of the reach of gendered analysis. How much these questions and contributions have transformed the field is another matter entirely.

A productive aspect of gender scholarship is its kindling of diverse nonpositivist, feminist, and poststructural methodologies. Methodological shifts have been productive for educational history as well, although selectively so, as some dismiss such work as presentist and antithetical to historical study. Yet some educational historians have embraced methodological moves to broaden the documentary sources considered legitimate, to expand the methods of inquiry, or to disrupt linear accounts that reflect enlightenment narratives of progress. The elusive and fluctuating availability of resources to track some women's lives prompted feminists to turn away from often revered documentary sources to others that could provide greater insight (letters, diaries, clothes, advice manuals, architecture); to methods such as life histories and biographies, sometimes with the researcher's own autobiographical touch; and recently to more ineffable tools and sites, such as space, memory, and affect. While some historians rely on classic historiographical approaches, others engage with various narrative, biographical, spatial, material, and transnational turns in current work.

Diverse narrative formats have also surfaced to disrupt normative prescriptions and expand methods for representing history. Such representations may work against linearity and progress narratives, insert the historian in the account, or address the reader directly. A 2011 sweeping reclamation of curriculum history, for example, narrates it as recursive rather than linear, and readers of a biography of the teacher and poet Anne Sexton are invited to read the chapters in any order they feel inclined.⁸ Surfacing in both journal articles and monographs over the past decade are narrative experiments in which scholars juxtapose autobiographical, biographical, and theoretical material, inviting new interpretations. Glimpses of the embodied historian appear in such accounts: a historically situated being who inevitably views the world through his or her subject position rather than as a transparent vehicle who translates a historical Real to the written page.

Once vulnerable to historical erasure, women now commonly appear as creators and agents of knowledge in gendered work. Biographical approaches continue to serve this mission. Although feminist recovery projects of “women worthies” at times reflect a hagiographic sheen, focusing on both notable and ordinary individual and group accounts has been a key facet of feminist work that extends knowledge of women as historical agents, situates them in their social and political contexts, and offer insights into “intersections between human agency and social structure” in educational history.⁹ In this sense, feminist biography is an utterly democratic endeavor.

Yet questions concerning what it means to seek agency and resistance in the historical record, which subject we are representing and for what purposes, and which projects are appropriate for educational history figure into our accounts. Reflecting gendered nuances in the field, the role and theorizing of gender, the conceptualizing of the historical subject, and the emphasis on educational context vary in biographical endeavors. Approaches include classic analyses of educational events, institutions, and people based on a humanist subject as well as lines of inquiry that trouble gender or displace the biographical subject to focus on discourses.

A few examples of this complexity are informative. The political context of early twentieth-century Chicago frames a portrait of the life of activist Margaret Haley, a leading advocate for public education and teachers. The text highlights the gendered ideologies Haley negotiated within complex local politics as she advocated for school reform and for a primarily female teachers union in a decidedly masculine culture of organized labor, school administration, and state politics. Haley emerges in the account as a fierce political figure wrestling with powerful forces on behalf of teacher autonomy and democratic schooling. While her efforts were successful only to a degree and her behavior riddled with contradictions, the chronological account of her career firmly grounded in context highlights her role as a strong historical actor. Other approaches to biography are more explicitly feminist in framing and analysis, seeking actively to disrupt dominant gendered understandings of history. In one example, an analysis of the lives of two female progressive educators visible in the male-dominated movement in the United States highlights gendered elements of progressivism in part by exploring the women’s interconnected lives as political actors and framing their romantic relationship as one pivotal site in their politics. Other types of biographical portraits—prosopography, collective biographies, life histories—offer insights into groups of women in varying cultural contexts. A 2004 collection, for instance, focuses on lesser-known British activists’ contributions to improving public life in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, details the gendered tensions educators negotiated in their public and private worlds, and weaves in the writers’ own auto/biographies and political commitments. An entirely different subject emerges in the aforementioned theoretically imbued and autobiographically grounded portrayal of Anne Sexton that further textures the body of feminist scholarship on teachers’ life histories and pedagogies by focusing on gendered discourses. This study, infused by poststructuralist displacements of the subject and psychoanalytic theory, presents a fabrication rather than a portrait of Sexton and uses her teaching life as a site for exploring stifling conventions about teaching, biography, and women in her post–World War II context. Like more traditional biographical work it offers implications for current practice, and, similar to feminist approaches to biography, the author folds her own experiences into the text. Together these accounts represent the multidimensional character of what might

be called the new historical recovery work that occupies the historical field but constructs the subject of women/gender quite differently.¹⁰

Some subjects remain difficult to recover. The politics of building historical knowledge from archival erasure is evident in Jackie Blount's search for evidence of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender school workers in educational history. Challenges facing all historians of sexuality have been magnified for education historians whose subjects include minors and teachers under strict public scrutiny. Education historians who write lesbian and gay history have grappled with quests for historical evidence in the wake of educators destroying evidence pertaining to their lives, archivists scrubbing references to sexuality from files, a lack of institutional resources to support the very existence of queer archives, and political retribution for addressing taboo topics (in terms of what gets published and who gets tenure) in a relatively conservative field of study. Facing sparse records from such homophobic plundering of source materials and subjects' own protective maneuvers, few histories of school workers analytically highlight the dynamics of sexuality as a structuring force in school practices.

Educational history, as a field, has initiated a later turn to topics regarding sexuality compared to other disciplines, so much foundational work remains to be done. Much of the early work is concerned with rendering subjects visible in the historical landscape and has, thus far, dealt primarily with categories of sexual identification, addressing student experiences in boarding schools and colleges, the oppression of gay and lesbian teachers and professors, and the ways activists drew upon conceptions of schooling and education in late twentieth-century sociopolitical movements. This is important political work given sexual minorities' particular vulnerabilities in schools. Even as scholars mobilize new conceptions of gender and sexuality, recovery work remains imperative. There is no singular approach to writing sexuality into education history, and some work may require deviant readings of dominant accounts in primary sources to trace the presence of queer and trans* lives historically.¹¹

The intersecting aspects of social location that Kimberlé Crenshaw refers to as "intersectionality" have informed recent studies both as a site of analysis and a shaping force in educational patterns and experiences. The stubborn archival silences plaguing recovery work for some period and group histories, including women of color, ethnic minorities, and other underrepresented groups, have challenged but not interrupted the growing historiography that focuses on recovery and understanding. In what might be termed a scholarship of sovereignty, resistance, and negotiation, studies trace how First Nations people resisted federal and white educational efforts in the late nineteenth century to colonize them through education with gendered implications. Studies on First Nation peoples in Canada, Australia, and the United States include experiences of students from sovereign nations who attended tribal schools or federally run boarding schools and the gendered aspects of its colonizing curriculum. Schools trained female students in domestic skills that sustained the school or prepared the females to become domestic workers, while males learned agricultural labor.¹²

Numerous historians have pointed to the challenges in compiling and gaps in understanding educational patterns and experiences that reflect women's diverse racial positionings. Work that focuses on Asian American and Latino/a educational history, for instance, is on the rise but often includes only brief mention of gender issues. Thus Asian American women and Latinas remain underrepresented in scholarship, along with gendered histories on diverse ethnic groups, immigrants, and sexual minorities, among others. Yet the importance of intersectional lenses does not rest in additive impulses to established gender

norms and understandings but in investment in essential constitutive shifts in educational knowledge that diverse and trenchant insights can offer. Feminist scholars have long noted and critiqued in feminist scholarship more broadly that race, sexuality, ethnicity, dis/ability, and multiple intersectional axes of identity and social location are always implicated in gender, although they may not always recognize or actively link this multidimensionally and intersectionality. Overviews of the field can similarly obscure such linkages by separating women's from ethnic histories, for instance, without underscoring how such a politics of location shapes knowledge production.

The promise of a growing historiography is the layering and nuancing that becomes possible through revisiting, reflecting, and reframing. Much of women's and gendered educational history has reflected a critical stance toward taken-for-granted aspects of history and historical practice as a neutral or inherently positive enterprise. It also reflects marshaling of archival evidence to counter foundational gendered exclusions in education. Dzuback's claim that gender is "the fundamental defining characteristic of American educational institutions, ideas, and practices" captures the disruptive potential of gendered analysis for established understandings and for animating new questions and interpretations.¹³ Some of these analytic moves engage with previous research in the field, highlighting the unfolding and active process of engendering history.

Reframings in feminist work—whether texts, concepts, periods, or processes—can include unsettling gendered discursive, epistemological, or structural elements of established fields of thought and posing entirely new accounts. Petra Munro Hendry's "reclamation" of the field of curriculum history is a twelve-year effort in that spirit. She critiques and displaces the structures and grand narratives in curriculum studies that too often compensate for gendered historical exclusions by adding and stirring individuals into existing accounts. Using an analytic stance she refers to as "engendering" the field, Hendry considers fields of thought in varied historical periods that make particular identities and categories possible and groups historical processes thematically rather than chronologically, such as the body and progressivism. As have others, she brings gendered critiques to bear on colonialism, pragmatism, and progressivism. These distinct historical engagements are dialogical rather than solely archival, and they stretch, intentionally, what it means to do gendered historical work.

Echoing the spirit of Scott's incisive analysis of gender, the conceptual frameworks used to interpret historical events can become key sites for reframing. As Gerda Lerner remarked in 1975, "It will not do—there are just too many of us. No single framework, no single-factor, four-factor or eight-factor explanation can serve to contain all that history of women is."¹⁴ Education historians, for example, have revisited familiar concepts that have been used to signal a range of gendered practices historically—republican motherhood, separate spheres, waves, private/public—and pointed out their class- and race-laden assumptions or overuse that can freeze analysis or obscure historical nuances. Numerous studies work to traverse the public/private binary in different historical contexts—what gendered scenarios, for instance, evoke private rather than public designations? Similarly, historians gently nudged aside Barbara Solomon's use of "access" as a central anchor for tracing women's entry into higher education a decade after its publication.¹⁵ While the concept captures a facet of women's relationship to education and continues to productively inform some studies, the limits of its interpretive reach constrain understanding of other dynamics. Even as the classic frameworks endure, more supple concepts have entered the historical imaginary, such as concepts of networks and organization building and postcolonial unsettlings of center-periphery.

These concepts, in turn, have appeared in subsequent work focused on women's voluntary organizations in the early twentieth-century United States, biographies of educational leaders and activists internationally, scholarship on home economics, transnational and cross-cultural exchanges, and support systems to advance women as leaders. Other reframings unsettle the generative prominence of male philosophers in educational thought or heavily gendered concepts such as science or the domestic sphere to consider their multidimensional meanings. While Rousseau's crippling educational vision for women has roused feminist ire for more than two centuries, some scholars interpret the domestic sphere as a nourishing site for fostering women's sense of self, and even civic participation for privileged women in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Also legible in a focus on interiority, clothing styles, and domestic manuals as analytic sites are the broader spatial and material turns occurring in historical practice. Others have posed new conceptions of historical periods. By tracing gendered ideologies shaping women's material realities, historians have reconsidered what activism and advocacy looked like in the mid-twentieth century. Higher education has attracted other analytic attention in this regard. Historically the institution of higher education was formed with patriarchal goals to develop male leaders and professionals and fortified through race-, class-, and gender-based demographic exclusions. The ongoing archival response to these historical realities includes tracing the forces conspiring to limit women's opportunities in particular sites and detailing instances of agency and patterns of reform and achievement. Building on earlier contributions, the field includes case studies of single-sex and coeducational institutions, their leaders, and changes over time; gendered analysis of policy; religious discourse and institutions; the forces and ideologies shaping diverse women's access; the structure and curricular dimensions of the education women received; resistance to and women's entry into coeducation; and, more recently, male and female students' gendered educational experiences. The analysis of gendered patterns, relations, and meanings are visible, for instance, in the history of modern British universities and institutional case studies of Oxford and Cambridge that build a comparative picture of men's and women's experiences. Surfacing throughout these wider treatments are biographical snapshots of leaders, philanthropists, and activists who played key roles in advocating for reform in their given contexts, as Katherine Mellen Charron's work on Septima Clark reveals.¹⁶

INTERSECTIONALITY

Varied studies have contributed to unpacking, bit by bit, conceptions of the homogeneous woman subject who often marks educational history to underscore the intersecting racial, gendered, and class dimensions of educational philosophy, experience, and practice. Just as education is intrinsically gendered, it has also been forged through race, class, and sexuality, as we mention above, and new directions in transnationalism will similarly need to grapple with conceptions of transnational gendered subjects that transcend those produced by the nation-state. The portrait of African American women's history in higher education has deepened through studies of historically black colleges and universities, biographical vignettes of key advocates, leaders of black colleges, access to both private and public institutions, and resistance within schools to white tyranny and norms. Linda Perkins's endeavors have been instrumental in developing this multidimensional history by critiquing the governing

racialized assumptions and implications of common historical concepts and providing biographical accounts of black female leaders and the experiences of students in elite colleges and, most recently, twentieth-century graduate students.¹⁷

Other studies reaching beyond elite institutions for information about the gendered past have expanded intersectional understandings by examining academies, normal schools, and vocational schools to trace educational patterns and detailing how class and race shape gendered curriculum or experiences. Academies in the early republic and antebellum years of the United States exhibited a class-imbued embrace of intellectualism that was not as decisively gendered as other aspects of white middle-class women's social context at the time. Such institutions increased opportunities for women of this class to pursue education for personal and spiritual benefit and civic purposes, while also fortifying middle-class identities against those of the working class and people of color. Other studies with intersectional commitments have shed light on modern working-class students' experiences in college, educational reform in the New South, and American state normal schools. Higher education also has a corporeal role to play in crafting the educated woman subject, whether through cultivating a climate focused on adornment and body image, through sorting and segregation, or through vocational and physical education curricula. Conceptions of the given woman subject shape the corporeal curriculum. The reproductive and eugenic fears accompanying white women's nineteenth-century entry into higher education and twentieth-century students' participation in sports carried over into educators' curricular anxieties concerning the extent and type of physical education and sports schools should provide. Yet no similar concerns surfaced in vocational schools for Native Americans. The racialized and gendered intersections of such embodied teaching are visible in federal boarding schools that emphasized vocational training for students of various ages. For instance, female students at Chilocco, in Oklahoma, helped maintain the school through their physical labor and were scrutinized for their attire, comportment, and bodily control in such acts as threading needles and sewing as they practiced domestic skills. Although such lessons mimicked domestic training elsewhere, their implications were vastly different in such contexts given the federal intent to assimilate and colonize indigenous subjects. Other tribally run schools reflected tribal values for their female students.¹⁸

MASCULINITY

Male college students have been a focus in higher education in part because it has played a key role historically in cultivating masculine subjects for their political and social roles and fiercely protecting institutional borders from women's entry. Gender has so often crystallized on the female historical subject rather than the male that the intentional turn to gendered masculinity in recent decades has opened up new pathways for analyzing men's places and practices in the fabric of gender relations. For some, the focus raises suspicions that returning the historical gaze to dominant groups and gender formations will displace those who have been understudied in history. Such questions are valuable to keep in play given the temporal politics of knowledge production in which topics and interpretations fluctuate in status. Transgendered analytic lenses for educational subjects or processes that trouble normative binary gendered conceptions are likely to enhance historical understanding as transgender scholarship gains more secure footing in the field.

Masculinities are socially and culturally contingent, supple, and shifting and operate in relation to femininities. They include historically situated dominant and subordinate forms that can be local, national, or global and channeled through the educational systems of imperialism, colonialism, and transnationalism. Such forms can operate at the level of empire, demonstrating their intersecting axes of gender, race, and sexuality and pointing to white women's roles in patrolling racial and sexual borders. Masculinities can also be imagined and exercised through male or female bodies. For example, nineteenth-century college officials tried to strike a balance between promoting white women's healthful exercise and preventing corporeal vigor from escalating into vulgar muscularity. Studies of aristocracy, physical education, colonial encounters, and vocationalism suggest the relational flow of class- and ethnic-imbued conceptions of masculinity historically. Higher education has fostered masculine subjectivities and ideals through overt and hidden curricula and popular culture. Their dimensions include contextually specific embodied and intellectual components visible in studies of southern antebellum manhood in the United States, British masculinity at Oxford and Cambridge (1850–1920), and popular conceptions of the new college man. Masculine ideals can be deeply felt, influential, and embedded in class aspirations. White southern men at state universities embraced a culture of intellectualism and self-improvement as methods to achieve a bourgeois manhood. As expressions of gendered identity, they can also be vigorously created and defended through schooling customs and practices as, for example, elite British men at Oxbridge bolstered their status against perceived outsiders when women and students of color from the colonies entered the institutions. And they can be channeled through popular culture via magazines, fiction, and advertising, investigating cultural representations of college as a masculine endeavor.¹⁹

GENDERED SPACES

While gendered ideologies, scripts, and people are sites of gendered history, so too are institutions and fields of study that accrue different statuses and perform different social functions. Schools functioning as sorting mechanisms and shepherds for maintaining the class system has had varied implications for women in terms of the differentiated curricula they sometimes received in coeducational institutions and prospects for their lives after they graduated. Normal schools, academies, and technical-vocational education each have held varied status as institutions, even if they reached thousands of people and enabled their social mobility. STEM is one such gender domain that has been gendered masculine with varying implications for female students and producers of scientific knowledge. This domain has been read, stubbornly, as masculine even as historians show that women and girls have contributed to producing and using such knowledge. Studies of beauty schools and home economics accentuate the varying statuses of gendered disciplines of study and the challenges of legitimizing and professionalizing the fields. Resistance and negotiation characterize these histories as well, charting the spaces of empowerment beauty schools for African Americans provided during segregation in the mid-twentieth century within oppressive racial constraints.²⁰

While much of educational history circulates around the nucleus of schools, informal educational tools, processes, and spaces have been key sites of learning for women historically, including women of color and working-class women, whose range of educational choices have been more limited than those of upper- and middle-class white women.

Diverse curricula have included Bible study, didactic and religious fiction, domestic encyclopedias, women's clubs, voluntary organizations, reading circles, letters, interior domestic spaces, and childrearing. A potentially liberatory informal curriculum can seep into schooling spaces as well. The power of mass media as a teaching tool for lessons about masculinity and college, adolescent subjectivity, and sex education emerges in recent scholarship. Analysis of pre-1960s sex education in public schools suggests that peer interactions, participation in extracurricular activities, and scrapbooks offered lessons for learning alongside the formal lessons.²¹

INTERNATIONAL AND TRANSNATIONAL SITES

Gendered analysis in international, comparative, and transnational sites reflects the range of theoretical allegiances that characterize other areas in the field. Significantly, the erratic geographic visibility of gendered analysis in the sites we reviewed underscores uneven patterns in producing and circulating knowledge, as well as the still unfolding trajectories and sites of gendered theorizing of educational history. In an aggregate sense, entire regions of the world are underrepresented in Western history of education journals which disseminate scholarship in the field. A review of articles across dozens of journals published between 1993 and 2014 indicates that a third of the scholarship addresses education history in the United Kingdom and Ireland; close to another third is based in the United States and Canada; and studies in the European continent, Australia and New Zealand, Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Mexico, Central America, and South America constitute only 37 percent of the publications. And these patterns range widely, with only five studies in areas of the Middle East and ten in Africa. Readers can find little about current scholarship in gender and educational history of much of the world from these journals. Moreover the enormity of these sorting designations cannot elucidate any complexities within these sites. While such representational patterns do not reflect, of course, the totality of historical knowledge scholars produce internationally, or the other substantive journals and oral traditions through which histories circulate locally and globally, they do reflect uneven flows of information in key sites. They also reflect the contours and absences constitutive of theorizing gendered intersections in the field that are part of the politics of knowledge construction.

The historiography of postcoloniality is far thicker and more developed since 2000, but the need for more international studies remains pertinent. Like other fields of history, transnational issues and questions are emerging to reflect shifting conceptions of the gendered educational subject, activist, and teacher and the forces that shape his or her educational contexts. While women have figured strongly as symbolic representatives of nation-states or as moral and virtuous instruments to socialize democratic citizens, transnational flows of graduates, missionaries, women religious, and other types of teachers require different conceptions of subjectivity and questions about educational encounters across borders. Transnational theorizing more broadly has benefited from feminist analysis, but the transnational terrain in the field of educational history has received less attention, and cross-cultural history of education questions at the community, local, state, and national levels are themselves in various states of development.

CONCLUSION

Despite the productivity of these diverse lines of flight in educational scholarship, a question that remains salient in assessing the field is how much, *really*, has tracing the *always already* constituting force of gender been integrated into the fibers of historians' embodied practice as teachers and scholars, curriculum and pedagogies, and, accordingly, student knowledge? It's a productive and proliferating brew of ideas, to be sure, but the capacity to affect how the history of education is conceived depends on embodied research production, teaching, and practice; relational networks and flows of ideas; course offerings; and who is listening. It depends on those very institutional and personal networks Linda Eisenmann championed as a frame for reading women's historical practices over a decade ago. As a vivid example, some of the most prolific gender scholars in history of education have refined their work through the International Standing Conference for the History of Education (ISCHE) Standing Working Group on Gender and Education.

It is important to contemplate, like others who have assessed the field at different moments, how much gendered scholarship has made a difference overall in transforming the field. As the field turns with new tools and questions, whether it has made a difference depends, in part, on how the field is conceptualized and what sites of production, practices, and topics are deemed legitimate. The eclectic concepts and approaches scholars use for gendered analysis continue to open new spaces for analytic questions even as they stymie codification in a field that shifts through technological, transnational, and theoretical developments as we engage in it. Scrutiny of the field indicates that not all historians are having the same conversations or using the same tools, too often concretizing gender as synonymous with women and failing to interrogate the fluctuating discursive ways gender is produced and gendered subjectivities are experienced. Of course, the very attempt to describe the ongoing and multidimensional ways gender shapes education, history, and methodology is, in feminist terms, inevitably a political project that can further entrench or transform interpretations. That said, more gender scholars than one can count are designing new areas of study, dusting off old questions, and making inroads in how we think about intersections of gender and other key subjectivities with history and education. But the field of the history of education, like other academic disciplines, is shaped by knowledge producers instigating studies and discourses available to them at the time, and institutional commitments to cultivating research on gender history, such as the Centre for the History of Women's Education at the University of Winchester, are few and far between. One only wonders how thoroughly and broadly the emerging body of knowledge in gender history is translated into educational practice, not only in higher education but also in the schools.

NOTES

1. Patti Lather, *Getting Lost: Feminist Efforts toward a Double(d) Science* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2007), 3. See also Patti Lather, "To Be of Use: The Work of Reviewing," *Review of Educational Research* 69, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 2–7.
2. Linda Eisenmann, "Creating a Framework for Interpreting US Women's Educational History: Lessons from Historical Lexicography," *History of Education* 30, no. 5 (2001): 453.

3. See, for instance, Diane Vaughan, *The Challenger Launch Decision: Risky Technology, Culture, and Deviance at NASA* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Petra Munro, *Subject to Fiction: Women Teachers' Life History Narratives and the Cultural Politics of Resistance* (Buckingham, UK: Open University Press, 1998); Herbert Kohl, *She Would Not Be Moved: How We Tell the Story of Rosa Parks and the Montgomery Bus Boycott* (New York: New Press, 2005).
4. See Donna Haraway, "A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century," in *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 149–181.
5. Joyce Senders Pedersen, *The Reform of Girls Secondary and Higher Education in Victorian England: A Study of Elites and Educational Change* (London: Garland, 1987); Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985); Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States*, 2 vols. (New York: Science Press, 1929).
6. Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (December 1986): 1053–1075; Marjorie R. Theobald, *Knowing Women: Origins of Women's Education in Nineteenth-Century Australia* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Munro, *Subject to Fiction*.
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8. Petra Munro Hendry, *Engendering Curriculum History* (New York: Routledge, 2011); Paula M. Salvio, *Anne Sexton: Teacher of Weird Abundance* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2012).
9. Barbara Finkelstein, "Revealing Human Agency: The Uses of Biography in the Study of Educational History," in *Writing Educational Biography: Explorations in Qualitative Research*, ed. Craig Kridel, 45–61 (New York: Garland, 1998), 46.
10. Kate Rousmaniere, *Citizen Teacher: The Life and Leadership of Margaret Haley* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005); Kathleen Weiler, *Democracy and Schooling in California: The Legacy of Helen Heffernan and Corinne Seeds* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Joyce Goodman and Jane Martin, *Women and Education, 1800–1980* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Salvio, *Anne Sexton*.
11. See Jennifer Terry, "Theorizing Deviant Historiography," *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 3, no. 2 (1991): 55–74.
12. Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (July 1991): 1241–1299; K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994).
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CHAPTER 23

EDUCATION AND MIGRATION IN HISTORY

PAUL J. RAMSEY

HISTORICALLY, schooling focused on transmitting the cultural, social, and linguistic norms and traditions that political and educational leaders believed were essential to the development, stability, and welfare of any nation. Migrants, regardless of origin, were expected to adopt those values in order to create a homogeneous society by “eradicat[ing] cultural diversity.” The goal of creating a cohesive society did not bode well for the migrant children who did not share the dominant cultural norms. In many parts of the world, these children and their families were considered a problem that, in various ways, had to be solved, often through educational endeavors. In the United States, Catherine Beecher, a leading advocate for women teachers, argued in 1835 that public schooling was a necessity because “thousands and thousands of degraded foreigners, and their families, are pouring into this nation at every avenue. All these ignorant native [often rural migrants] and foreign adults are now voters, and have a share in the government of the nation.” In general, therefore, the educational aim for migrants and their children was assimilation; they were largely expected to shed their familial traditions and embrace the ideals and mores of their adopted locales.¹

For all of recorded history, human beings have been migrating. As a demographic concept, migration encompasses a number of population shifts; in its modern sense, migration points not only to transnational immigration but to internal movements as well, from rural to urban areas within the same nation or region, for example. Moreover migration is not always voluntary; throughout history, groups of humans (e.g., indigenous peoples, African slaves, prisoners of war) have been forced to migrate, both within national borders and internationally. From this perspective, nearly all regions of the world consist of migrant countries, not just those typically thought of as immigrant nations such as the United States, Canada, Australia, and Argentina.²

While education is a broad concept that comprises a host of informal learning activities, institutions, and sites,³ it was primarily through formal schooling during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—when state educational systems in many areas of the world developed and matured—that nations focused a great deal of attention on migrant pupils. For much of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries most migrant children in many parts of the world were subjected to assimilationist endeavors in schools, although there certainly have been notable exceptions. By the second half of the twentieth century, however, new

multicultural aims came to dominate the educational discourses in some nations, thus partially undermining the earlier assimilationist agendas. This shift, however, does not denote a teleological view of history; that is, while the movement toward a more pluralistic vision of education has lessened the heavy-handed assimilationist aims in schools, this vision too sometimes entailed a valuing of particular cultures (or aspects of certain cultures) over others. Additionally, and somewhat obviously, the education of migrants varied from country to country (and from locale to locale), but it should also be noted that not all migrants were treated equally, even within the same region and era. That is, certain migrants held a somewhat elevated status in their host communities, while others were treated harshly, often because of religious, ethnic, racial, and linguistic differences.

Although the education of migrant children is an important contemporary policy issue, it has not fully garnered the historical interest one might expect. This historiographical gap is especially pronounced with regard to the international context. Although migration is a global phenomenon, it is often dealt with in the historiography as a national issue, thus obscuring its broader dimensions. While immigration is part of the national story of the United States—giving rise to myths about the complete transformation of ethnic groups into “Americans”—and thus has generated a great deal of scholarship, the history of migration has not been fully developed for other parts of the world. The historiography for nations such as France, Argentina, and Brazil “show[s] limited interest in migrants once they have become citizens,” while Germany and Switzerland “simply deny that theirs are nations of immigrants at all.” As an issue examined at the national level (if it is examined at all), the historical literature on migration is potentially problematic in a number of ways. Historians, for example, often explore particular migrant groups—sometimes falling into the trap of celebratory history—or regions, thus overlooking the points of commonality and difference. Studied from a more global perspective, the history of migrants and their education undermines national myths—such as the almost effortless and total assimilation of migrants—and acknowledges the histories of those areas of the world that have had little to say about their migrant past.⁴

EDUCATION AND MIGRATION DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In many areas of the world, the nineteenth century was a period of intense nationalism, industrialization, and urbanization, all of which were intimately linked. As many modern nation-states began to emerge in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, these “imagined communities” not only attempted to define the traditions and national cultures of the new states but also sought to increase their international standing and power, including through colonialism. Industrial development was a key aspect of bolstering the influence and strength of the new nation-states as well. Industrial production more than doubled in France between 1850 and 1900; industry increased almost threefold in the United Kingdom during the same period, while Germany’s 1900 production level was six times larger than that of 1850. By the turn of the twentieth century, the United States had a higher manufacturing index than any country in Europe.⁵

The rise of industry ushered in an era of urbanization as more and more people sought jobs in the new manufacturing sectors. In the United States, for example, there were only three towns with a population over ten thousand in Massachusetts during the first decade of the nineteenth century; by 1860 the state contained over twenty-five urban centers. During the nineteenth century, the population of Berlin increased from 172,000 to 1,889,000; Hamburg from 130,000 to 706,000; Liverpool from 80,000 to 704,000; London from 1,117,000 to 6,558,000; Paris from 581,000 to 2,714,000; and Warsaw from 100,000 to 638,000. Similar patterns of urbanization occurred in North and South America, Africa, and Australia as well. The population of Mexico City increased from 137,000 to 345,000; New York from 60,000 to 3,437,000; Buenos Aires from 40,000 to 664,000; Cairo from 295,000 (in 1860) to 570,000; Cape Town from 35,000 (in 1860) to 170,000; and Melbourne from 41,000 (in 1850) to 496,000.⁶

Swelling the population of urban areas and filling the new industrial jobs—as well as those in the growing specialized agricultural sector—were migrants, both internal and international. Rural folks moved to the cities en masse, and immigrants sought jobs in many of the same areas. Emigration from Europe was particularly heavy during the nineteenth century. Altogether, over 10 million people left Great Britain and Ireland between 1850 and 1900, while nearly 4 million Germans and almost 3 million Italians emigrated during the same period. The primary destinations for these emigrants were Canada and the United States in North America; Argentina, Brazil, Guyana, and Uruguay in South America; and Australia and New Zealand in Oceania. The United States received more immigrants by far during the century than any other nation, with over 16 million arriving between 1850 and 1900. The majority of these newcomers emigrated from Ireland, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Russia, Norway, China, and Mexico.⁷

Partially as a response to the growing nationalism, industrialization, urbanization, and migration, modern nation-states began to develop educational systems. In many ways, the schools of the Germanic principalities, particularly Prussia, served as a model for educational reform in several countries. Scholars and reformers from France and, especially, the United States visited the Prussian schools during the early nineteenth century, including M. Victor Cousin, Horace Mann, and Calvin Stowe. The Prussian educational system emphasized character training, literacy, and numeracy, skills and attributes international visitors believed were essential for the molding of migrants into ideal citizens and for the development of an industrial workforce. Stowe, a reformer in Ohio who toured European schools in the 1830s, made note of “the excellent order and rigid economy with which all the Prussian institutions are conducted.” The focus on character development was particularly attractive to socially conservative reformers in the nineteenth century who hoped to use schooling as a mechanism to cure the ills associated with urbanization, such as poverty and criminal activity. Mann, the leading advocate for public education in Massachusetts, expressed this faith in the 1840s by noting that schooling will “wield its mighty energies for the protection of society against the giant vices which now invade and torment it. . . . there will not be a height to which these enemies of the race can escape, which it will not scale, nor a Titan among them all, whom it will not slay.”⁸

This Prussian-style model of education—with its focus on moral development and basic academic skills to bolster nationalism and social cohesion—was reworked and adopted in many colonies and nations during the nineteenth century, notably in those experiencing a great deal of internal and international migration. As public schools developed in Australia

during the first half of the century, cultural uniformity became a guiding principle. In Western Europe and Latin America a similar educational agenda marked nineteenth-century schooling. France and Italy, for instance, developed formal educational institutions in order to promote linguistic and cultural cohesion as part of nation-building endeavors. The early schools in Peru also emphasized social stability. Explicitly drawing on European models, Argentina inculcated a “virulent nationalism” within its educational system. In fact throughout Latin America schooling was a central activity “employed to achieve a mental (and even physical) uniformity in the population.” Colonial regions—from Britain’s South Africa to Japan’s Taiwan—also utilized this educational model to keep the native populations subordinate, while often maintaining a separate elite educational system for migrant colonists. In the United States, the common schools taught reading, writing, and other basic academic skills, all of which focused on moral training. This Protestant morality emphasized hard work, honesty, obedience, and thrift, skills and dispositions that were thought to simultaneously facilitate social control, industrialization, and national unity.⁹

It was within this educational context of social control and unity that migrant children began their schooling during the nineteenth century. Unsurprisingly, the overarching aim for migrant pupils was assimilation, particularly in countries experiencing large-scale immigration, such as Argentina, Australia, and the United States. In order to facilitate national cohesion, industrialization, and “order,” schools catering to migrants expected these children to shed their traditional cultures, mores, and languages—which were perceived by reformers as outmoded and a threat to social unity—and adopt the traditions associated with the emerging, “imagined” nation-states. In 1875 William T. Harris—the superintendent of the St. Louis public schools and, later, the U.S. commissioner of education—made the assimilationist mission of the public schools quite explicit: “Homogeneity of population is the great desideratum for free institutions.” Similarly an educational official noted in the 1880s that schools in his part of Texas employed “the best means of Americanizing the rising generation” of Mexican migrants. Ultimately states throughout the U.S. passed compulsory school laws to ensure that migrant children entered the assimilationist institutions. The Irish immigrants quickly recognized the implications of their children being forced to attend the public schools; the migrants understood “the ultimate outcome” of compulsory schooling as “the destruction of the family and of the Irish people.”¹⁰

Although the general trend regarding migrant children during the nineteenth century was a focus on assimilation, not all migrants were treated equally. Those deemed inferior by the racial and ethnic stereotypes of the age—notably children of color and indigenous youngsters—were often subjected to a rabid form of assimilation and, frequently, segregated schooling. African Americans, who had forcibly been moved during the colonial era, received a segregated schooling that focused not only on Americanization but also preparation for a second-class citizenship. Like African American children, Asian and Latin American immigrants in the United States attended segregated schools that included a hyper-Americanization curriculum, one that inculcated the English language and Protestant values. For many indigenous populations, who often experienced forced migration as colonizers claimed their ancestral lands, schooling emphasized total assimilation. In order to minimize parental influences, native children in Australia, Canada, and the United States were regularly removed from their families and sent to industrial boarding schools to learn subordination, the tenets of Western “civilization”—especially Christianity, private ownership, and the English language—and manual labor skills, such as those for domestic servants and

farm hands. Ultimately the educational policies directed at native children aimed at cultural extinction; Australia also sought biological extinction through intermarriage and genetic absorption policies.¹¹

Although non-European children were the primary targets of hyperassimilationist and segregationist educational policies, schooling for European immigrants was by no means monolithic. By the end of the nineteenth century, racist attitudes regarding the supposed inferiority of southern and eastern Europeans became widespread as large numbers of Russian Jews and Italians began to migrate to the United States and Argentina. As with earlier groups of migrants perceived as inferior to the elites—such as rural folk and the Irish—southern and eastern European migrants encountered a form of schooling that emphasized cultural assimilation. For eastern European Jews in U.S. schools, “[t]here was little expectation of a cultural melting pot. . . . The ideal was more in the nature of a smelting process, the pervasive pressure of conformity to the American norm creating intense heat that would burn away the dross of alien cultural impurities.” Similarly Italian immigrants in the United States and Argentina experienced a form of schooling that emphasized cultural homogeneity. Despite the assimilationist aims, the presence of large numbers of migrant children in state schools transformed the nature of the educational systems. In the United States, for example, the arrival of southern and eastern Europeans forced schools in many instances to develop programs to cater to the children’s unique cultural and linguistic needs. Although the goal still focused on assimilation, these special programs—similar to today’s English as a Second Language (ESL) programs (“C” classes in New York and “steamer” classes in Cleveland, for instance)—highlighted a recognition that accommodations had to be made in order to successfully educate a diverse population.¹²

While the general trend in schooling during the nineteenth century was one of assimilation, many migrant groups developed educational institutions that, at least partially, maintained their cultural traditions. Private education was a prevalent alternative to the assimilationist state schools. Catholics in Australia, for instance, established a number of parochial schools to preserve the religious and cultural customs of many migrants; in some provinces, these institutions received state funding until the last quarter of the century. In the United States, parochial education was abundant as Old Lutheran, Catholic, and Jewish immigrants sought to maintain their heritage. While Catholic education was common in Argentina, Russian Jews opened a number of Hebrew schools as well. In addition to religious institutions, migrants also established private ethnic schools to resist assimilation. German, Italian, and Jewish immigrants in Argentina developed their own educational systems, often to preserve linguistic and cultural traditions. Perhaps nowhere were these ethnic schools more common than in the United States, which dotted the landscape of the nation and, by the end of the century, its territories and served not only European migrants but also Asians, such as the Japanese in Hawaii. Of particular significance were the educational activities of the “Forty-Eighters,” the liberal Germans who migrated to the United States after the failed 1848 revolutions in Europe. Not content with the quality and assimilationist aims of education in the United States, the Forty-Eighters established a number of private schools throughout the nation to utilize the latest pedagogical methods, to inculcate their progressive worldview, and to maintain the mother tongue. Of the parents who, instead of sending their children to the state schools, enrolled them in these “several hundreds of German schools” that facilitated bilingualism and cultural pluralism, the educator Adolf Douai stated in 1868 that they wanted to ensure “their children and children’s children should [not] lose the

privilege of commanding the two master languages of the world, English and German, at the same time.”¹³

In addition to private education, migrants successfully lobbied for the inclusion of some aspects of their cultural heritage into the state school curriculum, a task more readily accomplished in nations without a centralized system of education, such as Argentina, Mexico, and, especially, the United States. With its devotion to local control of schooling, nineteenth-century America fostered a great deal of cultural diversity in education, sometimes to the chagrin of educational reformers. In the American Midwest, where migrants helped establish the emerging school systems, Norwegian, Swedish, and German immigrants developed public schools in their local communities that maintained the linguistic, religious, and cultural traditions of their homelands. The highly educated German Forty-Eighters were particularly successful at establishing public bilingual schools in the Midwest and other areas of the nation. As a favored migrant group according to the ethnic stereotypes of the age, the Germans introduced their language and culture in the public schools of Cleveland, Indianapolis, Milwaukee, and a host of small towns. However, it was Cincinnati that hosted the exemplary German-English program. The “Cincinnati plan” had a curriculum in which half of the language of instruction was in German in the lower grades and consisted of hourly lessons in the upper grades. In 1886 the head of the German Department noted that the program, which served over eighteen thousand students, was “better for the intellectual development of our pupils” than a monolingual, assimilationist course of study.¹⁴

EDUCATION AND MIGRATION DURING THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The general trends of the nineteenth century regarding the education of migrant children—social-control aims mixed with a smattering of resistance, particularly in locations with a great deal of local control of schooling—continued during the first part of the twentieth century. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, there was a growing group of scholars and educational reformers in the West who challenged the assimilationist goals of state schooling. Although the impact of these humanitarian progressives was modest at best, they began to articulate the language of a multicultural vision of education, a vision that, ultimately, would come to fruition in the decades following the Second World War. Progressive education was a multifaceted and international movement—impacting nations as diverse as Argentina, Brazil, England, Germany, and the Soviet Union, to name only a few—and its social reconstructionist strand in the United States emphasized the utilization of schooling to create a more democratic and humane society. For example, Jane Addams, who drew inspiration from Toynbee Hall in London to found Hull House in Chicago, argued that schooling should celebrate the traditions of migrant children, not exterminate them. Addams’s friend, the philosopher John Dewey, also rejected the strict assimilationist trends in education, while Dewey’s student Randolph Bourne and Horace Kallen began, early in the twentieth century, to advocate for pluralistic and cosmopolitan—as opposed to a homogeneous—notions of society. These progressive ideas began to influence educational policy around the globe to some extent. The U.S. government, for example, began to rethink

its cultural extinction programs for Native Americans in the 1920s and 1930s, adopting instead a more pluralistic policy regarding their education.¹⁵

While the early manifestations of the growing movement toward a more multicultural view of education were gaining ground, the First World War, in a number of ways, hampered humanitarian progressivism's full development as a new, intensely nationalistic fervor spread across many areas of the world. The Great War and the subsequent worldwide Depression curtailed immigration to common destinations, such as the United States; for example, the number of immigrants entering the United States dropped from 1,218,000 in 1914 to 111,000 in 1918. (Immigration did not reach its prewar heights again until 1990.) Moreover, with the global conflict, many nation-states became hyperpatriotic. The war unleashed a rabid form of xenophobia in the United States that facilitated nativists' long-sought-after desire for immigration restriction; in 1924 the Johnson-Reed Act severely limited the number of immigrants allowed to enter the nation, especially those from southern and eastern Europe. Within this wartime context, the "Americanization movement," which emphasized total assimilation to American norms, became a standard feature in many U.S. schools. Additionally, states throughout the United States banned bilingual education, especially German-English instruction, during and after the war, thus thwarting the multicultural gains achieved by ethnic minorities; the U.S. Supreme Court ruled these prohibitions unconstitutional in the 1920s.¹⁶

Although the First World War and Great Depression partially closed off the traditional destinations of international migrants—such as the United States—migration during and after the war continued. In fact, due to postwar conditions, including the reworking of international boundaries, migration within, to, and from nations was quite substantial. Poland, which reemerged as an independent nation after World War I, witnessed the return of ethnic Poles from the United States, Germany, and other countries. As Poland, France, and other European nations were redrawn or re-created, about one million ethnic Germans migrated to the new, smaller Germany. Many of these emerging nation-states embarked on intense assimilationist projects—particularly through education—to ensure the homogeneity of their citizenry, the Polonization of the former Prussian areas being a particularly salient example. The Soviet Union experienced massive internal migrations as the newly created federation embarked on rapid urbanization and industrialization programs as well as the absorption of neighboring republics; Moscow's population, for instance, more than doubled between 1900 and 1930, increasing from 989,000 to 2,029,000. Education served as a central mechanism to inculcate the USSR's new ideology throughout the Soviet Empire; the "sovietization" of rural migrants and those in outlying areas ensured cultural and ideological homogeneity by emphasizing conformity to the common cause.¹⁷

Internal migration was also pronounced in the United States. During the Great Depression, the faltering economy and poor agricultural conditions prodded many Great Plains farmers to move westward, particularly to California. Similarly the economic meltdown and institutionalized racism in the South facilitated the beginnings of the Great Migration of African Americans to northern cities. In Detroit the black population increased from 40,838 in 1920 to 149,119 in 1940. Because of the stereotypes regarding their academic inferiority, migrant children during the interwar years were frequently routed into the lower curricular tracks, curricula that prepared young people for manual and menial labor.¹⁸

As with the Great War, the Second World War and its aftermath facilitated massive migrations around the globe; it has been estimated that the war dislocated over 134 million people in Asia and Europe. During the conflict many fled or sent their children to relatively safer areas. Tens of thousands of Finnish children migrated to Sweden and Denmark, and, after the Nazis came to power, many Jewish families in Germany and Austria sent their children to Great Britain. Partially because of the assimilationist nature of schooling, many of these “war children” quickly adopted the cultural mores of their new lands. Following the war, millions migrated to the newly created state of Israel, a state the United Nations established in 1948 for the Jewish diaspora following the Holocaust. As the Soviet Union brought much of Eastern Europe under its influence, millions migrated westward. In Germany, for instance, over 3 million residents of the Soviet occupied zone and, later, the German Democratic Republic migrated to West Germany prior to the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961.¹⁹

The Second World War also accelerated the Great Migration of southern African Americans to northern U.S. cities that had begun during the aftermath of the First World War. Fleeing the racial discrimination of the South with the hope of economic betterment and educational opportunities in the North, African Americans migrated en masse. From the 1940s to the 1950s, for example, the black population of Chicago—a major destination of African American migrants—increased from 278,000 to 813,000. However, fearing the decline of property values and educational quality with the massive influx of southern blacks, many middle-class white Americans in the North moved to the suburban areas outside of the cities, taking their tax dollars with them. Because schools were (and, in many cases, continue to be) funded by local property taxes, this “white flight” left African American migrants in underfunded inner-city schools that were inferior to those in the wealthier suburban areas. As in the United States, race and social class intertwined in Latin America, and, as such, Afro-Brazilians typically have been educated in inferior schools in low-income regions that, by and large, prepared them for the jobs on the lowest rungs of Brazilian society.²⁰

As significant as were the migrations produced by the conflict, the Second World War and the looming cold war also facilitated a perceptible change in attitudes regarding the education of migrant children. Having just fought a war to end the extreme nationalism and racialism of the Nazi regime, many nations around the world began to reevaluate their treatment of ethnic minorities—many of whom were migrants—as well as their focus on homogeneity in state schools. Multicultural—as opposed to assimilationist— notions of education have a long history, but it was in the postwar era that these ideas and ideals began to resonate and take root. In the United States, “tolerance” education expanded, encouraging children to respect *all* Americans, regardless of ethnicity. In 1954 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision that separate educational facilities for minority groups was an unconstitutional policy. Although this emerging respect and protection for minorities was partially to combat the Soviet bloc’s view that the United States was a racist society, these changes had significant and lasting implications. While these early manifestations of tolerance and constitutional protections were based on a color-blind ideal—that all, regardless of race or ethnicity, should receive the same educational opportunities—this growing interest in the treatment of minorities paved the way for more pluralistic concepts of education. Drawing on the language of *Brown*, for instance, the

Bilingual Education Act of 1968 recognized that children whose first language was not English were stigmatized in U.S. schools and, thus, required special services, including the possibility of a form of dual-language instruction that respected and promoted their native language.²¹

Of course, these new multicultural notions of education were not limited to the United States but changed the way migrant children were educated around the globe. In Latin America, more liberal attitudes regarding cultural pluralism emerged in the second half of the twentieth century. As many Latin American nations allowed for more regional control of state schools, the linguistic and cultural traditions of minority groups increasingly found validation in the educational system, although, in general, reform efforts in the second half of the twentieth century continued to be more advantageous to elites than to marginalized groups. Canada and Australia also moved toward a more multicultural and pluralistic vision of education in the postwar era. Although Canada's Official Language Act of 1969 merely recognized the status of its long-established French-language speakers, the Multiculturalism Acts of 1971 and 1988 allowed for the promotion of the cultures and languages of the nation's immigrants in state schools; similarly Australia came to embrace its multicultural nationhood.²²

Since World War II, Europe has experienced a great deal of migration, especially from its former colonial holdings, and many European nations, notably the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, have adopted liberal policies regarding multiculturalism for the education of immigrants, although such policies did not necessarily have an immediate impact on local schools serving migrant children. Germany, a nation that has largely ignored its migrant history, has established tolerance as one of its central educational aims "in order to prevent any recurrence of nationalistic tendencies" and has developed numerous bilingual programs, although these have often neglected the needs of its largest migrant group: Turks. Even Japan, with its well-known "aversion to foreign populations," has—in some municipalities—begun to move away from its strict assimilationist policies toward a recognition of migrant students' unique educational needs.²³

The trend toward more multicultural notions of schooling that has affected many regions of the world (but not all) certainly could be characterized as a more humane and progressive form of education than the rabid assimilation that preceded it, but multiculturalism, as it developed, exhibited many shortcomings. The tolerance education that emerged in the wake of the First and Second World Wars in the United States, for example, still, at its core, harbored assimilationist aims; the goal was to promote a respect for all ethnic groups (or, at least, their superficial characteristics, such as their traditional cuisines) in order to build American unity. In general, multicultural education simplified cultural differences by sorting a host of very diverse ethnic groups into a few, often invented categories, thus obscuring very real cultural differences. The racial classifications in the United States, for example, overlooked the distinctions between German Americans and Italian Americans as these groups were brought into the "white" category. Additionally the multicultural education trend toward respecting different ethnic and racial groups tended to exalt the culture of a particular group—of northern Italians or liberal German Forty-Eighters—over a multitude of distinct subgroups, making one group the representative ethnic culture. The exemplar ethnic group often embodied particular characteristics that advanced the agenda of multiculturalists—to unify society around liberal principles—making multiculturalism "an old barbarism with a human face." Moreover, promoting cultural pluralism and respect

through multicultural education, while a noble aim, has not necessarily been as effective as advocates have hoped. Racist and xenophobic sentiments persisted in schools, even within countries with fairly progressive policies, such as the United Kingdom. Many nations with pluralistic educational agendas—such as Malaysia—also have alternatives to the state schools that directly challenge the multicultural aims of mainstream education.²⁴

CONCLUSIONS

Although the historiography of migrant education is, in many ways, problematic—especially the lack of historical literature for many regions of the world—general patterns do arise. As nation-states and their educational systems began to emerge and develop in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the schooling of migrant children often focused on assimilating them into the national culture. In the decades following the Second World War, the heavy-handed acculturation began to give way to more multicultural notions of schooling, although, in practice, multicultural education often simplified cultural differences and continued, albeit in different ways, to demand a sort of conformity to the new national, multicultural norms, thus undermining a true acceptance of all migrant populations. The postwar era also ushered in a new global age. While transportation advances in the nineteenth century—roads, canals, railroads, steamships, and so on—facilitated migration, the twentieth century witnessed air travel and emerging multinational corporations that expedited global migration. Further exploration of the historical context of these population movements is desperately needed. The northward movement of Mexicans to the United States has been studied in depth, but other massive migrations, such as the rural-to-urban migration in China and the immigration within and out of African nations (the so-called brain drain), have not received the same degree of attention by historians.²⁵

This void in the historiography regarding particular groups and regions points to perhaps the most serious shortcoming in the historical literature: migration is a global phenomenon, but it is treated as a national, regional, or ethnic issue in the historical literature. Of course, this is somewhat understandable; a single historian cannot be expected to have mastered the local, regional, and national historical contexts that impact migration patterns all over the globe, not to mention the multitude of languages needed to understand those contexts. Comparative history is certainly a step in the right direction, but such histories are often limited to a few geographic areas or migrant groups. For truly global and transnational histories of migrants and education to emerge, international projects, with teams of scholars contributing their areas of expertise to the larger enterprise, need to be developed (and funded). Although focusing on only one group, the *Italians Everywhere* project is perhaps a model for this endeavor. A collaboration among a multitude of scholars with different areas of knowledge, the *Italians Everywhere* project produced monographs and synthesis works. For a more developed transnational historiography of migration and education, a similar sort of collaborative endeavor is urgently needed.²⁶

The urgency for transnational histories stems not only from the historiographical void but also from the fact that migration—as in the nineteenth century—is ubiquitous in the twenty-first century, thus making the schooling of migrant children one of the most pressing issues in the realm of education. History, of course, does not necessarily point to the

proper policy or best course of action, but it does bring to light a range of possibilities and problems. Although limited, the current historiography demonstrates that too often the education of migrant children has been divorced from the needs of those groups, and that has sometimes served to create second-class citizens. Nations can do better. With a more nuanced understanding of the history of migrants and education, perhaps nations around the world can move away from the simplistic assimilationist goals of schooling and use education as a means of living up to the promise of the United Nations' "rights of the child." By the early 1990s, most nations signed and ratified the declaration that was produced by the United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child, whose Article 30 observes, "In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities or persons of indigenous origin exist, a child belonging to such a minority or who is indigenous shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of his or her group, to enjoy his or her own culture, to profess and practise his or her own religion, or to use his or her own language." Schooling, in part, could assist with ensuring those rights are conferred.²⁷

NOTES

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CHAPTER 24

RACE AND ETHNICITY IN EDUCATION HISTORY

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ONE of the more problematic components of schooling, past and present, concerns the ways in which nation-states have dealt with diverse student populations. Colonial and religious regimes often dictated structures of hierarchy, placing disenfranchised groups in lower rungs of society. Differentiation and segregation based on race, religion, gender, ability, and socioeconomic class, among others, were all too common features in designing school systems to promote a nation's efforts toward citizenship. In the United States and elsewhere, efforts to inculcate norms of democratic citizenship were equally fraught with means to deculturalize minority, immigrant, and indigenous populations. Maintaining political power through legal and social mandates was a constant theme for the ruling class well into the twentieth century, especially with the increase in immigrant populations and efforts to address social segregation. How nations have dealt with the goals of democratic citizenship and notions of difference have taken dual tracks, resulting in competing ideologies. What appeared to be contradictory in scope was, to many educational reformers, a natural reaction to dealing with diversity across nations globally. The promise of equality under the law would remain elusive.

Historians of social and cultural diversity in education have tended to pay more attention to how particular ethnic minority groups faced oppression from their white counterparts, with less attention to how intersections of race, class, and gender worked to form diversities of identities in education. Society and schooling based on separate and unequal distinctions for minoritized groups have tenuously coexisted along supposed democratic principles of equality. Either through direct or indirect segregation or through restrictions on immigration, the framing of democratic citizenship typically delimited full inclusion.

African American educational history underscores the direct connection to the global system of slavery to deliberately set forth an inherently unequal system of education in the southern and northern parts of the United States. The calculated efforts to lay a foundation of industrial education would guarantee inferior schooling systems. Concomitant to the global expansion of enslaved Africans was the systematic erosion of indigenous cultures, for example, the U.S. government policies of Indian education and removal from ancestral lands in efforts to promote democratic westward expansion. Acquisition of land, governmental control over tribal sovereignty, and racialized theories of progress worked in tandem to justify schooling for second-class and provisional citizenship through industrial education or

education for servitude. Approaches to education of immigrant groups would follow a similar path, especially where religion, language, and physical markers of difference such as skin color rendered them a racialized class. Typically those who came from non-Western European countries faced discrimination and prejudice based on perceived otherness. Students in these groups would often be taught a different curriculum.

Second-class citizenship status through education did not exclude females and individuals with special needs. From the early establishment of formal schooling systems females had limited access to literacy skills other than basic elements to fit them for domestic life. Education for the domestic sphere, broadly defined, typified schooling experiences for females, even as more professional routes to teaching were established. Female teachers were seen as purveyors and caretakers of the nation's youth, leading talented young males toward business and political leadership and females for marriage, motherhood, or an occupation appropriate for their gender. These basic levels of schooling often excluded racial and ethnic minorities from participation. This was also often the case for students with special needs. However, the development of child study programs during the first half of the twentieth century brought more systematic attention to questions and issues of inclusion in the classroom.

The challenge of democratic representation was a constant concern among powerful elites as to how best to handle the masses and, in particular, how to quell those populations desiring voice but lacking appropriate mechanisms for representation—that is, those excluded from the polity. The ideals of citizenship, often defined as the embrace of values such as liberty, equality, and republicanism, contradicted the reality of exclusionary policies and practices early on. The dual tracks of schooling for full citizenship and second-class citizenship were clearly reflections of how U.S. society developed, as well as other developed and developing nations. This idea of civic hierarchy is important to consider when U.S. restrictions on voting rights, naturalization, and immigration historically designated most people ineligible for full citizenship due to race, ethnicity, or gender.¹

The 1790 Naturalization Act was open only to free white males and foreclosed consideration of indentured servants, enslaved Africans, indigenous groups, and women. The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act would be the first race-based law restricting immigration to the United States. Such exclusionary laws were regular features embedded in the political, cultural, and social norms of society. In examining the structure of society rooted in race-based policies, it is instrumental to consider how racial formation has evolved in the shaping of educational policy throughout history and its effects on the political economy.

Such racial projects become embedded through human experience vis-à-vis systems of hegemony, including in schools. In other words, how race becomes defined and used through laws and social customs depends on how those in power define the parameters of race at any given time. In that sense, race takes on a fluid structure of identifications and meanings. However, the reality of what is experienced due to race does not change. For example, despite Homer Plessy's physical appearance as a white man, the fact of his African ancestry relegated him to permanent secondary citizenship status in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896).

In this sense, racial projects connect to the perceptions and meanings placed upon everyday practices and policies, thereby rendering them real and fixed. The reified ways of displacing nonwhites to subordinate status made their position natural and unchangeable, thus constantly serving to reinforce systems of power and oppression. Racial categories, and the means by which disenfranchised groups questioned their definitions and usage, were still determined by those defining what race meant in those particular historical moments.

At the same time, there was steadfast resistance by the oppressed to gain full inclusion and recognition in the polity and for some indigenous populations to remain sovereign within their own tribal nations. The encroachment of European civilization would alter as well how schooling systems were established and administered.²

Reformers in the North American colonial era, in working to develop a new national identity apart from England, realized that they needed to contain and control populations they deemed unfit. Unfortunately that resulted in immediate actions to limit inclusion of indigenous populations and foreclose for another two hundred years the development of schooling for African Americans. How to deal with the “Indian problem” early on rested on developing statutes for conversion to Christianity. Democratic citizenship-building required that one be brought up in the ways of “civilization” and stripped one’s cultural heritage and identity that resembled any semblance of “savagery,” that is, those characteristics incongruent with Western European culture. The early republican reformers’ obsession with virtue, morality, and character had grave consequences for American Indians and African Americans. While having the potential to achieve limited inclusion in the polity, their so-called savage and barbaric nature would forever keep them in the lower rungs in society.

To key republican reformers, virtue and citizenship worked hand in hand. Their adoption of such ideas was to be expected, as these ideas emanated from European Enlightenment traditions. However, the new nation of the United States required that (white) *men* possess requisite characteristics befitting a new government. Virtuous citizenship meant a clear disposition toward self-restraint and control, civilized mannerisms, and a belief in the Christian God. Those characteristics were assumed to be natural endowments of the so-called lighter races of mankind. The darker races, including indigenous tribes and enslaved Africans, were thought to be barbaric and savage, as their earthy, natural existence supposedly lacked the cultivated, civilized, and reasoned ways of being. Their path toward virtue could be achieved, to a point, as they could be socialized to adopt the mores of a proper citizen. What was not natural had to be shaped and molded into the likeness of those defining the parameters of virtue and citizenship. Theories of racial classification, later cemented in the writings of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach in the eighteenth century, held global appeal. The African slave trade that extended for more than four centuries worldwide would have educational implications in the United States and elsewhere, such as in Brazil, where phenotypical racial structures defined access to education. Indigenous populations also posed challenges in the British colonies such as Australia, where Christianity was deemed the foundation of virtuous citizenship.

Some of the early educational dicta would establish paths toward Christian conversion and literacy through reading basic passages of the Bible. For example, in 1646 the Massachusetts General Court enacted a law that Indians be informed every year that they could face death for denying the validity of the Christian God. The rise of the European colonial regime in Australia in the early nineteenth century also marked the beginning of Christian conversion through deculturalization in government and mission schools. Various religious denominations played an increasing role in establishing and perpetuating efforts toward “civilization” of native and enslaved African populations in the United States. The Anglican Church established its base in the South, most notably in Georgia, and the Catholic Church with its Spanish missions controlled the southwestern and western parts of the United States. The Anglican and Catholic churches’ control in Africa and Latin and South America, respectively, reveals the global influence of religion and colonialism.³

In New England, the primacy of religion, namely Calvinism, as a driving force during the colonial era gave rise to early educational reform policies. The Massachusetts Bay Colony recognized the need for a literate populace, at least to read the Bible and the laws, and created in 1642 the first law requiring children to read and write. In response to complaints that families were negligent in sending their children to school, a new law was passed in 1647. The Massachusetts' Old Deluder Satan Law required every town where at least fifty households resided to offer a school to subvert "that old deluder Satan[, who wished] to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures." These foundational laws provided pathways to publicly funded schools, where the responsibility of schooling would slowly shift from families to local communities at public expense. Grammar schools, typically designed for boys to enter the ministry, and dame schools, which provided the poor and girls rudimentary lessons in reading and writing through the *New England Primer*, became mainstays during this time. Early provisions for public schooling were not universal in scope, as they limited the participation of females and the poor, as well as students of color in the northern states. What attempts there were to inculcate civilized education in indigenous groups in the Northeast proved unsuccessful. For example, the establishment of Henrico College for Native Americans failed to take into account the already established mode of education the Powhatan Algonquian tribe provided for their young. The colonists did not realize what powerful resistance they were up against, and the institution was short-lived. In general, the approach to schooling as a private, family affair, funded locally, would continue for at least another century.⁴

Colonists feared that enslaved Africans who became literate in the Bible would demand to be treated as equals under the eyes of God. White slaveholders sought to balance the need to convert enslaved Africans to Christianity (serving democratic needs) with the need to maintain control of the slaves as property. Providing access to literacy had the potential of opening up avenues toward citizenship, thereby personhood, which aroused the fears of slave owners. In an effort to thwart such an outcome, South Carolina passed a statute in 1711, the Conversion of Slaves to Christianity, allowing for slaves to be converted and be baptized, but stipulating that they would forever be considered property. Despite the threat of death, enslaved Africans actively sought and acquired literacy, which held the promise of freedom.⁵

Early and what was considered radical attempts to secure universal schooling at the public's expense was proposed by Thomas Jefferson in the Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge of 1779 and *Notes on the State of Virginia*. These plans outlined a formula whereupon all free children (white boys and girls) would receive three years of schooling—just enough to gain literacy skills to read (and figure their taxes as adults). Tying the goals of schooling to the aims of building a new republic was paramount. Even though the early schooling patterns followed the English model, the new goal of developing a national character divorced from the former colonial master evolved. Jefferson proposed building a natural aristocracy, a system of meritocracy based on intellectual aptitude rather than inherited social status, and that cultivating such native intelligence should be done at the public's expense. Jefferson's plan was a revolutionary blueprint for offering a universal system of education for all free white boys and girls. His proposal to include the free education of girls, and boys from the lower socioeconomic classes, was one of the first nationalized attempts to recognize gender and social class diversity. However, his scholarship system for poor boys to attain higher levels of learning never took root during his time. (Elements of it would surface during the twentieth century, with the development of the National Merit Scholars program, for example.)

At no time was the attempt to increase opportunities for schooling more evident than in the 1830s, with the organization of the common school movement in the United States. The idea was to have all white children of European ancestry, girls and boys from various social classes and different religious beliefs, educated in common so that the potential for discord among them would be lessened. Reformers were heavily influenced by the Prussian school system, in which order and the development of moral character were paramount and education was publicly supported. It was also during this time that early forms of systematic tracking began, whereby those of the popular classes would receive the *Volksschule* (elementary) education, whose schooling would cease at the equivalent of the eighth grade, and the *Gymnasium* (university preparatory schooling) would be open to the elites seeking higher learning.

A way to address European immigrant and religious diversity at this time was through a generic form of pan-Protestantism. The promotion of native Protestant ideology rested on the following major propositions: the sacredness and fragility of the republican polity with heavy emphasis on individualism, liberty, and virtue; building of individual character to foster social morality; developing a central role of personal industry in defining merit; delineating a highly respected but limited domestic role for women; building character to enhance familial and social environments; possessing the social virtue of property; believing in the equality and abundance of economic opportunity in the U.S.; internalizing the superiority of American Protestant culture and the grandeur of American destiny; seeing the role of education as unifying America's diverse populations. The task of building morality rested on developing virtue that embodied the values of property ownership, self-sacrifice, and subordination. Poor character was a result of vice and poverty, seen individual choices rather than structural inequities. Schooling would stress unity, obedience, restraint, and careful exercise of intelligence. In furthering that mission, no controversial issues were to be taught in schools.⁶

Republicanism also necessitated a central belief in Protestantism where economic progress and virtue were inherent features. The core tenet of Protestant ideology for common schools held that human beings possessed the potential to be good and that all were born equal, but some were better equipped than others to be wise, able, and virtuous. Thus it would be incumbent upon educational institutions to formally guide the proper growth of individuals befitting their role in society. The final critical element, capitalism, would also be emphasized in schools as an indelible component of republicanism and the Protestant work ethic. The emphasis on individual character derived from students seeing the value of hard work and property ownership. Idleness was seen as a vice and industriousness as providing happiness, prosperity, and ultimately a path toward fair opportunity. Whereas hardworking people in temporary poverty, due to some form of personal calamity, deserved charity, those individuals who suffered from chronic poverty caused by indolence deserved their plight. The salience of such beliefs would reverberate to educate the underclass, to reinforce their chosen plight, and to solidify their status as second-class citizens. The belief that those in poverty deserved or chose their lifestyle would also have implications in educational reform in the twentieth century, when the culture of poverty came to be seen in pathological terms, as a condition impervious to social reforms.⁷

Clearly common schooling excluded provisions for educating American Indians and enslaved Africans. Elsewhere in the United States, that also meant exclusion of Asian and Mexican Americans in the mid- to late nineteenth century. The era of Manifest Destiny justified possession and vast settlement of lands by whites to encroach on native tribal

territory. In 1828 Congress designated Oklahoma as Indian Territory, thereby creating the reservation system for various Indian tribes. In 1830 Congress passed the Indian Removal Act, forcibly displacing American Indians to areas west of the Mississippi River. To make way for civilization in those lands meant expanding railroads and agriculture, especially in the southern regions. The explicit message in this legislation linked republicanism, civilization, and schooling to Christian ideals of progress.

Whereas spreading democracy and republican ideals became a colonial project, resistance against the government's exclusionary definitions of who merited liberty and individual freedoms also existed. People of color waged legal battles against separate and unequal schooling. A prime example is the case of *Sarah C. Roberts v. The City of Boston* (1849), in which five-year-old Sarah's father brought suit against the city, challenging its policy of racial segregation. As a result, in 1855 the Massachusetts legislature became the first to legally end the practice of school segregation. In California the State Supreme Court case of *Ward v. Flood* in 1874 would determine the segregation of public schools throughout the West and beyond. The court agreed in principle that California school officials could not bar admission based on race. The judges concluded, however, that black Californians, and other students of color for that matter, could be forced into separate schools. This opened the system of separate and unequal schooling practices that would continue through *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896 and until *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954.⁸

The effort to deal with the "Indian problem" through educational reforms and policies existed in the colonies from the mid-seventeenth century, but the federal government's role in the establishment of the boarding school movement would be a wholesale effort to civilize a race. It made more economic sense to educate Indians, as the enormous costs of waging war with them would be four times that of educating thirty thousand children a year. The callous approach to treating the indigenous population aligned with the ultimate goal of cultural imperialism inherent in the republican ideology of westward expansion and Christianization. Education would provide preparation for citizenship, but how American Indians would be afforded the legal and social rights to citizenship was left unanswered.

American Indian boarding schools were federally funded efforts to assimilate and Christianize the children, but recent scholarship adds important nuances to how the students, even the very young children, actively sought ways to resist oppression. It was no coincidence that the type of schooling offered in the boarding schools aligned with those aimed at educating African Americans. Industrial education for African Americans was based on the Hilo Boarding School, established in 1836 in Hawaii, where Native Hawaiians (and later a small group of Asian and Pacific Islanders) were educated for subservience. This transference of educational models across the Pacific shows the deliberate efforts made to educate for differentiated status. White women teachers who taught in places like Carlisle Indian Industrial School, the first federally funded off-reservation Indian boarding school, also transplanted curricula reflecting white Protestant norms when teaching in government schools in the Philippines and Puerto Rico.⁹

Exclusion of particular groups of students in the common school era was not entirely a matter of race, although race was the prominent feature. Those who did not fit the norms of Protestantism also faced challenges. Catholicism, although a Christian religion, was under attack as the majority-Catholic Irish immigrants began to settle in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. The Irish immigrants became racialized by native Protestants and in popular culture to occupy the status of the darker races (i.e., as barbaric, unclean, and lacking virtue),

and their belief in Catholicism and the papacy further distinguished their arcane, supposed satanic beliefs against the more noble and true Protestant denomination. Anti-Irish and anti-Catholic sentiments in the United States revealed the long history of discrimination in the United Kingdom, especially during the Victorian era, where social and political prejudice was commonplace.¹⁰

The Catholics felt they had no choice but to establish their own system of schooling rather than continue to face abuses in the public schools. In the Second and Third Plenary Council of 1866 and 1884, the foundations for the development of Catholic schools were in place. The Council argued that such parochial schools would benefit the state and advance the upbringing of moral and Christian citizens through the education they would receive. The public schools, as they saw it, failed to impart the correct religious instruction.

The establishment of a general common school system in Canada was formalized in the Education Act of 1836, which authorized state funding to school districts for nondenominational elementary schooling for children of fishing families. However, given the contentious relationship between various Protestant sects and Catholics throughout northeastern Canada, assurances of consistent and equitable schooling were difficult to achieve. The rising tide of Catholics and non-Anglican Protestants began to outnumber the Anglican population in the nineteenth century, and as a result, provincial reforms to establish common schools, while desired, were haphazard. Even more problematic were the ways in which First Nations and other minoritized groups received education that bore the brunt of assimilation and other modes of deculturalization.

The contentious relationship between Protestants and Jews, Hindus, Muslims, and other religious groups would continue to surface in Canada, the United States, and other countries throughout the twentieth century, especially with the arrival of new immigrant groups. Perhaps a key difference in the twentieth-century Canadian context was the evolution and establishment of the Citizenship Act of 1947 and how the discourse surrounding citizenship incorporated concerns for cultural diversity. Prior to the passage of the act, Canadian officials linked educational initiatives through citizenship education to recognize immigrant groups as well as First Nations members.¹¹

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries would witness an unprecedented increase in the numbers of immigrants to U.S. cities from southern and eastern Europe. Cities became overcrowded and struggled with unsanitary living conditions. The total foreign-born population in the U.S. increased sevenfold between 1850 and 1930, from 2,244,602 to 14,204,149, with 1.9 percent of the foreign-born coming from Asia. Immigration policies soon followed to control for those who would enter the United States and be eligible for citizenship. Asian immigration was virtually curtailed by several measures: the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, the Asiatic Barred Zone in 1917, and the Immigration Act of 1924. In 1907, stemming from a school segregation case in San Francisco against Japanese Americans that eventually involved the federal government, the Gentlemen's Agreement was reached between the governments of the United States and Japan to limit the entry of Japanese immigrants, although the wives and children of Japanese who had immigrated earlier were allowed entry. In essence, immigration policies tacitly favored western European settlement. The 1924 Immigration Act further substantiated and made explicit such favoritism by placing quotas on specific regions and countries based on 1890 census figures. The sponsors of the immigration bill, who were involved in the pseudo-science of eugenics (promoting the purity of the white, Anglo race), also had supporters who influenced high school biology textbooks.

The popularization of eugenics spread to many other countries at the time. A prime example of its global reach was felt in Brazil in the 1930s with efforts to promote a modern progressive citizenry in building the “Brazilian man” through expansive education reform. The key element of educational reforms was finding effective means of uplifting the degenerate class of nonwhite students toward a white ideal. The Brazilian census organization of the races as white, brown, black, and yellow (*branco, pardo, preto, and amarelo*) oftentimes dictated the degree to which education practices further served to enhance white elites. Those within the nonwhite ranks could achieve limited status by becoming whitened through schooling.

Elementary education reforms in Rio de Janeiro, under the leadership of Anísio Teixeira from 1931 to 1935, laid the foundation for public education in the country and both explicitly and tacitly drove educational policies and practices for first-class and second-class citizenship. The social hygiene movement in public health also used deliberate means to whiten the population of Brazil through European immigration. Schools became the primary vehicle through which eugenic nationalism took place. Eugenic supporters in Brazil became key educational reformers in designing school curricula to fashion a narrow and more European mold of the ideal Brazilian citizen. The solution to racial and social degeneracy required careful attention to conforming mental and physical hygiene that befit whiteness. Brazil’s fascination with race and racial categories would become all-consuming.¹²

In the U.S. the continuing fear of immigration and the reproduction of those who were deemed unwanted became the driving force behind developing programs so that white, middle-class, educated members of society would not commit race suicide. Initially targeting the mentally challenged and the indigent, policies of forced sterilization gained in relative popularity in the U.S. territory of Puerto Rico, where nearly one-third of the female population from the 1930s to the 1970s was forcibly sterilized. Though exact numbers are not available, African American and Native American women also became victims during and after the Progressive Era. In high school biology textbooks policies of sterilization were often portrayed as a fit corrective for combating social ills.¹³

Coupled with political reforms aimed at limiting immigration and social reforms aimed at reproducing a better race of Americans were education reforms designed to inculcate in the young proper modes of adapting to American culture. Typically that meant adopting Anglo-Protestant values. For those immigrant populations who could never fit the image of the ideal American, Americanization efforts came with suspicions about loyalty. Treatment of the Japanese American and immigrant population in Hawaii after World War I documents how the government’s distrust of the Japanese, fueled by racist stereotypes, influenced the implementation of school policies that configured Japanese Americans as disloyal to the U.S.

Chinese school segregation experiences in California also point to arguments assailing Chinese Americans as perpetual foreigners and unfit to attend schools with white children. Seeing clearly the assault on their children’s rights as American-born citizens, immigrant Chinese parents waged legal battles to fight for their children’s rightful place in the public schools. The 1885 *Tape v. Hurley* case argued in the California Supreme Court was a landmark battle that would set a precedent for maintaining “separate but equal” as affirmed in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. In *Gong Lum v. Rice* (1927) the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed the decision to deny Martha Lum, daughter of the plaintiff Gong Lum, the ability to attend the public white school in Rosedale, Mississippi. Despite the entrenched tradition of racial segregation in the South, the Lums and their supporters argued that citizenship would have to, at least at some point, overcome inequitable treatment before the law.¹⁴

Mexican Americans in the Southwest and on the West Coast faced double jeopardy. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1847 granted citizenship rights to Mexicans who lived in the territories ceded to the United States, but concerted efforts took place to deny them equal access and rights. Mexican American schoolchildren faced obstructions similar to those African and Asian Americans encountered when attempting to access public schools. Throughout the southwestern U.S. de facto and de jure segregation rendered Mexican Americans “legally white, socially Mexican.” Such segregationist practices did not stall the resistance by parents and students to advocate for equal access to schooling. From the Lemon Grove incident to *Mendez v. Westminster* (1946), activists fought to achieve the promise of common schooling for all. The 1931 *Alvarez v. Lemon Grove* case, set in a suburb outside of San Diego, is considered to be the first successful school desegregation case in the United States and would set a precedent for the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954. To be sure, Texas, Arizona, and other southwestern states either had explicit policies of school segregation or a tradition that allowed segregation to be practiced. In Lemon Grove, Mexican parents and community members boycotted, sought assistance from the Mexican consul, and filed a lawsuit against the separate and unequal facility. In contrast to other decisions regarding school segregation of Mexican Americans at the time, the court in the *Lemon Grove* case ruled that the school board had no legal basis on which to segregate the children as California law did not authorize or permit the maintenance of separate schools for school-age children of Mexican descent.

Despite this victory, obstructions to the education of Mexican schoolchildren continued. It would not be until the 1946 *Mendez v. Westminster* case in California that more national attention was paid to the issue of school segregation of Mexican Americans. The court would side with the Mexican community in finding that separate was not equal. The decision also stated that segregation violated Mexican American children's right to equal protection under the Fourteenth Amendment. The *Mendez* case was critical to setting a precedent for overturning the infamous *Plessy* case in the historic *Brown* decision.¹⁵

On May 17, 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court declared school segregation to be unconstitutional throughout the nation in the case of *Brown v. The Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas*. The hypocrisy of the country's mistreatment of its nonwhite citizens, in particular African Americans, became a point of critique by the Soviet Union, especially in its message to the world that capitalist democracy breeds racial inequality. The *Brown* decision occupied center stage globally, and that unwanted attention pushed the end of segregation in the schools. This suggested that efforts to advance the rights for minorities and other oppressed groups in the United States, and globally for that matter, hinged on how interest convergence would tip the balance in whites' favor.

The *Brown* decision stands in stark contrast to one of the more oppressive education policies established in apartheid South Africa in 1953. The Bantu Education Act of 1953 effectively solidified white South African government control to mandate an inferior education for black South Africans. The apartheid system in South Africa effectively began with parliamentary control by the National Party in 1948, where antipathy for black South Africans was deliberately entrenched in a range of policies regarding education, housing, and other matters. That the ruling white elites saw no use to educate their black counterparts was evident in the systematic denial of funding, of a professional teaching force, of facilities and textbooks, among other factors. The social and political system built on racial phenotypes determined who would achieve an education for servitude. While the system of white Afrikaner rule

was nothing new, transitioning the education system from one that was predominantly mission-based to a centralized system cemented segregation. Despite limited gains from the revolts of the late twentieth century that resulted in its first democratic elections in 1994, South Africa's tradition of discrimination remains problematic.¹⁶

In post-World War II Australia, the government initiated efforts to increase its population through aggressive immigration campaigns, aimed primarily at Scandinavia and the Netherlands. However, with immigrants from Greece, Italy, Eastern Europe, and parts of Asia, the population of Australia nearly doubled in size from 1945 to 1965, creating more diversity in terms of ethnicity. The "White Australia" policy that had been in effect since the 1850s, stemming from anti-Chinese labor practices, gradually loosened by the mid-twentieth century. But given the inextricable link between schools and society, from a global context, the aims of schooling did not match the cultural wealth of experiences by indigenous and racialized immigrant groups in Australia.¹⁷

Historical and current-day contexts of global racism have emerged from particularized Western European traditions rooted in difference and power. While arguments can be made to the contrary, much of this is historically rooted in the treatment of social and cultural diversity by colonial and imperial powers. In analyzing systems of education as a means of social control, extant evidence points to the lack of success in fully incorporating diverse student populations, especially in relation to indigenous populations around the globe. The example of New Zealand's Education Act of 1877, while providing for compulsory education for all school-age children, had particular implications for its Maori populations. It would not be until the twentieth century that provisions for more inclusive school systems and pedagogy began to surface. Colonial control in places such as the Philippines dictated its system of education first through Catholicism under Spain, then under U.S. control in the mid-twentieth century. School teachers, textbooks, and curricula were exported from mainland U.S. school systems, promoting assimilation of American norms.

In the contemporary era, school segregation in the United States, especially in urban areas, has become more entrenched recently. Whatever gains were made in the latter part of the twentieth century, especially in the late 1960s and early 1970s through the War on Poverty, desegregation policies and busing programs have reversed dramatically, with African American and Latinx student populations feeling the brunt of school inequities. Depending on the subpopulations, Asian American students often also attend schools in highly segregated settings, especially where urban poverty reigns. American Indian students and other indigenous student populations have gained limited sovereign control. Yet the incorporation of their language and cultural traditions within the mainstream education system remains unfinished. Whatever limited gains have been made through tribal schooling have not mitigated conditions of abject poverty.

Future historians of education interested in examining social and cultural diversity, especially on a global scale, can begin by asking what educational inequality looks like given particular histories, contexts, and regions. How have nation-states defined and implemented differing notions of democracy and citizenship in educating their youth? What are some of the parallels of understanding difference based on race, gender, class, and culture? Where are the points of divergence in accounting for each country's unique histories? One of the major challenges to a globalized approach exists in knowing how to creatively access historical sources, especially in war-torn areas where archival sources are no longer to be found and were sometimes deliberately destroyed. The reliance on innovative historical research methods through the use of technology may advance such efforts.

Combining scholarship with ethnic and gender studies, for example, where theoretical rigor can aid in further deepening the contextual basis of educational experiences, can yield additional analyses. There is much to know about intersectional, interrelational, and multi-racial formations in the study of social and cultural diversity. While important studies of particular racialized and gendered populations exist, more intersectional and multiracial educational scholarship is needed. In addition, considerations of transimperialism and its effects on education practices in international histories of education will also shed new light on the processes of citizenship-building and who was allowed entry into such efforts.

The promise of full democratic citizenship under the ideals of common schooling for all is still an experiment in the making. History provides evidence of how forms of legalized segregation and traditions of social practice defined who would receive a better education. Too often this meant clear demarcation along racial lines. How race as a social category came to define clear hierarchies and deny opportunities for minoritized groups is a haunting reminder of the fissures still in existence. However, the one constant throughout is how advocates for the dispossessed have continued to argue for full democratic rights, locally and globally, for all citizens.

NOTES

1. Rogers M. Smith, *Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in U.S. History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997).
2. Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*, 2nd edition (New York: Routledge), 55.
3. Joel Spring, *The American School: 1642–2004*, 6th edition (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005). See also Ronald Takaki, *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in 19th-Century America*, revised edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).
4. Spring, *The American School*. More on this can be found in James W. Fraser, *The School in the United States: A Documentary History* (New York: McGraw Hill, 2001), 8; Maris Vinoskis, "Family and Schooling in Colonial and Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of Family History* 12, nos. 1–3 (1987): 19–37.
5. Fraser, *The School in the United States*. See also Heather Andrea Williams, *Self-Taught: African American Education in Slavery and Freedom* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).
6. Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780–1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983).
7. *Ibid.*, 95.
8. Charles M. Wollenberg, *All Deliberate Speed: Segregation and Exclusion in California Schools, 1855–1975* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).
9. William E. H. Tagupa, "Education, Change, and Assimilation in Nineteenth Century Hawai'i," *Pacific Studies* 5, no. 1 (1981): 57–70. See also Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995).
10. See, for example, Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 2008).
11. Paul Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling: Education in Canada, 1800–1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); Reva Joshee, "Citizenship and Multicultural Education in Canada: From Assimilation to Social Cohesion," in *Diversity and Citizenship Education: Global Perspectives*, ed. J. A. Banks (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2004), 127–156.
12. Spring, *The American School*, 177. The eugenics movement would also gain support in Nazi Germany before and during World War II.
13. See, for example, Steven Selden, *Inheriting Shame: The Story of Eugenics and Racism in America* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1999); Jerry Dávila, *Diploma of Whiteness: Race and Social Policy in Brazil, 1917–1945* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003).

14. Eileen Tamura, *Americanization, Acculturation, and Ethnic Identity: The Nisei Generation in Hawaii* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993). See also Wollenberg, *All Deliberate Speed*; Paula Fass, *Outside In: Minorities and the Transformation of American Education* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Michael B. Katz, *The Irony of Early School Reform: Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2001); John L. Rury, ed., *Urban Education in the United States: A Historical Reader* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan); David B. Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974); George J. Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); James W. Loewen, *The Mississippi Chinese: Between Black and White*, 2nd edition (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, 1988).
15. Rubén Donato and Jarrod S. Hanson, “Legally White, Socially ‘Mexican’: The Politics of De Jure and De Facto School Segregation in the American Southwest,” *Harvard Educational Review* 82, no. 2 (Summer 2012): 215. See also Carlos Blanton, *The Strange Career of Bilingual Education in Texas, 1836–1981* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2007); Victoria-María MacDonald, ed., *Latino Education in the United States: A Narrated History from 1513–2000* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004).
16. K. B. Hartshorne, *The Making of Education Policy in South Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999). See also Edward B. Fiske and Helen F. Ladd, *Elusive Equity: Education Reform in Post-Apartheid Africa* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institute, 2004).
17. Craig Campbell and Helen Proctor, *A History of Australian Schooling* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 2014).

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CHAPTER 25

EDUCATION AND THE AFRICAN DIASPORA

CHRISTOPHER M. SPAN AND BRENDA N. SANYA

SLAVERY and its legacies completely disrupted the African continent. For nearly four hundred years (1500–1900) Africans were captured, kidnapped, stolen, sold, dispersed, and displaced from their homeland to other parts of the world as slave labor. The vast majority of Africans enslaved during this period were dispersed to North and South America, particularly Brazil, the Caribbean, and the United States. As a result of this four-century-long process of oppression and forced migration, by the start of the twentieth century people of African descent lived on every continent and in virtually every society where forms of slavery developed by Europeans were practiced. The forced movement of Africans outside the spaces and places that they and their ancestors called home has come to be known as the diaspora.

Countless historians have studied the African diaspora, but one topic that has been significantly understudied is education. How Africans in the diaspora came to learn, attend school, and advance their knowledge, both during enslavement and in the years thereafter, is a remarkable narrative. Africans captured and enslaved during the transatlantic slave trade and their descendants would attempt to use literacy and schools well into the twentieth century as a means to liberate themselves from enslavement and segregation by law and advance themselves as citizens in their new homelands. Their pursuit of learning was a direct challenge to the societies and people that sanctioned African enslavement and persecution and systematically denied them the right to learn and attend school and become full-fledged citizens. Once given the opportunity to acquire an education on their own terms, Africans in the diaspora used it to shape their own destinies and lay the foundation for progress not just in their diasporic homes but in their ancestral ones as well.

EDUCATION IN WEST AFRICA BEFORE THE SLAVE TRADE

Attitudes Africans held about the acquisition of knowledge and education arguably shaped their demand for education after their capture and displacement in the diaspora. In the

centuries before the enslavement and dislocation of Africans became commonplace, in the realms of Ghana, Mali, and Songhay, education was one of the foremost attainments needed to ensure prosperity and wealth. In 1493, a year after Christopher Columbus set sail to eventually “discover” and conquer the New World, the Kingdom of Songhay would usher in a new ruler, Askia Mohammed, and between 1493 and 1529, Mohammed devoted his energies to strengthening his empire and encouraging his people to learn. He built schools in record numbers and urged inhabitants to attend them. By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, cities such as Gao, Walata, Timbuktu, and Jenne became intellectual centers under Mohammed’s governance, and scholars throughout West Africa and from as far away as Asia and Europe traveled to them for consultation and study.¹

Ghana, Mali, and Songhay, in Northwest and West Africa, were not the only empires to establish systems of education for the everyday citizen. In other, smaller West African kingdoms, such as Kano, Zaria, and Katsina, different educational philosophies were developed, Katsina’s being the most progressive. There law and theology were studied in great detail, and scholars traveled from abroad to learn there. Likewise in Kano and Zaria, leaders expected the citizenry to become literate and multilingual to ensure the continuation of vibrant and robust trade and to remain competitive in expanding global markets.

There was a general expectation across the region that everyone was to become literate and educated in order to advance themselves and their families. While slavery existed in these parts of Africa, as Muslim invaders, for example, developed a system of slavery that seized women for harems and men for menial labor, it was not an institution for the mass production of goods for profit. Nor was slavery as harsh, cruel, severe, or permanent as it would come to be in the systems developed by Europeans and their descendants who settled in the Americas. Even so, the forced outmigration of Africans as slave labor to the Arabian Peninsula, Europe, Asia, and the Americas created the first waves of the African diaspora. It also ushered in the systematic denial of any meaningful opportunities to obtain an education that would allow Africans and their descendants to shape their own destinies amid these extremely traumatic and difficult times.

THE EDUCATION OF AFRICANS DURING ENSLAVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

Though historians who have studied the African American educational experience during slavery do not situate their work within the field of diasporic studies or categorize enslaved African Americans as diasporic people, their research and scholarship are nonetheless very much a part of the larger diasporic narrative of Africans in the Americas. These scholars have illustrated the numerous laws and practices that denied enslaved African people and their descendants the liberties and privileges reserved for whites. Whereas Africans may have lived in societies where education was valued and afforded, those who survived the Middle Passage (the movement of millions of enslaved Africans across the Atlantic) were denied all opportunities associated with freedom and citizenship, education included. In the British mainland colonies, which would later become the United States, through more than two centuries of enslavement, Africans who arrived on its eastern and southern shores

would be culturally transformed into African Americans. By the end of the eighteenth century and amid this cultural transformation, the United States enacted a series of laws prohibiting the importation of slaves. The first was the Slave Trade Act of 1794, which regulated and restricted the importation of Africans as slaves in the United States; thereafter the 1807 Slave Trade Act ended U.S. participation in the transatlantic slave trade. Accordingly, by the 1860 census, less than 1 percent of the nearly 4 million enslaved African Americans in the United States were identified as being African-born, or a person of African descent born or naturalized outside the United States. Of the nearly half-million African Americans classified as “free” in the 1860 census, not one was listed as being born outside the United States.²

It was during the expansion of slavery and the transcontinental journey of enslaved African Americans that nearly every slave-sanctioning state prohibited or restricted by law free and enslaved African Americans from learning how to read or write. As early as 1740, the colony of South Carolina enacted a law that prohibited any person from teaching enslaved African Americans to read or write. Thirty years later colonial Georgia established its own antiliteracy law that forbade teaching enslaved African Americans even the rudiments of literacy. Restrictions on African American literacy grew worse in the decades following the American Revolution, as slavery expanded and became a more ingrained institutional practice. Local ordinances supplemented state laws, and in some places teaching African Americans, enslaved or freeborn, became a crime. Laws against teaching African Americans to read and write grew out of a variety of fears and concerns. The most straightforward were that enslaved African Americans would use literacy as a means to obtain freedom by forging documents to escape bondage, and that free African Americans could use their learning to demand equality and better opportunities and to challenge slavery and racial discrimination.³

Between 1830 and 1845 countless antiliteracy laws were established to ensure that enslaved, and in some cases free, African Americans did not become literate or attend school. Only three slave-sanctioning states—Arkansas, Kentucky, and Tennessee—never legally forbade the teaching of enslaved African Americans. Laws and cultural practices became so restrictive that it is estimated only 5 to 10 percent of all enslaved African Americans acquired some degree of literacy prior to the Civil War.⁴

In northern and western states that either abolished or prohibited slavery, freeborn African Americans experienced similar restrictions and discrimination in their efforts to learn or attend schools. By 1860 all but one state outside the slave South (Massachusetts) restricted, segregated, or denied African Americans the right to send their children to school as equals to whites. The primary reason was that most whites could not conceive of African Americans being their equal or of their children attending school with children from other races.⁵

THE EDUCATION OF ENSLAVED AFRICANS IN OTHER PARTS OF THE AMERICAS

While little scholarship exists on the educational experiences of enslaved Africans in the diaspora outside of the United States, a number of examples in the historical record illustrate

how education was (or was not) afforded. In the Caribbean, Central America, and South America, where slavery was just as prevalent, education, as in the United States, often was seen as an impractical and even dangerous attainment for those enslaved. Still, there were differences, the foremost being that these countries did not establish laws to exclude people of African descent from learning or attending school. Another difference was demographic. Where by 1860 the United States reported an enslaved population that was largely native-born, those enslaved in the Caribbean and Central and South America represented a recurring mixture of Africans stolen and sold into slavery and diasporic African descendants defined as Afro-Caribbean, Afro-Mexican, or Afro-Brazilian.

When schooling opportunities arose for the enslaved and diasporic Africans displaced in these regions, they were provided in ways completely denied to enslaved African Americans. Brazil is an excellent illustration. In the four hundred years of the transatlantic slave trade, nearly 40 percent of all Africans sold into slavery were displaced to Brazil. The relationship between the Portuguese who colonized Brazil and the Africans they enslaved developed in unique ways, particularly regarding education. As late as the 1870s, for example, enslaved Afro-Brazilian children could attend integrated schools with free Portuguese children, despite the belief that teaching enslaved people was impractical or dangerous. It was noted that, “down to the middle of the nineteenth century, when the first railroads came in, it was the custom on the plantations to have the young ones study at home, with the chaplain or with a private tutor. The Big Houses almost always had a schoolroom . . . [and] very often the Negroes of the household, the *crias* and *muleques*, studied with the white children and all together learned to read and write, to do sums, and to pray.” The schooling opportunities available to enslaved Afro-Brazilians were more reminiscent of Islamic schools in western parts of Africa than anything developed by the Portuguese. After nearly four hundred years of slavery, one could still see the retention of Islamic and African influences, particularly in cities like Bahia, where enslaved children allowed to attend school recited their multiplication tables and spelling lessons as if they were in attendance at a “Mohammaden school” in an Islamic empire-state in West Africa.⁶

No formal schooling opportunities existed for the diasporic Africans in the French, British, and Spanish colonies in the Caribbean. Enslaved Africans and their descendants in Jamaica, the Antilles, Cuba, Haiti, and the West Indies, for example, were denied access to a formal education until slavery was abolished in the mid-nineteenth century. Missionary schools sporadically opened and closed throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but no legislative provisions were established to educate these diasporic Africans. A primary reason was the fact that enslaved Afro-Caribbeans often vastly outnumbered Europeans there. Prior to emancipation, enslaved Afro-Cubans constituted 30 percent of the island’s population, and on many of the smaller islands—Antigua, Grenada, Bahamas, Barbados, Jamaica, Haiti, and Trinidad—enslaved Afro-Caribbeans were nearly 90 percent of the inhabitants.

THE EDUCATION OF AFRICANS AFTER EMANCIPATION

Emancipation changed the educational opportunities for Africans in the diaspora. In the Caribbean, where slave revolts led to the abolition of slavery, and in Haiti, which won

independence from European colonial rule, demands for the establishment of state-sponsored education systems for newly freed Afro-Caribbeans quickly arose. Similar demands for universal education occurred in Central and South America and the United States upon the abolition of slavery. In 1804 Haiti became the first nation to develop a system of education specifically for diasporic Africans in the Americas. Led by Toussaint L'Ouverture, enslaved Haitians for nearly a decade had revolted against their slave owners, the French crown and its army, and the white militia. The result of this continued resistance and assault on French colonial rule and enslavement was independence. One of the first undertakings of the newly sovereign nation was the establishment of state-sponsored schools for its citizenry, regardless of race, socioeconomic status, or previous condition of servitude.

Throughout the nineteenth century in North and South America, one nation after another abolished slavery. The advent of emancipation afforded Africans in these parts of the diaspora access to educational opportunities systematically denied to them during enslavement. While most sought to take advantage of these new opportunities, education prepared a majority of diasporic Africans for life as subordinate or menial laborers, essentially second-class citizenship, well into the twentieth century. During the 1830s, for example, the British government established a system of elementary and secondary schools for former slaves throughout the Caribbean. Between 1833 and 1900 countless Afro-Caribbeans attended school, illiteracy rates dropped, and teacher-training institutes were developed. Still, only about 50 percent of the children in these Caribbean societies attended an elementary school, and on average fewer than 1 percent of secondary school-age children attended a secondary school on a regular basis. The schools were vastly inferior to the private schools established for wealthy Afro-Caribbean and British children, and most of the children who attended these schools were restricted to a curriculum that prepared them for manual and industrial labor.⁷

Minimal scholarship exists on the education of Africans in the diaspora in Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, Puerto Rico, and Cuba following emancipation. Only piecemeal examples can be found. For instance, it is estimated that only 11 percent of Afro-Cubans could read and write upon emancipation. Race, socioeconomic status, gender, and previous condition of servitude all played a role in the type and quality of education children of African descent received in these societies. Neocolonialism, the continuation of European influence and dominance over the affairs of indigenous and diasporic people, existed in these Caribbean and Central and South American societies, and this reality, in many ways, determined how educational systems developed there well into the mid-twentieth century. Accordingly, Cuba, Jamaica, Puerto Rico, and most other Caribbean societies developed systems of education that advocated a vocational or industrial curriculum for newly freed diasporic Africans and their children.⁸

Knowingly or not, the United States replicated the educational systems developed and adopted for former slaves in other parts of the diaspora. In the decades following emancipation in the United States, vocational or industrial education quickly became the preferred curriculum or method for educating formerly enslaved African Americans in the South. Countless theorists and practitioners debated the most appropriate curriculum to educate southern-born African American children, but two in particular—Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois—stood out. Washington was an advocate of industrial education, while Du Bois advocated a classical liberal arts education.⁹

Born into slavery in 1856, Washington argued that industrial education taught African American youth the knowledge and skills needed to perform agricultural and mechanical

labor in the South. The goal was to design an education system that taught African Americans a trade so they could find a job, earn and accumulate wealth and property, and gain the respect of whites. Washington acquired his appreciation for industrial education as a student at the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute under the guidance of its founder, Samuel Chapman Armstrong. In 1881, at age twenty-five, Washington became the founding principal of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute.

While many formerly enslaved African Americans across the South were attempting to build an educational system that promoted conceptions of freedom and progress, Washington worked to train a cadre of teachers to “educate” and encourage African American children to become menial agricultural or industrial laborers in a racially segregated society. The training of teachers to espouse such educational expectations for African American children went against the aspirations of most former slaves, who sought to become educated to realize what freedom and democracy meant. Washington’s goal was to avoid these questions and develop a pedagogy and ideology that promoted racial peace in the American South, even if it meant former slaves sacrificing their newfound political, social, and educational privileges.

Washington had his critics, and the most outspoken was Du Bois. Born in 1868 in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, Du Bois earned his baccalaureate degree at Fisk University and a Ph.D. from Harvard University, institutions that emphasized a classical liberal arts education. While he did agree that industrial education was a good curriculum in itself, Du Bois also believed it should not be the only curriculum available to African Americans. He was convinced that African American children should have the right to attend the school of their choice and that if they wanted to learn languages and Western arts, history, politics, and philosophy, they should be free to do so. He argued that the primary purpose of education was not to make men and women into tradespeople, artisans, domestics, or everyday laborers; it was to prepare them for leadership and make them into honorable and respectable men and women of the Republic.¹⁰

Du Bois insisted that African American students taught in a school that emphasized a classical liberal arts education would be best prepared to address the major issues facing their race and society. These students would emerge with the knowledge, skills, and confidence necessary to challenge a nation that firmly believed African Americans to be genetically and culturally inferior to whites, that regarded them as second-class citizens undeserving of such constitutionally protected liberties as the right to vote and equal protections and treatment under the law, and that established laws and cultural practices that segregated and disparaged African Americans in all aspects of public life.

Given such oppressive times, going to school to learn a trade to make money or gain an appreciation for the ideal of work seemed impractical to Du Bois. African Americans needed leaders for their race; America needed leaders to advance its democratic ideals. Du Bois reasoned that if the goal of school was to make money or simply gain a technical skill, then African Americans who graduated would have learned a good trade, but not much more. However, if schools were designed to teach African Americans about themselves and their existence within the American social order, to be sympathetic to the needs of others and knowledgeable of the world and its problems, the nation would produce not only future leaders to advance its democratic ideals but leaders who could address and resolve problems facing people of African descent all over the world. Du Bois would expand on these ideas with other educationalists and theorists interested in the histories and lived experiences of Africans in the diaspora. Pan-Africanism, the ideology or movement that would seek to

unite all people of African descent to educate themselves and demand freedom and equality, was the outgrowth of these ideas and efforts.

PAN-AFRICANISM AND TWENTIETH-CENTURY EDUCATION OF AFRICANS IN THE DIASPORA

Early pan-Africanists during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century formed networks of intellectuals and political activists from the African continent and intellectuals and civil rights activists in the diaspora. The political and educational ideas of African American civil rights leaders, in particular, left indelible political imprints in African nations. Beginning in the 1920s, the civil rights movement and the African independence campaigns commenced intellectual groundwork with the growth of pan-Africanism. Making clear connections between black African and African American racial experiences, Du Bois (aptly named a father of pan-Africanism) led the pan-Africanist movement. This movement would be central in anticolonial and independence struggles in Africa. Pan-Africanism increased international awareness of racism and colonialism, thereby shaping national leadership in postindependence Africa with pan-Africanist heads of state such as Haile Selassie (Ethiopia), Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana), Sékou Touré (Guinea-Conakry), Jomo Kenyatta (Kenya), Nnamdi Azikiwe (Nigeria), and Julius Nyerere (Tanzania).

Despite this movement for racial solidarity, awareness, and uplift, some of the earliest proposals for educational policies on the African continent were heavily influenced by the Washingtonian industrial education agenda. This arose from a study of African education funded by the African Education Commission of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, in cooperation with the International Education Board. A white industrial educationalist, Thomas Jesse Jones, who had directed a survey of “Negro [industrial] education” at Hampton, also led the Africa Education Commission study that resulted in two commission reports. These reports gained traction as they made recommendations to promote industrial education for Africans along the pedagogical lines established at Tuskegee. Du Bois considered the report and Jones’s vision for African advancement as being complicit with colonial occupation and the subjugation of all people of African descent. Denouncing the Phelps-Stokes Fund, Du Bois categorically declared that the commission was designed to aid Europeans and Americans in colonizing Africa and to make Africa safe for whites.¹¹

Consequently Du Bois continued to work toward a pan-African vision that linked the fight to end subordination of African Americans to anticolonial movements and ideologies abroad. He insisted on a radically different vision of education for liberation; he delineated all continental Africans and diasporic Africans as “black” and accordingly advocated that black people, worldwide, educate themselves and reflect upon their histories and struggles to collectively improve their lives. Pan-Africanism, while rooted in the struggles of all people of African descent, primarily had its roots in the United States, British West Indies, Great Britain, Canada, Haiti, and sub-Saharan Africa. The foremost goal of pan-Africanists from these nations was for Africans and diasporic Africans to unite in a common struggle to advance African self-determination and upend the legacy of the slave trade, slavery, and racial discrimination worldwide.¹²

Jamaican-born Marcus Garvey was a stalwart proponent of this call. He firmly believed no society that enslaved and racially discriminated against Africans and their progeny could ever acknowledge and treat them as full-fledged citizens. Garvey focused on the United States and the manner in which schools “educated” African Americans. In the American South, where the vast majority of African Americans still resided nearly sixty years after emancipation, they were required to attend racially segregated schools that were vastly inferior to those reserved for whites. While both Washington and Du Bois felt schooling could remedy the civic and economic challenges African Americans faced, Garvey felt otherwise. To Garvey, schools were the problem because teachers embraced and espoused preconceived stereotypes about African Americans and the curriculum reinforced the existing power structure and the ideological underpinnings of white supremacy. In short, schools were teaching African Americans to think and act as if they were inferior to whites. As such, Garvey felt the best answer for African Americans was to emigrate to Africa.

Garvey founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) and the Black Star Line, a fleet of ships to return diasporic Africans back to their ancestral lands. His Back to Africa movement inspired tens of thousands of African Americans to adopt a more black-nationalist viewpoint and openly question an American society that had sanctioned enslavement, legalized forms of racial discrimination, and forced African American children to attend inferior schools that prepared them for a life of servitude. Garvey’s catchphrase, “If they don’t treat you right, how can you expect them to teach you right!,” was simple enough logic to many African Americans disillusioned with America’s inability to universally accept them as citizens deserving of equal consideration, treatment, and protection under the law.¹³

Garvey’s influence on the surge of black nationalism outside the United States could be seen in George Padmore’s and T. Ras Makonnen’s influences on African leaders in academic settings in Manchester and London. These connections, which would later lead to political activism by Africans and African Americans, began with a generation of African nationalists pursuing higher education elsewhere, such as Amílcar Cabral in Portugal, Léopold Senghor and Cheikh Anta Diop in France, Jomo Kenyatta in the United Kingdom, Julius Nyerere and Oginga Odinga at Makerere University, and Nnamdi Azikiwe and Kwame Nkrumah in the United States, or Patrice Émery Lumumba, who immersed himself in Rousseau and Voltaire, seeking anti-imperialist lessons. Between 1923 and 1950 approximately 3,200 African students traveled to the United States to attend institutions of higher education. While strides were made during this period, schooling remained racially stratified, and Africans, from both the continent and the diaspora, were racially segregated and discriminated against in the United States. Most were restricted to attending historically black colleges and universities such as Lincoln, Fisk, or Tuskegee.¹⁴

Racial discrimination toward Africans seeking higher education outside their homeland was not unique to the United States, however. In 1954 the future anthropologist, historian, physicist, and politician Cheikh Anta Diop faced similar forms of discrimination when his dissertation on African cultural unity theories was rejected by his adviser at the Université de Paris. Not deterred in his quest to obtain a doctoral degree from the university, Diop would publish parts of his thesis the following year in a book entitled *Nations nègres et culture* (*Black Nations and Culture*). Thereafter he wrote a second thesis on a new topic, and in 1960 obtained his doctorate without any additional controversy. In essence, Diop wrote two dissertations to be conferred one doctorate at the Université de Paris.

Throughout much of the twentieth century, educational structures erected to perpetuate the marginalization and oppression of people of African descent meant that prevailing academic policies often curtailed the type and amount of education they received. Nevertheless the era ushered in a new phase in the diaspora, when Africans and diasporic Africans for the first time traveled freely to and from places that had enslaved their predecessors. With numerous scholars traveling for educational purposes, their destinations provided points of confluence for additional developments in pan-African thought and the quest for transnational black liberation. Freedom and economic independence from all aspects and vestiges of colonialism remained the overarching goal.

The mutually beneficial relationships between people of African descent had both educational and political successes. This was evident in the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah, Nnamdi Azikiwe, and Hastings Kamuzu Banda as African leaders turned to the education and expertise of African Americans leading the fight against segregation in their homeland. A leading figure was Thurgood Marshall, the lead attorney in the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) case in the United States. Marshall, a former classmate of Nkrumah's at Lincoln University, would become a representative of the delegation at the London Kenya Conference and a staunch advocate for the independence movements occurring in Africa. African students attending higher education institutions in the United States during the mid- to late 1950s were certainly impacted by the *Brown* decision and Marshall's leadership. Following *Brown*, the Kenyan trade unionist and nationalist Tom Mboya (who sought Marshall's legal counsel in the drafting of Kenya's constitution in 1960) rose to prominence in Kenya, aided by his ties to the United States. The intersection of the lives of Mboya and Marshall began a process of twining Kenyan political leadership with education in the United States. It also led to the African Airlift program, which brought groups of students to the United States. In 1959 over two hundred Kenyans received admission and tuition scholarships to attend institutions of higher education in the United States.

In an effort coordinated by Mboya, Jackie Robinson, Frank Montero, Cora Weiss, Ruth Bunche, William Scheinman, Paul Robeson, Harry Belafonte, Theodore Kheel of the National Urban League, the African American Students Foundation, and U.S. legislators, these students were "airlifted" out of Kenya. For these Kenyans, international black politics and education was not a distant myth. The names and works of Azikiwe, Ralph Bunche, Cabral, Aimé Césaire, Claudia Jones, Du Bois, Frantz Fanon, Garvey, Lorraine Hansberry, C. L. R. James, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Martin Luther King Jr., Nkrumah, Padmore, H. Sylvester-Williams, Malcolm X, and many other black civil rights leaders were present in the Kenyan political psyche. It was in the legacy of the airlifts that Barack Obama Sr., father of the first black president of the United States, as well as Wangari Maathai, the first African woman to win a Nobel Peace Prize, came to the United States to study.¹⁵

EDUCATION AND THE AFRICAN DIASPORA SINCE 1965

The civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s and the Black Power movements of the 1970s served as the catalyst for the desegregation of all public accommodations, including

schools, in the United States and the fuller inclusion of African Americans in the mainstream. Civil disobedience, mass protest, extended school desegregation campaigns, pleas from African American students for greater access, inclusion, and a curricula reflective of their culture and experiences on college campuses, and demands for equality and freedom forced the nation to upend long-held traditions and laws that denied African Americans their rights as citizens. The persistent efforts on the part of African American parents to ensure that their children received a quality school experience and equal protection under the law ushered in new educational opportunities for African American children and new laws for the nation as a whole.

The years 1964 and 1965 were particularly important with regard to the education of Africans in the diaspora in the United States. In 1964 Congress passed the Civil Rights Act that reaffirmed the rights of African Americans to enjoy the responsibilities and privileges of equal citizenship in the United States, and in 1965 Congress enacted the Voting Rights Act and the Immigration and Nationality Act. The Immigration and Nationality Act (also known as the Hart-Celler Act) specifically allowed individuals to immigrate to the United States in ways not available since the early 1920s and set in motion additional educational opportunities for new black immigrants. "The Immigration and Nationality Act not only changed the number of new arrivals, but also their character. . . . In the 1970s, the number of immigrants from Latin America and Asia began to increase. Before long, they were joined by Africans. Moreover, many new arrivals from the Americas also claimed African descent, as did black peoples from Europe and elsewhere. Although these immigrants represented a small portion of the total immigrant flow, their arrival initiated a transformation of black America."¹⁶

This influx of new black immigrants to the United States introduced new cultural and academic discourses in educational research as well. The Nigerian American anthropologist John U. Ogbu, whose work broadly influenced debates on the model minority thesis and oppositional culture theory, is one of the more noteworthy examples. In his research on the academic outcomes of minority and nonminority students in the United States, Ogbu developed a theory in the late 1970s that sought to explain the academic underachievement of African Americans students in comparison to Afro-Caribbean and African immigrant students in schools in the United States. Both were part of the minority population, but Afro-Caribbean and African immigrant students achieved greater educational success than African American students. Ogbu concluded that the intergenerational, systematic, and structural inequalities African Americans faced while attempting to obtain an education and to gain employment and a decent standard of living forced many to adopt an oppositional stance that stymied their individual and collective advancement. These African Americans developed a cultural aversion to anything that resembled or was valued by the majority population, education included. Afro-Caribbean and African immigrants who did not have this particular history or relationship to whites in the United States did not exhibit this same oppositional or cultural response. These immigrant students excelled in school, viewing education as the primary vehicle to educational, economic, and social mobility. Ogbu concluded that this was one of the primary factors in the educational success of black immigrants and lower educational achievement among African Americans.¹⁷

What emerged from these concepts and comparative studies were deeply flawed theories and misconceptions that suggested African Americans devalued school or viewed schooling as something for whites and not themselves. Some suggested that African

Americans deemed doing well in school could generally be labeled “acting white.” Another misunderstanding of these theories was that Afro-Caribbean and African immigrants were “model minorities” for African Americans struggling to achieve educational and economic success. These ideas reinforced long-standing assumptions that deemed African Americans as deficient and unwilling to conform to prevailing social standards. The irony is that most of the examples that illustrate how schools in the United States become more democratic and inclusive involved the collective action and pursuits of African Americans demanding a quality education for all children, not simply their own. Most African Americans viewed schools no differently than most of the Afro-Caribbean and African immigrant students Ogbu studied. What his research did not emphasize was that their teachers and other educators, along with others in the larger society, viewed the two groups quite differently. Inadvertently Ogbu’s theories exposed the continuation of racial stereotypes that classified African Americans as underachieving, deviant, and less qualified than their peers, despite the progress they were making in school.

Recent data on the educational experiences of diasporic Africans in differing parts of the world further illustrate that the theories and presumptions espoused by Ogbu and others are not unique to African Americans in the United States. The critical race theorist David Gillborn illustrates that Afro-Caribbean students in Great Britain (who represent about 30 percent of the total minority population) are seen as underachieving and a persistent problem in school. Black students considered too much of an emotional and behavioral problem are placed in separate schools or classrooms. As in the United States, this problem is not new, but part of a lengthier narrative of Afro-Caribbeans struggling for equality in Great Britain and of many British teachers and administrators failing to acknowledge them as equals. Similar challenges exist for African immigrants in France, Spain, Germany, and Portugal, who strive to ensure their children are not misrepresented and marginalized in school because of their African heritage.¹⁸

CONCLUSION

The lived experiences and education of Africans in the diaspora are as diverse as they are extensive. The narrative is complicated. It begins with enslavement and ends with African people attempting to use education as a means to liberate and establish themselves all over the world. Some stories highlight success. Notwithstanding challenges, according to UNESCO the basic literacy rates in nations such as Equatorial Guinea (94 percent), South Africa (93 percent), Burundi (88 percent), Namibia (76 percent), and Lesotho (75 percent) have continued to grow as these nations developed after independence. Africans going to the United Kingdom and United States for higher education between 1930 and 1970 gained an education, ideas, and a network of colleagues to lay the groundwork for their nations’ independence from colonial rule. Those who stayed abroad used education to advance their own definitions of freedom and progress for themselves and their families. By 1990 nearly 90 percent African immigrants in the United States held a high school diploma and more than 50 percent had graduated from college. African Americans endured enslavement and legalized forms of segregation and discrimination, and they too used schools to advance, once afforded an equal chance to learn, especially after 1965. By 2000 nearly 80 percent of

all African Americans twenty-five years or older had a high school diploma and almost 20 percent had earned a baccalaureate degree. A generation earlier, only 50 percent had a high school diploma and fewer than 8 percent had graduated from college.¹⁹

Still, many others were not so fortunate. In numerous nations in Central and South America, where the infrastructure and resources have not been as developed and plentiful as in the United Kingdom and United States, education has continued to be largely reserved for the wealthy and privileged, and not for the descendants of slavery and those whose lives are defined by racial discrimination. In Haiti, for example, the illiteracy rate is almost 50 percent, and fewer than 20 percent of schools are state-sponsored. Similarly, in many parts of Africa, such as Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Congo, Angola, and Algeria, schooling exists but is not readily available to all who wish to attend. Colonialism left many of these African nations without the resources or infrastructure to properly address the educational needs and expectations of their people.

Perhaps Africans in the diaspora in the twenty-first century will be motivated to do as their predecessors did at the start of the twentieth century. Perhaps they will develop a new pan-Africanist movement, one that inspires a collective sense of action to address and surmount the systemic forms of oppression that continue to hinder and deny contemporary Africans and diasporic Africans the opportunity to advance themselves through education.

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2. Helen Tunnicliff Catterall and James John Hayden, eds., *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro* (repr. New York: Octagon Books, 1926).
3. Christopher M. Span and James D. Anderson, "The Quest for 'Book Learning': African American Education in Slavery and Freedom," in *A Companion to African American History*, ed. Alton Hornsby Jr. (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2005), 296; Eugene Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Vintage, 1974), 562.
4. Span and Anderson, "The Quest for 'Book Learning,'" 297.
5. Leon F. Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790–1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961); Davison M. Douglas, *Jim Crow Moves North: The Battle over Northern School Segregation, 1865–1954* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
6. Gilberto Freyre, *The Master and the Slave: The Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*, trans. Samuel Putnam (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 406, 223.
7. Ruby King and Carl Campbell, "Policy and Practice in Education in the Caribbean: Historical Perspectives," in *Proceedings of the 1990 Cross-Campus Conference on Education*, eds. E.P. Brandon and P.N. Nissen (Mona, Jamaica: Faculty of Education, University of West Indies, 1991).
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12. Clarence G. Contee, "The Emergence of Du Bois as an African Nationalist," *Journal of Negro History* 54, no. 1 (1969): 48–63.
13. Kevin Gaines, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 103–105.
14. George Padmore was a Trinidadian pan-Africanist who wrote on the impact of colonialism in the Caribbean and African independence. T. Ras Makonnen was a Guyanese pan-Africanist who worked closely with Kwame Nkrumah and George Padmore to found the Organization of African Unity following the independence of Ghana in 1957. He would later work alongside Jomo Kenyatta in Kenya during the mid- to late 1960s. Marika Sherwood, "Kwame Nkrumah: The London Years, 1945–47," *Immigrants & Minorities* 12, no. 3 (1993): 164–194; International Institute for Education, *Education for One World: Annual Census of Foreign Students in the United States 1949–1950* (New York: International Institute for Education, 1950), 48–50. See also Olanipekun Laosebikan, "From Student to Immigrant: The Diasporization of the African Student in the United States" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 2012).
15. George Shepperson, "Notes on Negro American Influences on the Emergence of African Nationalism," *Journal of African History* 1, no. 2 (1960): 311. These trips are interchangeably called the "African student airlifts," "East African airlifts," and sometimes the "Kenyan student airlifts." They happened in three main waves: the 1959 airlift (1959), the Kennedy airlift (1960), and the last airlift (1961). See Robert Fyfe Stephens, *Kenyan Student Airlifts to America 1959–1961* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 2013); Tom Shachtman, *Airlift to America: How Barack Obama, Sr., John F. Kennedy, Tom Mboya, and 800 East African Students Changed Their World and Ours* (New York: St. Martins Press, 2009).
16. Berlin, *The Making of African America*, 3–4; Jemima Pierre, "Black Immigrants in the United States and the "Cultural Narratives" of Ethnicity," *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 11 (2004): 149.
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CHAPTER 26

COLONIAL EDUCATION AND ANTICOLONIAL STRUGGLES

ANA ISABEL MADEIRA
AND LUÍS GROSSO CORREIA

THE subjugation of indigenous populations to European colonial empires took place in two stages of overseas expansion. The first one was mercantile expansion, stemming from the European discoveries and sustained by an economy of extraction and plantation, mainly centered in the Antilles, Asia, and America. A second stage followed in the wake of the Industrial Revolution and the value chain of industrial goods, from the extraction of raw materials in the colonies to their sale in traditional and new markets—colonies included. The end of the Napoleonic Wars and the stabilization of Europe after 1815 led to changes in international competition, with Africa as the main focus of expansion. The Berlin Conference (1884–1885) gave rise to a new international order regarding colonization (territorial occupation and free trade in certain regions), including recently formed countries as imperial powers, such as Italy and Germany (in addition to Portugal, Spain, England, France, the Netherlands, the United States, the Ottoman Empire, and Japan).

The economic or geostrategic colonization process implied the expropriation of indigenous lands for the benefit of the foreign colonizer, the establishment of a specific administration, and the pacifying of the occupied territories. The latter two gave rise to the outbreak of national identities or, at least, of a feeling of territorial belonging, which led, from the 1930s onward, to the so-called anticolonial nationalisms. Furthermore, improved sanitary conditions generated exponential demographic growth among indigenous peoples, which led to a reduction in the proportion of Western colonizers. Acculturated indigenous elites were fostered, sometimes with postprimary education in the metropolis, raising awareness of liberal and democratic values the colonizers denied the colonies, revealing the civilizing hoax of the colonial enterprise when seen in light of the impoverishment of indigenous populations.

In the aftermath of World War I, empires collapsed and changes were made to European borders. New European and Asian independent states also emerged and the Russian Revolution took place, spreading the seeds of conflict that was heightened by the 1929

economic crisis. These events were felt deeply by the colonial powers and by the indigenous populations. Yet only with the end of World War II was the colonial system dismantled, instigated by two global movements, one political (the creation of the United Nations and the beginning of the cold war) and the other economic (liberalization and reorientation of trade), which meant that maintaining the colonial empires became more onerous.¹

The concept of *indigeneity* has been one of the most contested over the past century and a half, having acquired many different meanings. In this regard, the definition proposed by Convention No. 169 of the International Labor Organization on Indigenous and Tribal People (1989) is useful: “peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonization or the establishment of present state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions.”²

The concept of colonial education refers to the historical period of European colonization in Africa, Asia, Oceania, and America, starting with the establishment of colonial education systems until the date of the colonies’ independence. Colonial education addresses a particular type of education and schooling, structured upon a set of philosophical and ideological principles underlying concrete policies aimed at transforming the Natives to suit the colonial enterprise.

COLONIAL EDUCATION: CONCEPTS AND THEORIES

For colonial powers, the education of indigenous peoples was a device used to disseminate particular modes of thinking about Natives and the Western/colonist cultures. The Native was presented as vulnerable, needing protection, incompetent and primitive, while the colonizer was beheld as strong, competent, “modern,” and protective. This paternalistic view was based on two key concepts, that colonists would “enlighten” barbaric Natives, and that Natives would serve as efficient cogs in the imperial machine once they spoke the language of Christianity and Western culture.

This process of cultural imperialism and symbolic violence, whose discourses and structures are unidirectional, had a significant impact on the foreign language imposed on the indigenous populations. This process featured two separate but interrelated moves: for the colonial system, formal education was seen as a means to impose and reinforce its dominance; the Native elites saw it as a means of empowerment and of acquiring better positions in the new colonial administrative machinery. Therefore Native elites were an integral and collaborative component of the colonial education apparatus, which served, even after independence, the hegemonic agendas of both the colonial rulers and the local elites.³

The interwar period is, paradoxically, designated as the golden age of the colonial process. Despite the difficulty entailed in measuring precisely its extension (which included vast desert regions), it is possible to note that the European colonial empires covered, by the late 1930s, about 56.5 million square kilometers (42 percent of the world land areas), inhabited by 610 million people (about 31 percent of the world population), of which more than half

were concentrated in the Indian subcontinent. The three major colonial empires (Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands) controlled about 85 percent of the territories and 96 percent of the population under European domination.⁴ Despite these large figures, in the first half of the twentieth century, colonial education from an international perspective was largely neglected among scholars.

After World War II, extensive studies were made by international agencies such as UNESCO regarding the organization of different national education systems (1955), on primary (1960) and secondary education (1963), and their structural constitution. These studies illustrate instances of perceiving people of developing countries as “the other.” Dominant in this thinking was a so-called scientific approach to education, which was believed to be fundamental to social and economic progress.⁵

New nation-states emerged with the political emancipation of former colonies, including trustees and protectorates. An example illustrating an African country’s postcolonial political life is Tanzania, a multicultural country that united the territories of Tanganyika, Zanzibar, and Pemba island. When Tanzania gained self-determination in 1961, it was run by Julius Nyerere, a former secondary-school teacher educated in Scotland, who was committed to building a nonracial democratic nation, with economic and social modernization policies inspired by the Swedish model. With financial support from the World Bank, Nyerere initiated policies that placed Africans in key roles of all branches in the new government, which replicated the structure of its former colonial authority. Schooling was expanded at the secondary and higher education levels in order to rapidly train thousands of Africans needed to fill government positions, and Kiswahili became the vehicular language.⁶

The issues regarding colonial education during the early twentieth century were presented by C. T. Loram, former commissioner of Native affairs in Cape Town, South Africa, in an education journal with international dissemination. For one thing, the education policies of colonial powers like Belgium, England, France, Japan, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and the United States differed. Colonialism was a highly context-specific process whereby local institutions, people, groups, and social, cultural, and economic conditions, along with the landscape, shaped colonial rule and its education systems. For example, the United States developed specific educational approaches for American Indians and used them to replace the Spanish education system in the Philippines. The fierce process of cultural Japanization targeted the literate Korean people through schooling from 1895 onward. The Dutch did not follow the same educational strategy in Suriname, Java, or Sumatra. The British supported the establishment of universities in India but not in Zimbabwe or others parts of Africa.

Additionally Native attitudes toward colonial education, influenced by colonialist ideas of educability, differed according to the Natives’ social status. Native elites played a collaborative role in implementing Western educational ideas with the explicit purpose of maintaining their local prestige and, in due time, of leading anticolonial liberation struggles. Also, according to Loram, the curriculum debate was guided by a core question: “How much of the culture of the indigenous groups may be preserved and how much has to be discarded or modified?” There was a connection between the emancipatory hopes associated with the expansion of schooling and the opportunity that schools provided for learners to acquire powerful knowledge for individual and community self-determination. This type of knowledge, merging both formal schooling and informal learning, was aimed at providing a more accessible curriculum that was both culturally and economically relevant.⁷

Often the language of instruction was an issue of debate. The tenacious persistence of vernacular languages in Wales, Ireland, and South Africa influenced the establishment of Swahili as the lingua franca in Kenya, replacing the numerous dialects used by small groups. In addition, indigenous teachers were trained with the idea of helping to transform community life. On top of that, the problem of adequate funds for schools persisted. Early on, Christian missions financed schools, supplemented by donations from philanthropic institutions and individual donors and by school fees paid by the local Natives. Later, schools were administered and paid for by the government. Secondary and higher education became issues in the interwar period due to the need for professional training in vocational subjects such as medicine, public health, law, teaching, and business, so indigenous professionals could attend to the needs of the indigenous people.

EDUCATIONAL POLICIES IN THE AFRICAN COLONIAL CONTEXT

The educational policies of the colonial administrations of France and England in Africa are widely documented by the literature that compares the governments of the two European powers.⁸ The most enshrined viewpoint critiques the French system as essentially bureaucratic, centralized, and assimilationist, and favors the British as more pragmatic, decentralized, and liberal. In addition, the French are said to have maintained colonial governments based on a domination-submission principle, in opposition to the autonomy granted by the British. These representations likely reinforced the idea that the French were committed to forming an autochthonous elite as a reflection of French moral values and cultural traditions. As for England, the discourse on colonial policy conveyed the idea of adaptation to local conditions and of respect for indigenous authorities, resulting in a decentralizing policy destined to educate Africans for self-determination under British administration. The Portuguese colonial system was said to be assimilationist, representing in Africa the kind of colonization process that had been previously developed in Brazil. However, these three colonial policies were subject to interpretation and adaptation, according to the political, geographical, and cultural constraints inherent in each territory.

THE ANGLO-SAXON MODEL: THE GOSPEL OF LABOR

The British educational model, which was introduced in Africa through the combination of governmental and missionary initiatives, featured three stages. In the first stage, from the late nineteenth century to the first decades of the twentieth century, the missionary activity developed independently, almost without any control from the monarchy or the local government. This stage was followed by another that continued until World War II, with increasing control from the colonial government over schooling and a progressively more unified educational endeavor. Ultimately, as a result of the reports produced by the Phelps-Stokes

Commission in western and eastern Africa, in 1922 and 1924, the construction of a so-called proper colonial education system began, tending to reinforce state-church cooperation that resulted in a more unified education service, despite the presence of considerable local autonomy. Finally, from the end of World War II to the 1960s, struggles for African independence broke out.

Beginning in the nineteenth century, the British government encouraged the construction of schools funded by the missions. It is important to highlight in this respect the efforts carried out by the London Missionary Society, the Church Mission Society, and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, mainly in western Africa and in South Africa. By the turn of the twentieth century, the popularity of schooling had spread widely, as Africans became increasingly interested in sending their children to Protestant and Catholic schools to learn how to read and write. At the same time, mission schools insisted on the value of manual labor as a means to reform Natives' habits and to achieve moral redemption. The "activity curriculum," grounded on manual competences and agriculture, implied a certain kind of "education of the black" adapted to the economic, social, and political conditions associated with African existence. Vocational education was also believed to develop character and play a "civilizing role" in developing the colonial economic system.⁹

The struggle for the Christianization of Natives' souls was part of religious transformations that were occurring in Europe and the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. At the same time that European colonial empires were expanding their dominance worldwide, a religious revival was having an impact on missionary associations. Protestant missions considered their overseas effort as an opportunity to introduce reforms based on social progress that sought the transformation of the individual. The Protestant conversion pedagogy, based on an individual development principle, had a much more positive reaction from the African population than the ones offered by the Catholic missions. The Protestants undertook unceasing pursuit of a "new era" for mankind, and the fulfillment of such promise depended, essentially, on individual capacity for active transformation of the world. In this vein, the English and American Calvinist Protestants believed that God's Kingdom was within reach of all.

Among the various factors that contributed to the successful establishment of the Protestant missionary effort were its thriving organization and the support it received from colonial governments and from European missionary societies and the fact that missionaries ministered in the vernacular languages. Just like the British colonial government, the missionaries saw Africa as a "desert ready to be farmed." The colonial expansion of Christianity allowed them to dream of a spiritual empire, God's Empire.¹⁰ In order to erect this spiritual empire it was crucial to spread the moral values of Christianity, to propagate the Bible, and this task required indigenous teachers, catechists, and lay readers. The only way to achieve this goal was to build schools for the African population.

While mission schools existed with the approval of the colonial administration, they were not an extension of it. Instead of being agents of the empire's ideological vanguard, missions were subjected to imperial dominance. Nevertheless they were considered by their compatriots as "friends and protectors of the natives."¹¹ In the aftermath of World War I until the end of the 1920s, the "civilizing mission" would become a central idea of Great Britain's indigenous policy. Education had a double yet paradoxical role. On the one hand, it was supposed to free the African population of some of its so-called traditional habits, such as sloth and witchcraft, and yet at the same time to maintain their communitarian-tribal

nature. The Colonial Office rhetoric on African education was centered on religious and vocational education, seen as crucial to character formation. Pedagogy was based on the “gospel of work,” justified by the need to guide the indigenous people toward progress.

Eventually, during the mid-1930s, British government officials became wary of social and economic changes occurring in their colonies due in large part, they believed, to schooling. Without taking full control over education in the colonies, they nonetheless introduced regulations tied to indigenous education policy guidelines. Until the eve of World War II, as the issue of state intervention was being debated, notions of identity gained prominence, combining with the idea that indigenous societies were evolving toward self-government. The earlier emphasis on character formation was replaced by a prioritization of the social sciences, particularly anthropology and sociology, as ways to understand the indigenous people; pedagogical issues were secondary.

THE FRENCH-SPEAKING MODEL: ASSIMILATION AND ADAPTATION

Like the British, the French presence in West Africa went through different stages, a so-called precolonial one (1815–1890) and a second one characterized by “colonial dominance” (1894–1945). In the precolonial stage in Senegal, the French government had difficulty controlling the growth of merchant communities in the coastal areas and in expanding its influence to the midland territories. As a result the administration authorized some public schooling to be ministered in the local language (1816) and accepted the initiative and the activity of the Catholic Church (1820–1830).¹² In most schools of Upper Volta, Ivory Coast, and in the Islamic territories north of Senegal, the main purpose of French schooling was to educate individuals who would assume traditional leadership roles, and others to become interpreters and administrators to deal with commercial relations and mitigate antagonism between local populations and the French administration.

During the period of colonial dominance, assimilation became a doctrine of the authorities, mirroring the desire to achieve political and cultural uniformity as a sign of the notion of “Great France.” Education represented the means through which overseas territories could be integrated in an empire and a way to transform Africans into “black colored Frenchman.” France’s assimilationist goals were also reflected in the highly centralized administrative organization they implemented, which conceived the colonies as extensions of the metropolitan motherland.

Yet the assimilation policy was not common to all colonial situations, nor was it effective on all educational matters. In spite of the creation of the Ministry of the Colonies in 1894, France was far from able to provide qualified teachers and to finance the running of schools, which added to the demise of a concerted educational policy. Indeed until the first decades of the twentieth century, it was the local authorities’ responsibility to make adjustments to the needs of each territory. At the same time, French educational policy was highly influenced by the English colonial administration policy of “indirect rule” principles inspired by different styles of colonial governance. For instance, the French West African governor-general Ernest Roume considered the “Frenchification” policy inadequate and dangerous for the vast and diverse region of the *Afrique Occidentale Française*.¹³ He believed that

Africans had to develop themselves within their own cultures and that, in order to do so, the curriculum had to adapt to colonial needs. To that end, *écoles de villages* (village schools) would educate future indigenous interpreters, *écoles regionals* would educate future indigenous clerk staff, and *écoles urbains* would educate future European and indigenous assistants to colonial administrators.

In 1907 William Merlaud-Ponty replaced Roume, bringing with him a vastly different perspective. Merlaud-Ponty favored direct-rule principles, which reduced middlemen within local administrations. On educational matters, he was convinced of France's educational mission of assimilating Africans, which explains why he called for a review of Roume's education policy of adaptation. These examples show that France's assimilation policy was a matter of interpretation based on the perspectives of particular colonial administrators rather than a consistent strategy in the French domains of Africa.

PORTUGAL: FROM A-B-C GOSPEL TO PATERNALISTIC NATIONALISM

Compared with England and France, Portugal took a long time to determine its colonial education policy, which was established in the mid-1930s. The aim was to extend the spirit of a "Greater Portugal," like the idea of a "Greater France," to its overseas provinces. It was during this time, coincident with the consolidation of the Portuguese authoritarian regime, the Estado Novo (New State), that the educational role played by the Catholic Church began to be officially recognized as crucial to the colonization process and instrumental to the "nationalization" of Portuguese Africa.

Earlier, during the late nineteenth and first decades of the twentieth centuries, the argument that justified investment in the "education of the black" was based on the need to develop Portuguese notions of work among the Africans, and therefore to acquaint Africans with the colonizer's culture (especially the language). Expressions such as "to attract the indigenous to European living," "to save the blacks' souls and educate the bodies to work," "the gospel of the a-b-c," clearly showed that instruction was connected to the broader goals of African colonization.

From the 1920s onward, another perception arose about strategies to control colonial populations. The idea was that a public, compulsory, and secular school in the colonies could not depart too far from the European school model. However, the educational model and the European *curriculum*, either in the simplified component of the three R's (reading, writing, and arithmetic) or in a literary type of secondary-level education, was not suitable to colonial subjection. It would be necessary to find alternative ways of modifying the African culture, to adapt and modify methods that would be suitable to the subject population. Thus the conception of a new educational culture, and not only a labor culture, would be crucial to colonial socialization. The reconfiguration of the "education for labor" thesis led to the construction of a new mindset and marked the birth of a new emphasis that related school attendance to different forms of productivity.

Beginning in the late 1920s and early 1930s, the discourse shifted from individual indigenous capabilities to the concept of community and of the indigenous as a "great collective." It is precisely this idea that the high commissioner of Angola, Vicente Ferreira, announced

an educational goal focused on the collective instead of the individual. The idea was that students should learn, essentially, from the exemplars of “patience, kindness and self-respect of educators and students.”¹⁴

Internal politics and the economic depression of the 1930s helped to create an atmosphere of instability that influenced Portuguese views on African education. Essentially the idea was that Portugal exercised its dominance “not by the strength of guns, cultural assimilation, and the expansion of instruction . . . but through its kindness towards indigenous Africans.” The construction of a nationalist-paternalist rhetoric, particularly persistent in characterizing the exceptional nature of Portuguese colonialism, appears to have brought back arguments of the late nineteenth century regarding the pluralist character of the Portuguese culture, the persistence of cultural assimilation, and the universality of Lusitanian values. The claim of moral values that justified the assimilation of the indigenous was thus reawakened and, with it, the school model and teaching strategies that favored this ideology.¹⁵

Despite the official rhetoric, in 1955 UNESCO presented an extremely depressing account of colonial education in the Portuguese overseas territories. One of the consequences of this report was the publication in 1958 of Ávila de Azevedo’s “Education Policy in Africa.” A scholar of the Portuguese Overseas Research Board and director of the Education Office in Angola between 1947 and 1957, Azevedo compared Portugal’s colonial education policies to those of England, France, and Belgium. In doing so, and in analyzing the historical development of Portugal’s colonial education program from the sixteenth century to 1959, he called attention to the lack of an educational system that was coherent, effective, and adequate to the social, cultural, and economic development of the colonies.

Having offered his diagnosis, Azevedo proposed a plan for Portuguese Africa that was guided by the following goals: a unified educational program for Portugal’s colonies; an expansion of the network of state primary schools with massive enrollment of the Native population; a deepening of cooperation between state and religious missions, particularly in regions where state schools were few or absent; the implementation of vocational education (preparatory school and college) and creation of polytechnic schools; and the creation of structures of higher education, namely universities. But these plans were never fully realized, despite substantial advances in colonial education during Portugal’s dictatorship, particularly at the secondary and higher education levels, which were not directed at the African masses. Meanwhile African nationalist movements erupted into war against Portugal, leading to independence in the mid-1970s.

EDUCATION AND ANTICOLONIAL THEORY

In Western countries, literacy was usually seen as skills in the three R’s, which had “direct effects on the development of certain cognitive and mental processes. Thus, literacy [achieved] a symbolic significance—as it [could be seen as] the many abilities usually attributed to literate people, such as analytical and logical thinking, abstract conceptualization, rational, critical and skeptical thinking, acknowledgement of categories such as time and space, etc.”¹⁶ In the colonizers’ perspective, literacy was viewed as a *technology* of social dominance that should be undertaken in order to have Native peoples comply with the colonial order and not to enable them to frame their resistance to colonization and their struggle for decolonization.

Decolonization is the process whereby ethnic groups strive to secure freedom (political, economic, and intellectual) from their colonizers. The term “decolonization” is used also, especially in postcolonial theory, to describe resistance against class, gender, and race oppression and freedom from colonial forms of thinking, and to revive indigenous, local, and vernacular forms of knowledge by questioning and overturning colonial categories and epistemologies. As an intellectual project, postcolonialism finds its origins in the sentiments, thoughts, and theories of anticolonial movements, which relied on a reverence for precolonial cultures.

These movements invoked ideas of social justice, emancipation, and opposition to the oppressive structures of racism, discrimination, and exploitation. Contributions to anticolonial thought regarding the issue of education came from varied sources and regions—Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The anticolonial struggles of four internationally influential thinkers—Mahatma Gandhi (India), Frantz Fanon (Algeria), Aimé Césaire (Martinique), and Amílcar Cabral (Cape Verde and Portuguese Guinea)—became an inspiration for those seeking justice from despotism.

Mohandas Karamchand (Mahatma) Gandhi orchestrated one of the most widespread anticolonial struggles of the modern world. Trained in law in the center of colonial culture, London, and witness to the apartheid regime in South Africa (1893–1914), Gandhi brought a new ideology and political praxis to the anticolonial struggle (named *satyagraha*), grounded in the moral principle of nonviolence, passive resistance, personal discipline, and fasting.

His ideas on Native culture, modernity, and education were based on an anticolonial cultural nationalism, the moral superiority of both the colonized territory (India) and the colonized individual over the English colonizer, the relevant role played by religious people (Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, and Native Christians), and the importance of vernacular languages (Sanskrit, Arabian, Persian, and Hindustan—the last as the universal language for all Indians). Gandhi’s vision of education focused on cultural restoration and India’s self-government: “In our own civilization there will naturally be progress, retrogression, reforms, and reactions, but one effort is required, and that is to drive out Western civilization. All else will follow.”¹⁷

Aimé Césaire, who was born in Martinique and devoted to the dissemination of African arts and music, advocated the notion and theory of negritude against the dominant French assimilationist theory toward colonies. In his major anticolonial writing, *Discours sur le colonialisme* (1955), he stated that ten years after the end of the World War II, the French people accepted as normal such atrocities as a Native being decapitated in Vietnam and a little girl being raped in Madagascar. He declared, “Colonization works to decivilise the colonist, to brutalize him in the true sense of the word, to degrade him, to awaken him to buried instincts, to covetousness, violence, race hatred, and moral relativism.” This paradoxical nature of colonialism, which rhetorically was developed in the name of a civilizing mission (guided by evangelical, philanthropic, educational, sanitary, legal, and democratic purposes) toward a “backward” people, was instead a de-civilizing process. Colonization furthermore underlined tangible results of the enterprise that, in fact, was undertaken by the “decisive gesture of the adventurer, the pirate, the grand merchant, the ship-owner, the gold-seeker and the grocer.”¹⁸

Having in mind that the culture in precolonial Africa was grounded in community-centered structures, which existed prior to the capitalist system brought by the colonists, Césaire argued that negritude was the only response to the onslaught of colonialism’s culture.

Thus negritude theory was an attempt of the black colonized people, on the one hand, to retrieve their own cultural heritage, history, and identity (in counterpoint to the colonist's culture), in a pan-African perspective, and, on the other, to embrace an anticolonial political project.

Frantz Fanon, born in Fort-de-France, Martinique, joined the Free French Forces and fought for the liberation of Martinique and France during World War II. He became a physician and later a psychiatrist in Lyon, France. When head of the psychiatry department at Blida hospital in Algeria, he joined the Algerian anticolonial movement (1956) and, in his capacity as observer of the psychological effects of colonialism on (black) Natives, published canonical studies of the colonial condition: *Peau noire, masques blancs* (1952) and *Les damnés de la terre* (1961).

Fanon argued that the black man had lost his culture and his past, which resulted in an inferiority complex, deepened by the dehumanized context of colonialism. A white mask over a black skin represented the schizophrenic condition of Natives as a consequence of the exploitative and cruel conditions of colonial domination.

As Fanon put it, the relation between colonist and colonized is the result of a dialectic and development process mastered by the former; in "fact, the colonist is right when he states that he *knows them*. The colonist has made and is still making the colonized. The colonist seeks his truth, which is meant, his goods, in the colonial system." The sense of inadequacy in the Native's psyche (a white mask over a black skin) results in violence as a form of self-assertion, violence that is turned on one's own kind. As Pramod Nayar put it, Fanon saw "tribal wars as an instance of such violence where the wretched natives turn upon each other because they are haunted by the failure to turn to the colonial master."¹⁹

Fanon sought to redirect Native-against-Native violence toward a different path, to the construction of plausible futures for Natives after colonialism. To this end, he advanced the idea of cultural nationalism projects, undertaken by Native intellectuals (Native teachers included) and expressed through the development of nationalist literature, culture, and history. He envisioned these cultural projects as leading to an antiracist, national consciousness and a pan-African sensibility to culture and self-identity.

Amílcar Cabral, who was born to a Cape-Verdean father and Guinean mother, received his higher education in agronomics in Lisbon and participated in anticolonial struggles in the Portuguese African territories of Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, and Guinea during the authoritarian regime of the Estado Novo (1933–1974). Cabral's political theories derived from his studies of the Portuguese territories in Africa during his stay in Lisbon, where he founded a center for African studies in the late 1940s. His center resulted from his experiences as an agronomic engineer in Guinea, particularly from his activism in several anticolonial movements (the Anti-Colonist Movement of Africans, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, and the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde).

Cabral wrote that any liberation struggle and anticolonial movement must draw upon real conditions of local populations and cultures in order to replace unsuitable Western models and practices implemented in the African context. In his address to the 1972 UNESCO meeting on race, identity, and dignity, Cabral stated, "The struggle for liberation and people's progress is also, or must be, a permanent study in the fields of education, science and culture." He led peasant guerrilla movements in Guinea against Portuguese occupation and convinced Native administrators and citizens of his political and social views: the building of schools, the promotion of the status of women, and the implementation of social policies.²⁰

Earlier, in 1960, under the nom de plume Abel Djassi, Cabral had written "The Facts about Portugal's African Colonies." In this article, he analyzed the colonies' natural wealth and criticized the fallacious arguments that claimed that colonialism was instituted for "Civilization and Christianity" for the "least developed country with 40 percent of illiterates." Colonialism, he said, deepened the economic misery of the African population (with expropriations, exploitation of natural resources, forced labor, and the so-called indigenous tax for people over fifteen years old), while failing to provide the most basic needs ("380 doctors are responsible for the health of 11 million inhabitants that live in a territory of 2 million km²" with an infant mortality rate of 40 percent) and lacking any form of indigenous education.

According to Cabral, the Catholic missions monopolized the education of the so-called noncivilized, and 99.7 percent of the African population not enrolled in school was prevented from attending secular schools. He noted that most of the primary and secondary school teachers were European (except in the Cape Verde islands); the African languages were forbidden in school; the secondary schools were almost exclusively attended by the colonizers' children; and only about one hundred Africans (of a total of 11 million inhabitants in the colonies) attended universities in Portugal.

On the matter of teaching in primary schools, Cabral pointed out that the colonial conquerors were described as saints and heroes, that the geography, history, and culture of Africa was either falsified or not mentioned, and that children were required to study Portuguese history and geography. Employing Fanon's thesis, Cabral stated, "African children develop an inferiority complex when they start to attend primary schools. They learn to fear the white man and to be ashamed of being Africans." Cabral further stated that the Portuguese themselves, "colonized" by an authoritarian and antidemocratic regime, could not meet the government's definition of being civilized. In order to reach that status, Africans in Angola, Guinea, and Mozambique had to provide proof of economic stability and had to live a "European life-style" (one that was better than what most Portuguese themselves had), pay taxes, serve in the army, and read and write fluently in Portuguese. Cabral argued, "If the Portuguese people had to fulfill these requirements, more than 50 percent of the population would not have [a] 'civilized' nor 'assimilated' status."²¹

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Critical thinking and social-historic comparative approaches caused a breach in the way world systems were to be viewed, along with a set of alternative perspectives about colonial education processes. Postcolonial theories and comparative methodologies allow us to understand colonialism as a process regarding intention, context, and circumstances.²² They also serve to go beyond the nation-state unit, to examine the larger cultural colonial processes and the broad dimension of empires.

Based on this theoretical perspective, it is possible to state that colonial powers used education (in its forms of official language, curriculum, pedagogical and examination practices, among others) as a domain of intervention in Native cultural and social practices with imperialistic purposes. Presented as an act of bringing "enlightenment" to barbaric Natives, formal education introduced by colonial powers represented the spread of colonial models

of education to Africa, Asia, the Americas, and Oceania, furthered by a number of stereotypes, myths, and legends about indigenous cultures. The subjects, contents, norms, and systems of thought embedded in this way of thinking disguised an invisible technology of social, political, and ideological dominance through education, which was implicitly accepted by some subordinated groups (the white-masked Natives, as Fanon put it) and reinforced the colonial structures and practices of power.

In this context, Natives were placed in taxonomic categories according to their proficiency and skills that were based on a colonial education chart. Despite the indoctrination embedded in the narratives and practices of colonial education, its appropriation by the Natives had some significant social consequences. On the one hand, it offered Western-educated Natives some power and the opportunity to shape their own social self-identity. On the other, it provided the seeds to foster cultural nationalisms, undertaken by the local intelligentsia, which would strengthen the intellectual and political struggle against colonial dominance.

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PART VI

EDUCATIONAL
REFORM AND
INSTITUTIONAL
CHANGE

CHAPTER 27

CONFLICTING CONSTRUCTIONS OF CHILDHOOD AND CHILDREN IN EDUCATION HISTORY

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WHEN Lucy Larcom's father died in 1832, her life changed dramatically. A protected little girl free to play and attend school, after her father's death she needed to help support her large family. Not wanting to be a "trouble or a burden or expense," when Larcom moved to Lowell, Massachusetts, in 1835 at age eleven, she wanted to work. The Lowell mill agent would not give her permission to begin unless she attended school for the legally mandated number of months. According to the 1836 Act to Provide for the Better Instruction of Youth Employed in Manufacturing Establishments in Massachusetts, one of the first child labor laws in the United States, for a child under fifteen that was at least three months a year. At first, Larcom liked millwork better than school. In school she felt she was "making believe" I was learning when I was not." At the mill, she played with other girls and knew that the work was temporary. When Larcom returned for her next three months at school, things were different. Now she enjoyed studying and wanted to attend full time. Sad that she could not, because her salary mattered to her family, Larcom came to resent millwork and began to write as relief during the ten years she spent as a Lowell mill girl.¹

As a protected child, a student, and a child laborer, Lucy Larcom experienced the interaction of several conflicting constructions of childhood and how child labor and compulsory education were entwined. Accepted in the Colonial and Revolutionary War eras, apart from children in the upper classes, child labor was criticized in the early nineteenth century, especially by supporters of compulsory education and common schools. Yet as compulsory education and child labor laws spread, with population growth, immigration, emancipation, and industrialization more children were working. Students' average school attendance in days and years increased, but the South lagged far behind. By the late nineteenth century,

when child labor began to decline, dramatically so in the early twentieth century, the construction of children as laborers had become unacceptable to middle-class reformers. Children were supposed to go to school, though not all did. In her 1889 autobiography, Larcom wrote that millwork “was not, and could not be the right sort of life for a child.”

The shift in expectations that children should be students, not laborers, was an enormous, if uneven, global revolution in social constructions of childhood. With the trend from agricultural to industrial societies, the spread of the Western model of transition from child labor to compulsory education, still in progress in some parts of the world, was part of the transformation of premodern to modern childhood, a transformation not all children experienced. Childhoods diverged in this respect. As historians have described it, the construction of a modern childhood in the nineteenth century, with protection for children to go to school, began with children from the white urban middle classes. But as a protected middle-class childhood became more common, industrial child labor increased and agricultural child labor remained high. Although compulsory education for children from the lower classes grew, with much variation by region and race and spotty enforcement, a protected childhood did not become the norm for most children in the United States until the 1950s or even 1970s, when almost all children ages five to seventeen attended school.²

In the early twentieth century, the Western model of compulsory education and opposition to child labor was combined with scientific theories and measurement techniques to inform constructions of childhood. Behaviorists charted stimulus-response bonds and habit formation. Educational psychologists produced standardized tests that quantified intelligence and academic achievement by age-graded norms. Developmental psychologists countered age-based assessments with normative descriptions of what was possible and appropriate for children to do, based on developmental stages. Not all parents, regions, and cultures adopted the Western concept of developmental stages, however.

In the last third of the twentieth century, a postmodern construction of a “prepared” childhood, as the historian Steven Mintz terms it, emerged. Some parents began preparing their children to deal with the encroachment of the market and technology, exposure to adult culture, and panics about such perceived dangers as sexual abuse and abduction. With permeability between adult and child culture, and children’s growing power as consumers, children appeared to be becoming older sooner and yet staying younger longer. As American children’s lives seemed to be both more and less defined by age boundaries, always in flux—at least for those from about age two to eighteen—debate intensified about the future of childhood.³

Interpretations of constructions of childhood and the relationship of childhood and education conflict in complicated ways. The sociologist Viviana Zelizer holds that the nineteenth-century Romantic ideal of childhood as a precious, protected period made some children economically “useless” and emotionally “priceless.” A different viewpoint contends that with the spread of compulsory education, children went from being useful laborers outside of school to useful student workers in school, whose schoolwork was an investment in their future as adults. Although constructions of protected children, student workers, and child laborers blur and overlap—like Lucy Larcom, children can be protected, students, and child laborers, and simultaneously go to school and work for varying amounts of time—differing constructions and interpretations raise interesting questions.⁴

How have conflicting constructions of childhood, as emotionally priceless but economically useless children, unpaid but useful student workers and economically useful child laborers,

competed as expectations for what school-age children should do, both in and out of school? How have tensions in constructions of childhood interacted with the growth of compulsory education? How are global economic competition, income disparities, and testing changing constructions of childhood and education today?

CONSTRUCTING CHILDHOODS

Constructions of childhood were shaped by representations of children in popular culture. Nineteenth-century images of destitute, unprotected children and child laborers in Europe and the United States contributed to campaigns for compulsory education and against child labor. Charles Dickens's *Oliver Twist* (1837–1839), Hans Christian Andersen's *The Little Match Girl* (1845), and Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) drew attention to the plight of orphans, street children, and child slaves. Dramatic visual portrayals of American slum children and child laborers in photography by Jacob Riis in 1889 and Lewis Hine in 1908 riveted public attention on the suffering of children in cities and workplaces. Such books as Lucy Maud Montgomery's *Anne of Green Gables* (1908) reinforced sentimental views about how neglected children could overcome obstacles and succeed in school and life, when helped by loving adults.

In addition to these popular representations, rapid growth of research on children produced supposedly empirical knowledge and expertise about what children were like and what they needed. Collection of extensive data from child welfare advocates, government agencies, child psychologists, pediatricians, and others in the children's professions created bodies of information that shaped differing academic and professional views of childhood. Debated at conferences, published in journals, taught in colleges and universities, this expert knowledge was applied to children and disseminated to the public. Research on child labor tended to focus on white child laborers in industry and ignore agriculture, where most children of color worked.

International from its inception, research that emerged in the years after Philippe Ariès's seminal *Centuries of Childhood* (1962) shed light on global constructions of childhood and effects of poverty on children and education. Debunked but later reconsidered, Ariès's theory of premodern European children as miniature adults offered a new lens on children and schooling. Suggestive work on the psychohistory of childhood, which eventually fell out of favor, showed how students were both regulated and liberated by compulsory education. Studies of colonial, postcolonial, and multicultural childhoods, along with investigations of transatlantic, transpacific, transnational, and inter- and cross-cultural contact and globalization widened awareness of constructions of childhood and education. As the lives of "other people's children"—poor, neglected, orphaned, endangered, enslaved, and troubled children, and children of different colors, ethnicities, and language backgrounds—became better known, inequalities in childhood and education came to the fore. Aspects of childrearing, corporal punishment, and children's material culture became foci, stemming in part from research on women and the family. Pervasive gender differences were a central theme. Studies of the commodification and objectification of children's bodies and of how childhood could be seen as a scripted performance in families, schools, and society shed light on power dynamics and social control of children.⁵

Intersections of age, religion, social class, race, gender, and education were evident in primary sources that demonstrated changing constructions of childhood. In the United States, Cotton Mather's early eighteenth-century colonial diaries showed the efforts of an upper-class father to educate his young children to save their souls, when infant damnation was still a prevailing doctrine. Records of the Children's Aid Society, founded in New York City in 1853, revealed attempts to protect primarily white orphans and children of the urban poor from the perceived damage of child labor and cities, and transport them to supposedly healthier lives in the country and education in the West. Kindergarten journals from the second half of the nineteenth century reflected new views on the value of play and the need to protect young children from didactic education. Innumerable laws documented the politics of childhood and interaction of children, families, education, and the state. Individual recollections illustrated how children acted with agency in co-constructing their own childhoods. Although written or recorded from adult perspectives, with problems of bias and memory, autobiographies and oral histories provided first-person narratives. Voices of children remained elusive, however, especially those of rural children and children whose first language was not English, whose experiences of child labor and schooling often varied greatly from those of other children.⁶

School reform in the U.S. Progressive Era and the growth of competing psychologies in the twentieth century highlighted conflicting constructions of children as students. Child-centered experiential learning at John Dewey's University of Chicago Laboratory School versus subject-centered direct instruction from E. L. Thorndike's texts and tests exemplified sharp differences in how psychologists construed education. The developmental psychologist G. Stanley Hall's early twentieth-century "invention" of adolescence focused attention on a newly recognized life stage that prolonged childhood and sparked worries that affected how adolescents were viewed and treated inside and outside of school. In the 1920s the developmental psychologists Jean Piaget and Lev Vygotsky posited theories of stages of cognitive and social development and opposed standardized tests. According to Dewey, Vygotsky, and Piaget, children constructed knowledge through individual and collaborative problem-solving and experience. Jerome Bruner, who introduced Piaget's and Vygotsky's theories to the United States in the early 1960s, replicated their research with international and multicultural samples and applied it, with others, to curriculum and teaching. In the late 1980s "developmentally appropriate practice" guidelines for how teachers should help young children learn through play and "hands-on" learning were promulgated.⁷

AMERICAN CHILDREN AS LABORERS AND AS STUDENTS

As protection for children from the middle classes and compulsory education grew in the nineteenth century, so did child labor, peaking between 1880 and 1900. In one U.S. census-based estimate, in 1880, about 33 percent of boys ages ten to fifteen and 12 percent of girls were gainfully employed; in 1890, the percentages were about 26 percent of boys and 6 percent of girls, excluding higher rates for farm and domestic work. In another estimate, the peak was in 1900, with 1.75 million children gainfully employed. Rates varied. In some

regions and industries, rates for foreign-born girls and boys were higher than for native-born children. Rates were highest for African American boys and girls. In 1910, when only 4 percent of Italian American girls ages ten to thirteen reported working, 32 percent of black girls were working. Child laborers, whatever their color and ethnicity, came from families that were poor, often headed by single-parent mothers.⁸

As child labor increased, so did anti-child labor campaigns. Children's advocates organized the National Child Labor Committee, chartered by Congress in 1907, but legislation proceeded piecemeal, state by state. Child labor was not formally outlawed at the national level until the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1938, during the Depression, with exceptions for farm labor and certain other jobs. Although not consistently effective, child labor legislation gradually helped raise the age at which it was permissible to work, cut the number of hours children could work, and limited the types of jobs they could do. Many reformers thought that compulsory education laws were better than child labor laws, which often varied by industry. Irregularly enforced, compulsory education and child labor legislation differed geographically, with the weakest laws in the South. Wealthier states with higher percentages of immigrants and fewer African Americans tended to pass tougher laws. Along with such legislation, changes in technology, the economy, cultural and family values, and constructions of childhood led to a rapid decline in child labor in the early twentieth century. Illegal child labor still existed, however, and children kept working after and before school and seasonally, often for very long hours. In 1980, for instance, at the age of eleven, See Wai, a student at P.S. 130 in New York City, worked twenty hours a week after school in an unregulated garment factory in Chinatown.

Historically many children worked gainfully in ways that made it hard for them to be students. Well known from the photographs of Lewis Hine and investigations of the National Child Labor Committee, "breaker boys" working in mining, who sorted pieces of coal, became iconic. With easily falsifiable age certificates—sixteen for underground work and fourteen above ground—exhausted boys coated in coal dust were supposed to attend night schools run by mining companies. For boys working in manufacturing and light industry, such as glass factories, night shifts were a hindrance as child laborers got little or no sleep and consequently were tired at school. In the textile industry, cotton mills in the South that employed white children offered low-quality mill schools, which owners claimed were better than nothing in states without compulsory education laws. Child laborers often left school for hours in the middle of the day to take lunch to family members and to help out in the mill. Doing piecework at home in the garment trades, child laborers too young for compulsory education got no schooling; their older sisters and brothers had trouble concentrating in class after working long hours before and after school. Newsboys, messengers, child laborers hawking commodities, and other street workers got little schooling, in part because they were largely independent, with no formal employers to promote and provide compulsory education.⁹

Child laborers in food processing and agricultural work received the least schooling. Children of migrant immigrants were especially unlikely to be students, as were African American children in the South. Very young children labored beside family members who were recruited and contracted by "padrones" to do seasonal work such as cranberry picking in New Jersey in the summer and shrimp and oyster shucking on the Gulf Coast in the winter. A National Child Labor Committee report documented that children made up almost 50 percent of cranberry pickers and that more than 50 percent were under the age of

ten, with some as young as three. Migrant agricultural child laborers moved from state to state, avoiding compulsory education laws. Agricultural child laborers from migrant Latino families in California missed school as they moved from crop to crop. As during slavery, African American children in the South worked picking cotton, often with no access to schools, as many parts of the southern countryside lacked schools for black children until the first quarter of the twentieth century. Census data from 1920 show that black boys and girls had the highest child labor rates, followed by Mexican American boys.

The dangers of child labor highlighted in Hine's photographs, reports of the National Child Labor Committee, and other sources spurred anti-child labor campaigns. When Hine was observing at the Lee Breaker in Chauncy, Pennsylvania, in January 1911, he was told that when two breaker boys fell into a coal car, one "was badly burned and the other was smothered to death." Dennis McKee, the boy who was killed, had just turned fifteen. In 1918 ten-year-old Ellis Crosby was blinded when a bottle exploded in a factory where he was working in Georgia. Many other child laborers were maimed in mills, run over on the street, lost fingers in agricultural work, and suffered other injuries.¹⁰

Some children were forced to work by families, which middle-class reformers condemned. Children contributed sizably to household incomes. A 1917–1919 Department of Labor survey documented that in families with working children, children's earnings on average accounted for about 23 percent of household income. As parents aged, this income became more important. Some children chose to work because they liked having money, disliked school, and bringing home money brought respect. Raised by families who depended on their labor, distrusted schools, and valued work over study as a form of education, many Irish, Italian, Polish, Russian, and other poor and immigrant children in New Haven, Chicago, Philadelphia, and elsewhere did not become students. Some were caught up in truancy laws that existed in most cities by the end of the nineteenth century, went through the juvenile justice system, and were placed in special schools, though most cities and industries had exemption certificates and families helped their children get work permits.¹¹

As with child labor, region, race, language, social class, and many other variables influenced whether and where children became students, and the kinds of schools they attended. In 1870 only about 10 percent of African American children between the ages of five and nineteen were enrolled in school, the great majority in the North. Nationwide the school attendance of African American and other nonwhite five- to nineteen-year-olds did not equal that of white students until 1970. With legal segregation in the South and some other parts of the country, the education of students of color was limited. Many Asian, Asian American, Mexican, and Mexican American students were taught in "Oriental" or "Mexican" schools and classes. Students knew that they were segregated. In the 1945 *Mendez v. Westminster* school desegregation case in Orange County, California, which the plaintiffs won, a fourteen-year-old student testified in perfect English about having asked the principal of her "Mexican" school why the "American children and the Mexican children" were "separated." After segregation became illegal, income and housing patterns continued to place students of color in separate, often underserved schools. Students acted with agency to confront prejudice and inequalities in education. Elizabeth Eckford was photographed being heckled by a mob as the first student to integrate Little Rock Central High School in 1957. Six-year-old Ruby Bridges, the little girl pictured by Norman Rockwell in *Look* magazine in 1964 as she was being escorted to school by U.S. marshals in New Orleans in 1960, was taught alone for a year by a special teacher because of white racism. African American

high school students in Chicago organized boycotts to protest inequalities in their public institutions. In 1968 Chicano students in Los Angeles and Texas organized “blowouts” in which they walked out of their underserved schools.¹²

Some children enjoyed being students. Lucy Larcom wrote that when she returned to school after working in the mill it was “a great delight to study” and be told by her teacher that she “was prepared for high school.” Many children of color showed great motivation to learn. Some slave children in the antebellum South found ways to be students informally and in clandestine schools and endured terrible punishments for attempting to become literate. As a house slave in Baltimore in the mid-1820s, Frederick Douglass bribed white children to teach him to read, and then got a copy of Noah Webster’s ubiquitous speller, which he carried with him “almost constantly.” In the early twentieth century, some African American students in the South walked miles to attend rural black schools often built at great cost by their parents.¹³

Some students attended schools that denigrated their backgrounds. In New York City in the early nineteenth century, Irish Catholic students were subjected to slurs and negative stereotypes. Chinese and Chinese American students in San Francisco in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were treated as despised aliens. Japanese students were imprisoned and taught in barracks in internment camps during World War II. In Indian boarding schools in the last decades of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century, students protested having their hair cut and other practices meant to erase their cultural identity. Forced to learn English in insulting ways, Russian immigrant Mary Antin recalled being put in the “baby class” when she started school at age thirteen in Massachusetts during the 1890s. Mary Luna remembered going to school in the 1930s in the Southwest, where her teacher would not let students speak Spanish, which made Mary feel “stupid.”¹⁴

Boys and girls who did not like or were perceived as not liking being students often were treated in ways that made success difficult or impossible. Disproportionately disciplined, many African American boys were put into special classes, suspended, expelled, or sent to reform schools. Labeled “wayward,” some girls who became visibly sexually active were expelled or taught in separate classes or schools, especially girls of color. Students labeled with special needs because they were “difficult” experienced similar treatment. Cat, an Italian boy in Chicago in the 1920s, described his class for “subnormals” as the room “where the guys was off their nuts” but were really “just the ones that won’t listen to the teacher and get in a lot of trouble.”¹⁵

Some students, more boys than girls, rejected being students and chose to leave school or were pushed out. Students often found school boring or useless and wanted freedom to spend time with peers. William Dean Howells, a student in Ohio in the 1840s, recalled that he liked to “run wild with the other boys” and would pretend to be sick so that he could get out of school in the afternoon. Others left because they were mistreated or bullied. Thrown out of a New York City school window in second grade by two Irish boys in the 1890s, Harpo Marx never went back. He wrote later that school “didn’t teach anybody how to exist from day to day, which was how the poor had to live.”¹⁶

Students challenged school culture and constructed their own identities and youth cultures. Some arrived late, refused to sit up straight, talked back to teachers, and broke other school rules. Some students of color assumed “oppositional” identities; some, accused of “acting white” to succeed in school, risked ostracism from friends. In the 1970s, when

hip-hop was born, students brought this provocative youth culture to school. Some who defined themselves as successful students were recently arrived immigrants or first-generation Asian students, although not all Asian and Asian American students fit the “model minority” stereotype. Using sign language in schools for the deaf helped to create a separate deaf culture, existing outside of mainstream education almost entirely.¹⁷

With the construction of the protected child in the nineteenth century, the education of children ages five and younger changed significantly. Young children had been students in dame schools in the colonial and early republican eras and attended primary schools and infant schools in first half of the nineteenth century. The arrival of kindergartens and nursery schools in the United States in the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth century heralded a new kind of education for young children that sheltered them from academic instruction and helped them learn through play. Backed by developmental psychologists, preschool educators and their advocates insisted that school was for older children. Debate over early childhood education continued, however, especially for children from low-income backgrounds. Head Start embodied learning through play but also made school readiness a goal.¹⁸

CONSTRUCTIONS OF CHILDHOOD, CHILD LABOR, AND EDUCATION INTERNATIONALLY

With child labor still pervasive in many parts of the world, the construction of children as students became a common goal in most countries, but not a universal reality. As in the United States during the early twentieth century, the percentage of child workers fell globally as the percentage of students rose. According to the International Labour Organization, the percentage of children ages ten to fourteen in the workforce dropped from 5.89 in 1950 to 3.02 in 1990, although these figures are debated. Despite the enormous increase in children attending school internationally over the past 150 years huge disparities among and within regions and countries have persisted. By some estimates, as of 2010 somewhat more than 50 percent of children in sub-Saharan Africa were unlikely to have ever attended school, compared to about 2 percent in North America and Western Europe. In 2000 sub-Saharan Africa had the largest percentage of primary school-age child laborers and the Asia-Pacific region had the highest percentage of ten- to fourteen-year-old child laborers. North America and Western Europe had the lowest rates, with a few hundred thousand child laborers in the United States in 2001, mostly in agriculture, though this estimate may be low. The extent to which children combined school and child labor varied greatly.¹⁹

In European countries, the development of compulsory education was largely a function of sectarian influence and nationalism. Martin Luther's advocacy of education in the mid-seventeenth century set the tone in many Protestant countries and regions. In Prussia, the leader in compulsory education, more than 80 percent of five- to seventeen-year-olds were in school by 1837, with near universal attendance by 1871. In Italy, on the other hand, Catholicism carried the day and enrollment was lower. Compulsory schooling prevailed where states transcended religious doctrinal considerations altogether. Rural areas lagged

in providing compulsory education, as did regions with minority cultures. Limited by child labor, children from the lower classes consistently received less schooling. Born in Avignon in 1805, Agricol Perdigueir remembered spending only two or three years in school because he had to work, and that he learned a little, "though not very well." Aurelia Roth, a Bohemian girl, recalled around 1880 that her work left her with little time for school "and still less to play." As in other parts of the world, some European students were maltreated. Born in Hamburg in 1898, Ludwig Turek described how his teacher beat him with a stick and called him "mean, lazy, and unruly." Notwithstanding the Romantic construction of a protected childhood in opposition to didactic schooling, most European countries eventually adopted standardized national curricula and tests with schoolwork meant to enhance national identity and aid economic progress.²⁰

Often the introduction of compulsory education in non-Western countries was accompanied by reconstructions of childhood, but not necessarily in Western ways. Indigenous, colonial, postcolonial, prenatal, and national differences affected who became students, as did cultural traditions and caste. Colonialism and its legacies had an impact but did not wipe out existing cultural modes of education. In China and Japan, Christian missionaries brought Western education and culture when they founded schools, but missionary education was often transformed and adapted to local cultural traditions. Schooling, especially for older students, was frequently conducted in the language of colonizers, but native languages did not disappear. In West Bengal, upper-caste Hindu educational patterns from long before the Raj constructed ideal children as hardworking students, part of how wealthy parents maintained caste traditions. After the British arrived, many well-to-do Bengali families sent their children to private academies founded and run by colonizers and taught in English. When government provision of education for all was declared in the twentieth century, wealthy Bengali families continued to emphasize student work. With lack of enforcement of compulsory education, for which India was known, many lower-class and lower-caste children continued to be child laborers whose school attendance was limited by fees and the cost of uniforms and supplies, as in other parts of the world.²¹

In many countries and regions, girls received less education than boys. Married off at an early age or sent to work to support the education of their brothers, some girls were never students. In Meiji Japan, where literacy rates for boys were high before modernizers introduced Western mass schooling, school attendance soared, and by 1905 almost 98 percent of boys were attending school. Japanese cultural traditions remained, however, and many poor girls continued to be child laborers in silk production and other industries, although primary school attendance became almost universal. In the Philippines in 1999, boys were more likely to work in the labor market than girls, with somewhat lower school attendance, but higher numbers of girls became domestic workers instead of students, a common pattern. Sexualized child labor and trafficking also kept girls out of school. In Russia during the Industrial Revolution girls entered the industrial labor force at lower rates than boys, but when an 1884 law limited child labor and mandated education, many girls were sold into work as prostitutes in St. Petersburg. In Thailand girls who were sex workers in Bangkok usually did not attend school. Religion intensified the impact of gender on girls' education, often to an extreme in rural areas. In some Muslim countries and regions with Muslim populations, schools were established to educate boys in the Qur'an. In Pakistan, Malala Yousafzai, who won the 2014 Nobel Peace Prize, was nearly killed by Taliban gunmen on her way to school in Swat.²²

Racialized poverty limited who became students, while political revolutions often increased schooling and reduced child labor. In Brazil, where a free public education law was passed in 1821, child labor remained high and attendance low among poor children. In parts of São Paulo in 1878 only 5 to 7 percent of school-age children attended school, with darker colored servant children and laborers called “agregados” least likely to attend. New regimes often pushed for compulsory education to create a generation of citizens with new political values and loyalties. After the Russian Revolution, when work before age fourteen was outlawed, primary and secondary attendance grew rapidly. In Mexico following the organization of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional in 1929, primary education attendance increased, especially in urban areas, though child labor remained high. When Fidel Castro came to power in Cuba in 1959, he created near universal compulsory primary school enrollment. In certain other countries, however, political conflicts prevented boys and girls from becoming students. Conscripted boys and girls and volunteer soldiers in civil wars in Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of the Congo did not go to school. Many students in destabilized countries and regions in the Middle East were forced to leave school when their families became refugees due to sectarian and political violence, as in Iraq and Syria.²³

In Asia, ancient Confucian traditions that constructed children as students survived despite political revolutions and economic change. The postimperial Western-influenced modernizing begun in 1912 by President Sun Yat-sen of the Republic of China, who had attended school in Honolulu, did not erase Confucian educational traditions. The Chinese communists who took over in 1949 contested Confucianism as well. Access to primary and secondary education grew enormously in the 1950s, except during Mao Zedong’s Cultural Revolution in the late 1960s and 1970s. Confucian educational values continued to be evident in modern Chinese compulsory education, with an emphasis on tests and student achievement, but great urban-rural differences remained. Confucian-style parental investment in education grew in the twenty-first century, especially among more affluent parents. In South Korea increased state investment in compulsory education begun in the 1950s reduced social class differences. Disparities grew again after the economic crisis of 1997, when upper-class families enrolled their children in better-resourced private institutions and expensive cram schools for test preparation, which had been outlawed earlier. In South Korea and Japan, treasured, protected children were pushed to be high-performing students as well, a construction of childhood seen in many parts of the world among upper-income families.²⁴

GLOBAL COMPETITION, INCOME DISPARITIES, AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF CHILDHOOD

With increasing global economic competition and income disparities, a reconstruction of childhood may be under way in the United States, at least for some children. In this version of childhood, which has existed in some countries for many years, children from well-to-do families are being groomed as emotionally priceless, economically useless children at home

and economically useful students at school. As income disparities grew, so did disparities in childhood. In the United States, income inequality in the 2010s was at the highest level since the 1920s. Wealthier parents had more money to spend to boost their children's success as students, and many did; parents in the bottom income tiers had less to spend on education. Between 1983 and 2007 spending on children by families in the top tenth of the income range in the United States grew by 75 percent, most of it on education-related activities; spending on children by parents in the lower tenth dropped by 22 percent. Child poverty rates in the United States have hovered around 20 percent, with much variation by state, region, race, and ethnicity. African American, American Indian and Alaska Natives, and Latino children live in poverty at two to three times the rate of Asian and white children, with negative consequences for equal educational opportunity.²⁵

Parental worries about economic competition and instability have exacerbated tensions in constructions of childhood and education. In 2015 in Palo Alto, California, the center of fierce Silicon Valley global economic competition, well-to-do parents often are torn between wanting their emotionally priceless, protected children to enjoy childhood and wanting them to succeed as students at high levels. The desire to gain admission to elite colleges and universities can result in mixed messages to children. Parents at Palo Alto High School said that all they cared about was for their children to be "happy," then asked about scores on math tests. Students said that they were "really embarrassed" to tell their friends if they got a B. Income disparities and the push for student achievement also have increased segregation, as parents move to affluent school systems. Some wealthier parents pull their children out of public schools altogether, leaving more students from low-income backgrounds and students of color without exposure to these advantaged peers.²⁶

In reaction to global economic competition, government policies have heightened conflict over constructions of childhood. In the United States the standards and accountability movement that began with the *A Nation at Risk* report of 1983 followed by the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 and Common Core State Standards of 2009, along with data about the comparative standing of American students on international tests, have intensified children's experiences as students. American students are being tested more and spending more time on test preparation in and out of school. Test scores, which affect when and whether students graduate, can influence prospects for economic success. Promoted to improve compulsory education for all students and close achievement gaps, testing is perceived by some as ineffective and harmful. Anxious to protect their children from what they see as excessive testing, some U.S. parents have opted their children out of state-mandated assessments. Some students have opted out too.

Conflicting constructions of childhood have reached down to younger and younger children. Joined by play advocates and developmental psychologists from around the world, American parents and supporters of protecting and prolonging early childhood are criticizing government policies for forcing children to become students at an early age. Research documenting that kindergarten has become like first grade, with more literacy and arithmetic instruction and less time for play, has energized defenders of "developmentally appropriate practice" who seek to shield young children from academic pressures. Meanwhile many parents, often the same parents who worry about the early emphasis on academics, worry about whether their young children are ready for kindergarten and first grade. New programs, technology, and toys have spread to teach academic skills to very young children, including children from low social class backgrounds, whose vocabularies often lag before

they begin school. Rationales for universal preschool education reflect tensions about protecting young children and treating them as students.²⁷

Emphasis on test scores and age-graded norms suggests that, despite resistance, acceptance of developmental stages may be fading in the United States and some other Western countries. Notions that development is not linear, that children should not be rushed or judged by their age, and that slowing development can be beneficial do not square with standardized assessment policies. With legally mandated age-graded standards and testing, students are supposed to be on grade level regardless of their developmental level and are considered behind if they do not advance on schedule. In public schools, parents are told whether their children meet grade-level expectations. Scores are posted online and are part of how many schools and teachers are evaluated and how parents choose schools. Intended to rise monotonically, age-graded achievement test scores reinforce the construction of all children as students whose schoolwork impacts national economic success and their adult lives.

With growing global economic competition, income disparities, testing, fading interest in developmental stages, and falling birth rates, some families are pushing their children more intensely. The childhoods of children from wealthy families in New York City are more similar in many ways to children from wealthy families in Seoul than to children from the lower classes in those cities. With fewer children on whom to focus, well-to-do American parents appear to be adopting a reconstruction of childhood like that of upper-income families in some other countries, that of a precious, stressed child. Both priceless and useless and useful as students, children are being pressed to work hard emotionally at home and hard academically at school. Anxious about safety, college admissions, and their children's future in a competitive world, parents from higher-income brackets supervise their economically useless children and useful students closely, structuring their time and paying for academic enrichment activities. Parents from lower-income backgrounds who want their emotionally priceless children to succeed as useful students pressure them too but have fewer resources to shelter them and promote their education.

Co-constructors of their childhoods, children are reacting to the burden, with reports of stress and anxiety disorders on the rise. For students who want to do well, school has become more competitive and homework more time-consuming. For students who dislike school, school has become more stressful too, making graduation and finding and keeping a good job harder. In places where child labor is still prevalent and income disparities are extreme, the construction of a protected child and useful student is less common among poor families, who may press their children to work, though economically useful child laborers certainly can be emotionally priceless in their families.

Children's status and experiences as protected children and useful students, pressured in both roles, and as unprotected child laborers differ greatly. As in the nineteenth century, when increasing numbers of middle-class children enjoyed protected childhoods to go to school and growing numbers of poor and working-class children became laborers, childhoods appear to be diverging in ways that impact children's education. Historians should be mindful of their own values about childhood and of how constructions of childhood have evolved differently over time in widely varying contexts for different groups of children. Capturing and listening to more children's voices, such as those of Lucy Larcom and other children around the world, may help us better understand how children and education have been affected historically by conflicting constructions and reconstructions of childhood.

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CHAPTER 28

RELIGION AND THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION

JAMES W. FRASER AND DIANE L. MOORE

IN 1927, when he was nine years old, Rolihlahla Mandela began attending a Methodist mission school, Clarkebury, in South Africa, where a teacher gave him the “Christian name” Nelson. Following the completion of primary school, Mandela studied at a Methodist boarding school at Healdtown, and after graduation joined the student body at the mission college at Fort Hare. In the 1920s and 1930s, for a black South African, even one from a royal family like Mandela’s, there were few options for formal schooling other than mission schools. In the 1920s mission schools across all of South Africa served 215,000 black Africans, while government schools served only 7,000. In South Africa and indeed in many parts of the world claimed by Christian European colonial powers, missionary schools were *the* schools, the only ones available to indigenous peoples.

Mission schools did not separate religion and education. Teachers in mission schools taught Protestant or Catholic Christianity according to the dictates of their particular Christian tradition along with the languages of the colonial powers—English, Spanish, French, German, or Dutch—as well as literature, the arts, science, mathematics, and sports. Most of the teachers at the mission schools had a decidedly ambivalent sense of their role with the indigenous people they encountered, and their students, like Mandela, had an even more ambivalent sense of them. Nevertheless it was these schools that provided the education to a future leadership class in much of Africa and Latin America.

Oluferni Taiwo, an African-born scholar of the debilitating impact of colonialism, has written of the inherent tension within the teaching staff at mission schools. On the one hand, they were part of the colonial system, part of the institutionalized effort to maintain European political, economic, and cultural domination of the lands and peoples of Africa and Latin America. On the other hand, Taiwo insists, “there was a missionary idea that black people could be modern. And most churches cannot come out and say some people are not human. So you might have a patronizing attitude, but if you don’t think Africans can benefit from education, why would you set up schools?” And that attitude almost always led to tensions between the missionary teachers and the colonial authorities.¹

For many students the patronizing attitude was easy to spot. Thus Mandela himself wrote of his experience at the mission college at Fort Hare, and specifically his clash with the school's leader, a Scottish evangelist named Alexander Kerr, "I saw Dr. Kerr less as a benefactor than as a not-altogether-benign dictator." Nevertheless, looking back from his long and distinguished career, Mandela valued the education he had received, not only the academic knowledge he gained but the chance to mix on equal terms with students of different tribes and ethnicities. So he wrote of the college, "For young black South Africans like myself, it was Oxford and Cambridge, Harvard and Yale, all rolled into one." And more like the Oxford and Cambridge of the 1920s than Yale and certainly Harvard of the time, the schools Mandela attended were consciously religious schools. Religion, including religious observance, was a key element in all that was taught. In this way, Mandela's schooling more closely resembled the educational experience of most people at most times in history than the modern experience.

Throughout most of recorded history, most people in most places have assumed the union—not the separation—of religion and the state. Schools, where they have existed, have been the most important symbols of that union. From universities to primary schools, many observers have assumed that schools must inherently be religious as well as governmental institutions.

When the 1648 Peace of Westphalia ended the Thirty Years War and, with that, the major Protestant-Catholic wars in Europe, the agreement simply stipulated that no nation would interfere with the religious arrangement dictated by the leader of another nation. It meant that England, the Netherlands, and many of the small German-speaking states would have governments and schools that would be Protestant, while France, Spain, and the various states of the Italian peninsula would have governments and schools that were Catholic. And they would not go to war over religious establishment, which included the curriculum of whatever schools existed. Nowhere in Europe or the then European colonies did anyone imagine a state or a school that did not teach religion.

This general principle also applied to many contexts outside of Christian-dominated Europe. Muslims in the Ottoman Empire established primary schools for boys and girls and secondary schools for boys that were connected to mosque complexes and focused on religious training, the sciences, and math. Christians and Jews enjoyed relative sovereignty in their educational systems in exchange for loyalty to the empire. In the nineteenth century, Ottoman leaders attempted to curb increasing nationalist fragmentation with the Education Act of 1869 that introduced a centralized and compulsory system that adopted selective elements of secularism while simultaneously promoting Islam.²

In the eighteenth century, when James Madison proposed and the U.S. Congress adopted what became the First Amendment to the still very new U.S. Constitution, which said, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," they were launching the national government in a new direction, one seldom seen in the world of 1791. In part this was designed to protect the state religious establishments in places like Congregational Connecticut and Massachusetts or Anglican Maryland and South Carolina—but there was more to it than that. The very idea that any government should foster religion was anathema to people like Madison. Government—including government schools—they argued, should be public. Religion, they insisted, was private. Madison had recently led a successful effort to convince the Virginia legislature to stop providing tax support for any church at the state level. And by 1830 every state in the

still-new nation had followed that pattern. In the case of the United States and many other nations, finding the dividing line between church and state or between the so-called private and public realms in education has never been easy.³

From indigenous practices where oral traditions and ritual observances first transmitted cultural values, to formal schooling in religious and vocational education, and to the development of education for elites and the earliest universal education up to the present day, religion has been an influential force in formal and informal decisions about education. Religious influences are embedded in human cultures and cannot be isolated into a fictional “private” arena separable from the “public” realm of social, political, and economic or educational discourse. Whether functioning explicitly in the service of promoting a particular theological interpretation of a tradition and attendant values or more implicitly, religion has always shaped culturally normative structures and morals (even in “secular” societies). Furthermore religion functions in plural and dynamic ways, its meaning often contested within and among differing faith communities and among communities with little regard for matters of faith. This complexity is especially pronounced in the intersection of religion and education given that education is also a contested arena where competing views of what a given community or society hopes to reproduce regarding identity and values are debated. Thus the topic of religion and education provides a rich framework to investigate how differing societies throughout history have negotiated competing worldviews and how social power functions in both explicit and implicit ways.

There are many commonly held assumptions about religion in general and religious traditions in particular that represent fundamental misunderstandings. Scholars of religion are well aware of these assumptions and have articulated some basic facts about religions and the study of religion that serve as useful foundations for inquiry.⁴

First and foremost, scholars highlight the difference between the *devotional or confessional expression* of particular religious beliefs and the nonsectarian *study of religion* that presumes the religious legitimacy of diverse devotional claims. Regarding education, this distinction is important in differentiating between contexts that promote a particular confessional or devotional understanding of a tradition (Muslim madrasas, Evangelical- and Roman Catholic-sponsored schools), schools that support the confessional instruction of many faiths represented by the religious population of the community (religious education in many European countries and formerly colonized regions), schools that promote the nonsectarian study of religion while legally banning confessional instruction (the United States and France), and schools that mix devotional and nonsectarian study in different classes.

There are three other central assertions about religions that flow from the recognition of the distinction between devotional expression and the nonsectarian study of religion. The first is that religions are internally diverse. This requires explanation due to the common ways that religious traditions and practices are frequently portrayed as uniform. Aside from obvious formal differences within traditions represented by differing sects or expressions (e.g., Roman Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant for Christianity; Vaishnavism, Shaivism, Shaktism, for Hinduism), there are differences within sects or expressions because religious communities function in different social and political contexts. Regarding education, diversities within as well as among traditions have often led to conflicts regarding what values are represented in schools.

The second central assertion that religious studies scholars share is that religions evolve and change as living traditions that influence and are influenced by the social and political

context of adherents. This requires articulation due to the common practice of representing religious traditions without social or historical context and solely (or primarily) through ritual expression and/or abstract beliefs. Religions exist in time and space and are constantly interpreted and reinterpreted by believers as well as those outside of the tradition.

The third assertion is that religious influences are embedded in all dimensions of human experience. Religions are collections of ideas, practices, values, and stories that are embedded in cultures and not separable from them. Just as religion cannot be understood in isolation from its cultural (including political) contexts, it is impossible to understand culture without considering its religious dimensions.

Whether explicit or implicit, religious influences can virtually always be found when one asks “the religion question” of any given social or historical experience. Many areas of the globe have been radically transformed by the colonial experience yet today are attempting, with greater and lesser success, to chart an independent course regarding the nature of their society, their educational institutions, and the role of religion or religions in the very public sphere of government-controlled education.

LATIN AMERICA: ARGENTINA AND COSTA RICA

Schools in Latin America have often been a major site of the contest between differing elites with radically different approaches to the place of religion in education. In many parts of the region an older elite with strong connections to conservative factions within the Roman Catholic Church insists that prayer and other devotional activities, as well as the study of religion, be a required part of the public school curriculum, often as a way to reinforce a status quo in which they are dominant. Their opponents, often led by a liberal elite with a strong anticlerical bent, seek to marginalize not only the political power of the Catholic Church but the influence of religion in public life. For the latter group, both devotional activity and the study of religion belong in church, not in public school. In Argentina, for example, the comings and goings of different governing coalitions has meant the appearance, disappearance, and reappearance of religion in the schools on a relatively predictable basis over the past several decades. In 2012 Argentine courts found the form of religious instruction then practiced in the schools, which they said represented an almost exclusively Catholic-based curriculum, violated the nation’s constitution. Since that time the federal Department of Education has mandated a more generic “Ethic and Citizen Formation” course focused on human rights, the value of diversity, and citizenship in secondary schools.⁵

Costa Rica, often seen as a bastion of stable democratic life in a region wracked by tumult, has its own unique approach to the place of religion in government-run schools. Today schools in Costa Rica open the school day with a salute to the flag, often followed by a prayer. When qualified teachers can be found—not always the case—schools offer classes on religion. Although the presence of both devotional and academic approaches to religion in Costa Rican schools are the norm, such arrangements were not always the case. The modern nation of Costa Rica took shape between 1850 and 1890 as coffee became the nation’s major industry and coffee sales accounted for close to 90 percent of export earnings. A liberal

“coffee elite,” much influenced by French ideals of liberalism and the sale of coffee to France, created a strong central government to handle the legal regulation of the export business, and by the 1880s to create a system of public education designed to “civilize” the poor. Following the French model, the education system was radically secular and anticlerical. But in 1942, a radical change was introduced into the nation’s schools.

Rafael Ángel Calderón Guardia was elected president of Costa Rica in 1940 and served for the next four years. Himself a devout Catholic, much influenced by the social teachings of the Catholic Church, Calderón began an ambitious social reform effort, creating the University of Costa Rica, a social security system, and new rights for organized labor. When Costa Rica joined the United States and the Soviet Union in the war on Nazi Germany, coffee exports to German-dominated Europe abruptly ended, and the decline in export income combined with inflation, particularly fueled by the government’s social programs, created a strong new opposition. In order to retain power, Calderón, though himself part of the old liberal elite, reached out to the two most powerful working-class institutions in the country—the Catholic Church and the Communist Party. In 1943 an agreement was formalized in which Manuel Mora, leader of the Costa Rican Community Party, and Victor Manuel Sanabria, Catholic archbishop of San Jose, agreed to back the government. As part of the agreement the government introduced religious instruction and observance into the nation’s public schools, which pleased the Catholic Church. Costa Rica may be the only nation in which the support of the Communist Party was essential to bringing prayer and instruction in religion into the public schools. And although the tripartite agreement about national government fell apart in the cold war of the 1950s, the new place of religion in the schools that it introduced in the 1940s remains in place seventy years later.⁶

AFRICA: NIGERIA AND GHANA

Beginning before formal British colonialism and extending through to the present day, religious education has been a significant and often contentious dimension of education in Nigeria. Starting in the sixteenth century and extending into the nineteenth, the transatlantic slave trade disrupted indigenous social and political systems throughout the region encompassing modern-day Nigeria. Communities residing in the coastal regions in the southern part of the country had the most contact with Europeans through slavery and other forms of trade, and by the time Britain outlawed the slave trade in 1807 the southern coastal area was a major commercial hub with lucrative ties to Europe. In the early nineteenth century, Britain assumed the role of enforcing the newly declared ban on the slave trade and promoted legal goods for trade such as cotton and palm oil, thus increasing its political and economic influence in the southern region.

The British also opened the region to Christian missionaries, who began establishing schools in the early 1800s, promoting Christianity as well as Western linguistic and numerical literacies required by commerce. In the northern part of the region, the highly stratified and organized Sokoto Caliphate was well established by the 1830s, and a sophisticated Islamic educational system was created that promoted the Islamic arts along with some European languages and the sciences.⁷ By the time Britain assumed formal protectorate status over all of modern Nigeria in 1900, there were several Christian mission schools of a

variety of denominations that were established in the southern region which produced many converts to Christianity. Muslim emirs in the north sought support from Britain to restrict missionaries from proselytizing in Muslim areas, limiting the expansion of Christian influences in that region.

The high quality of Islamic education established under the Sokoto Caliphate was preserved until 1906, when *Ajami* (an Arabic script used for writing African languages, including Hausa) was formally banned and replaced by the Roman script (called *Boko*). At this same time, English was declared the national language and a Romanized Hausa was adopted as the lingua franca. As a result of these changes, tens of thousands of students, graduates, and teachers of Islamic schools who communicated in Hausa using the *Ajami* script were rendered illiterate, severely limiting their access to positions of authority in both commerce and the colonial system.

This historical legacy continues to shape educational challenges in contemporary Nigeria, even after the success of their struggle for independence in 1960. Government schools are designated as nonsectarian but include devotionally focused options in Christian religious knowledge or Islamic religious knowledge. Though schools are supposed to offer both options if Christian and Muslim students are present, in many schools only the majority religion is represented, which further exacerbates tensions and fears of marginalization among the minority. It is also important to note that indigenous traditions are not represented in their own right and are often portrayed negatively in both Christian and Islamic religious curricula.

In spite of a relatively high GDP ranking, Nigeria's educational infrastructure is comparatively weak. In a 2012 UNESCO report, Nigeria was among ten countries in the world with the lowest rate of primary school enrollment and a general literacy rate of approximately 60 percent.⁸ Most of those who are not enrolled in formal schooling are found in the heavily Muslim-populated northern areas, though nearly 80 percent of school-age children there receive some form of Islamic religious education. Islamic religious instruction takes the form of either traditional Qur'anic study, wherein memorization and recitation are emphasized, or Islamiyya schools that include study of the Qur'an but also offer a wide range of Islamic arts. Some Islamiyya schools also offer secular subjects. The government has made attempts to help fund these, but the general failure of the educational infrastructure has significantly hindered these efforts.

Boko Haram is a Nigerian Salafi-inspired militant Islamist group that emerged in the early 2000s. Its name is usually translated from Hausa as "Western education is forbidden" or "Western education is sin." Their stated goal is to establish Nigeria as an Islamic state, and their main target is the secular Nigerian government, including its education system. In 2014 Boko Haram captured world headlines by kidnapping more than two hundred young women who were sitting for their senior secondary school exams in Chibok in the northeastern state of Borno. The group continues to claim responsibility for suicide bombings and other acts of terrorism throughout the northern regions and has expanded its reach into Chad, Niger, and Cameroon. The actions of Boko Haram have been widely condemned by Muslims, Christians, and African Traditional religious practitioners alike. Many, however, interpret Boko Haram as an extremist response to a lack of religious sensitivity as well as endemic poverty, unemployment, and illiteracy that plague the entire country but are especially pronounced in the northern areas heavily populated by Muslims.⁹

Not far to the east of Nigeria, Ghana represents a contrast with its larger neighbor. Portuguese merchants established a slave-trading colony in what is now Ghana in 1471 and brought Catholic missionaries with them. When the English ousted the Portuguese and took over the colony they called the Gold Coast, they replaced Catholic with Protestant missionaries, and nearly all schools founded in Ghana prior to independence were mission schools of various Protestant bodies.

When Ghana achieved independence in 1957, the first modern African nation to do so, the new nation set up a government-controlled school system administered by the Ghana Education Service. One of the required courses in these schools was Religious Knowledge—modeled on the Religious Instruction then given in England—which has continued under slightly changed circumstances ever since.

Today, after several major revisions and efforts to make it more directly relevant to the Ghanaian reality, the course called Religious and Moral Education is required but not subject to one of the national exams. In a nation that is about 70 percent Christian, 15 to 20 percent Muslim, and 9 to 10 percent indigenous, all students study all three traditions, although an analysis of the curriculum lead some to question how much attention the indigenous traditions receive. Nevertheless, unlike in Nigeria, the curriculum in Ghana is designed to foster national unity through the understanding of the diverse religious traditions in the nation.¹⁰

ASIA: JAPAN AND INDIA

Contemporary schooling in Japan has its roots in the Meiji Restoration that began in 1868, replacing the shogunate. The emphasis in this period was on modernization and the schools played a critical role in realizing that aim. There was a major education reform in 1872, when the government established a number of Western-influenced elementary and secondary schools along with a university system. A number of private schools were also founded, and many of these were Christian mission schools that were in tension with the culturally embedded Shinto traditional values that were still prominent and promoted by the government. Even though the 1889 Meiji Constitution guaranteed religious freedom, in 1899 an order was issued that all private and public schools under government supervision were forbidden from teaching religion. As Japanese nationalists and militarists gained power in the country, a 1935 policy supporting national unity through moral education based on religious sentiments was approved, but religious education itself was still forbidden. During the Second World War, students in Japanese schools were instructed to praise their leaders and to pray at traditional Shinto shrines. Following Japan's defeat in 1945, the Constitution was modified under the American occupation to sharpen the separation of church and state by removing Shinto shrines and religious practices from government schools and allowing private schools to teach religious education. In contemporary Japanese schools, this separation prevails in that devotionally focused religious education is not allowed in government schools, but teaching about religions from a nonsectarian perspective is legally supported, though rarely practiced.¹¹

Contemporary India is home to a diverse array of religious communities that includes Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists, Christians, Parsi Zoroastrians, Jews, and Baha'is.

After 350 years of British rule, India won independence in 1947 and established itself as a secular democracy. There are no provisions in the Constitution establishing a formal separation of church and state, but freedom of religious expression is declared as a fundamental right and all religions are represented as equal in importance. In terms of religious education specifically, there is a provision in the Constitution that bars religious instruction from being offered in schools that are entirely supported by state funds. However, many schools that are administered by the state were originally established as religiously affiliated institutions with endowments or trust funds. Religious education *is* allowed in those schools, but enrollment in religious education classes must be optional. There are also many private religious schools in operation representing all religious traditions where a specific devotional perspective is promoted. An example of a contemporary network of private institutions is one run by Vidya Bharati, the education arm of the Hindu Nationalist Party (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, RSS).

During the last hundred years of British rule, Christian mission schools flourished throughout the subcontinent and engaged in diverse ways with the variety of religious communities already present. Anglican-run mission schools were dominant in colonized northern India, and the education establishment supported their presence due to the expansive educational opportunities they represented. Many Hindus and Muslims were drawn to these mission schools rather than their government-run counterparts because mission schools offered moral as well as knowledge-based curricula. There was a fine line to walk, however, because actual conversions of students to Christianity would often lead to massive boycotts, withdrawals, and even school closures. Families wanted attention paid to the moral dimensions of life in schools, but they also wanted to preserve their own Hindu and Muslim traditions. Within classrooms, students found ways to resist what they saw as Christian dominance of the curriculum by offering prayers to Ram, Krishna, and Jesus as equals and by challenging assertions that *bhakti* spiritual practices were the result of Christian influences. Students simply understood, even if their teachers did not, that there were differing worldviews at play.¹²

Today the RSS espouses a nationalist ideology that asserts the cultural and religious supremacy of Hinduism. This ideology is, in part, fueled in reaction to legacies of colonialism. One historian asserts that the “Vidya Bharati believes that schooling should be directed towards inculcation of pride in the Hindu way of life that has been historically subjugated by the alienating system of western education introduced by the colonial masters.”¹³ A national representation of this view is found in the National Curriculum Framework 2000, which was adopted when another arm of the nationalist movement, the Bharatiya Janata Party, was in power. This framework emphasized the need to “spiritualise, indigenize and Indianise” education across the subcontinent. The Hindutva movement continues to be a strong force in contemporary education debates throughout India and in Hindu diaspora communities around the world.

It is not only in the nations that were once European colonies and that are now seeking true cultural independence that the topic of religion within the public schools is highly contested. Three of the major colonizing powers in the world—England, France, and the United States—are engaged in their own significant controversies about the place of religion in their public schools, with three surprisingly different, indeed seemingly opposite outcomes.

WESTERN EUROPE: ENGLAND AND FRANCE

England and France, both Western European nations with long traditions of tolerance and respect for diverse views, including widely diverse religious faiths, have radically different, indeed almost diametrically opposite national policies when it comes to the subject of religion in the public schools of the country. Not surprisingly, the policies of both nations are rooted in long national histories and deeply embedded in the national culture. Imagining either nation adopting the policies of the other, or either nation embracing the notions of the separation of church and state that are the norm—even if an often contested norm—in the United States is simply unimaginable.

Protestantism is deeply engrained in the very notion of being English. The most cursory review of English history includes the facts that King Henry VIII broke with the Catholic Church and declared himself head of the church in England in the 1530s. Later in that century, Henry's daughter Elizabeth I defended her country in wars with Catholic Spain and sought to unite her people in a broadly defined Protestantism, requiring only assent to worship using the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer*. In the centuries after Henry and Elizabeth, the Church of England not only defined the breadth of religious devotion in the country, but the same institution organized virtually the only precollegiate schools that were available in the land. Thus from its infancy, what people in the United States call public education was, in England, Church of England schooling.

In 1808 nonconformist Protestants—that is, Protestants, often Methodists, who were not part of the established Church of England—launched the British and Foreign School Society, and in 1811, not to be outdone, a group within the Church of England launched the National Society to Promote the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church. Both societies received government support based on the assumption that schooling would be religious—and Protestant. In 1870 this combination of church organization and government help was formalized in the Elementary Education Act, which created school boards that might decide the religious character of their schools.

Elementary and secondary education was far from universal in England in the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth. During World War II, as England's very existence was threatened, Parliament expanded the availability of schooling for all. The resulting Education Act of 1944 made religious instruction and collective worship at the opening of the school day compulsory in all English schools, though students who wished to do so could opt out. Another Education Act passed by a Parliament dominated by the Conservative prime minister Margaret Thatcher in 1988 made a number of changes in education, expanding the required subjects in all English schools; enshrining the English language, science, and mathematics as most significant; expanding the national government's control at the expense of local education authorities and the teacher unions; and confirming long-standing arrangements in the arena of religion. Like earlier laws, the 1988 act required both collective worship and the academic study of religion. However, the name of the latter was changed from Religious Instruction to Religious Education, reflecting a commitment

to less indoctrination and more reflection or, as the act said, RE courses “must reflect the fact that religious traditions in this country are in the main Christian, whilst taking account of the teaching and practices of other principal religions.”

In the years since the passage of the 1988 act, teachers of religion have worried that the expansion of other subjects and the growing secularism of the culture has marginalized their subject but have also worked hard to produce curricula that teach students to understand and respect the many different religious traditions that are present in the country and the world. In the past few years, English education policy has been rocked by a fear that some schools are using their local autonomy to teach a militant form of Islam, though investigators have found little evidence for such fears. If one visits an English school today one might view collective worship led by a teacher or a minister in which anything from a generalized lecture on ethics to a specifically Anglican prayer is offered, while a range of students, including some wearing Muslim headscarves, Sikh turbans, or Jewish yarmulkes, sit respectfully. One might also see everything from the most thoughtful comparative religion class to the most traditional Anglican indoctrination taught by religious education teachers to students with less and less background in the subject. What one would not see or hear are many voices arguing that religion is a private matter to be excluded from the school curriculum or any dress codes limiting religious attire.¹⁴

A very short journey across, or under, the English Channel brings one to a very different political, cultural, and historical approach to the place of religion in the public schools of the nation. Like much in France, the government attitude toward religion in the schools is shaped significantly by the French Revolution of 1789. At the time of the Revolution, France had been a Catholic country for well over a thousand years, since 496, when Clovis the King of the Franks was baptized as a Christian. For a century before the Revolution, Enlightenment philosophers had been decrying the powerful political union of church and state in France. With the coming of the Revolution, the power of the clergy and the nobility was swept away in the name of liberty, equality, and fraternity, to which a fourth virtue—*laïcité*, or secularity—was quickly added. In 1793, in the immediate aftermath of the Revolution, public worship was forbidden, visible signs of Christianity were removed, and churches were closed and converted to other uses. While Napoleon soon sought a kind of conciliation with the Catholic Church and restored some church property and the right to public worship, the power of the clergy and the church was never restored.

As the nineteenth century continued, the *laïcité* became an increasingly powerful symbol of what it meant to be French, especially in distinction to the more militant stance of the Catholic Church throughout Europe in the 1870s and 1880s. A series of laws passed in the 1880s expanded public schooling, made primary schools free and compulsory, and specified that only secular teachers—specifically not nuns or priests—could be allowed on school premises. A 1905 law further specified, “The Republic ensures freedom of conscience. It guarantees the freedom of religion . . . subject to a level of state supervision that confined religious expression to private spaces.” The French scholar Mariam Habibi has said of the 1905 law, “It separated civil society from religion. The state controls civil society and has total political power and NO religious power, while religious authorities have NO political power and continue to hold religious power.” In spite of what seems like an absolute separation and a limitation of religion to the private sphere, there are interesting exceptions. Six of the fifteen public holidays, including Christmas and Easter, are Christian religious holidays. Schoolchildren are given time off to attend religious instruction. And church buildings,

especially historically significant Catholic churches, are maintained by the state as part of the national heritage. Nevertheless, for much of the twentieth century, to be religious in France was, while tolerated, to marginalize oneself from the main currents of a culture that honored secularism, enlightenment, and modern thinking.

In such a cultural context there was little talk of courses in subjects like comparative religion in public schools. Religion might be mentioned—briefly—in a history or literature class. But most teachers moved on rather quickly to other matters. A 1959 law by which the government provided some funding for private religious schools offered a kind of release valve for pressure from advocates of religious observance in schools, but nearly all of the schools that received such funds were Catholic.

In this situation, the growth of an observant Muslim population led to new tensions in many parts of French society, including the schools. In October 1989 three Muslim girls were suspended for refusing to remove their headscarves in a middle school in Creil. The Ministry of Education initially announced that allowing or banning a scarf would be decided at the level of local schools on a case-by-case basis, but in 1994, under a new government, the Ministry issued a policy that “discreet” religious symbols were to be tolerated, while “ostentatious” religious symbols were forbidden in all public schools. The Ministry did not, however, define either “discreet” or “ostentatious.” In 2003 a new crisis erupted when two sisters, Alma and Lila Levy, were expelled from a high school in Aubervilliers, near Paris, after the school declared their headscarves to be ostentatious. An uproar and public debate led to a 2004 law that said, “In public primary and secondary schools, wearing signs or clothes by which pupils clearly display religious affiliation is forbidden.” The decision clearly represented the views of a wide majority. The vote in Parliament was 494 in favor, 36 against, and 31 abstentions. While the headscarf issue was the clear impetus to the law, it applied equally to a yarmulke, a turban, a cross, or a star of David unless hidden under other clothing.

The twenty-first-century headscarf issue, as it has come to be called, reflects many aspects of French culture. Without question the growing Muslim population within France, including many from families with generations of French citizens from Algeria and others who are immigrants from the Middle East responding to French needs for labor, has led to many tensions, especially in the era of post–September 11, 2001, terrorism, especially the January 2015 mass shooting at the headquarters of the satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo* and the attack in Paris in November of that year and in Brussels in March 2016. For a nation committed strongly to the symbols of national unity, including the ideology of *laïcité*, the existence of large, often self-contained and isolated communities of people who practice their religious faith with un-French fervor is unsettling. For a nation that for two centuries has relegated religion to the private sphere, the wearing of religious symbols in the very public sphere of a public school is an unpatriotic assault on core national values. And for a nation that, by custom if not by law, tends to look down on all religious expression, the kind of devotion that would lead one to challenge social norms is hard to accept, even if tolerance and mutuality are other significant national norms. For some French Muslims, wearing a headscarf in a setting like a public school is an essential display of personal modesty and an appropriate expression in public of one’s faith. But for many people in France such an “ostentatious” display of religious conviction is a challenge to deeply held national norms that protect a tolerant national expression of liberty for all by stressing uniformity in public and banishing diversity to the private realm. Resolving the difference in the future is not going to be easy.¹⁵

THE UNITED STATES

The U.S. Constitution's First Amendment ban (1791) on "an establishment of religion" and on any "prohibition of the free exercise" of religion did not solve the problem of the place of religion in the nation's public schools, institutions that were then only in their infancy. More than 225 years later, few issues are as contentious in local, state, and national politics as the place of religion in the schools.

In the 1830s Horace Mann, then the nation's leading exponent of expanding the public school system, advocated starting the school day with a reading of the Bible "without note or comment," leaving it to children and parents to interpret the lesson. For Catholics, who believed in reading the Bible in light of the teachings of the church, and who noted that the schools used a Protestant version of the Bible, such an approach was a direct assault. In response they advocated, unsuccessfully, for funding for their own schools, choosing ultimately to pay a kind of "double taxation," in which their tax funds supported public schools but they used other funds to support the development of a massive parochial school system parallel to the public system.

From the mid-1800s to the 1930s, most Protestants saw support for the public schools as a way to maintain the nation's Protestant-dominated culture and fought every effort to provide any allocation for any private religious school, especially Catholic schools. At the same time, the public schools, though increasingly secular, reflected a Protestant-dominated culture, whether it was through the lessons of the popular *McGuffey Readers* that advocated hard work, honesty, promptness, and an aversion to alcohol consumption, or the overt celebration of religious holidays—most of all with its Christmas carols that many Jewish students found especially vexing.

Perhaps the greatest symbolic—and real—battle about the place of religious values in schools took place in the small town of Dayton, Tennessee, in 1925, when a young high school biology teacher, John T. Scopes, was accused of breaking the law of the state by teaching about human evolution from a state-mandated textbook in direct violation of another law against such teaching. The nation was riveted for a time as two of the greatest attorneys of the era, three-time presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan for the prosecution and Clarence Darrow for the defense, fought it out. In the end Scopes was convicted, but the decision was set aside by the Tennessee Supreme Court. Though many saw the Protestant fundamentalism that had led to the antievolution law as being discredited, most textbook publishers shied away from discussions of evolution and most teachers and school leaders followed the same path well into the 1950s. Ninety years after the trial, the issues are still contested in many parts of the United States.¹⁶

After World War II there was a shift in the terms of the debate. In the midst of a cold war with the Soviet Union, which was seen as both evil and atheist, public schools began new efforts to promote Americanism and religion, and many mandated prayer in school, which had died out in previous decades. In the 1950s and 1960s Catholic bishops, whose predecessors had challenged all prayers in public schools because they were nearly always Protestant prayers, now joined with Protestant leaders, though generally not Jewish ones, to espouse prayer in public school and to condemn the 1962 and 1963 U.S. Supreme Court decisions forbidding such prayers as an "establishment of religion."

In 2014 battles about school prayer, about the teaching of evolution in public schools, and about public funding for private religious schools were far from over. North Carolina and

Alabama recently passed legislation that either encourages or requires teachers to join in school prayers. Schools in several states wrestle with demands for “equal time” for the teaching of what is now called creation science or creationism along with evolution in biology classrooms. And fourteen states now have what they call “scholarship tax programs” with which citizens can divert a portion of the money they owe in state taxes to a private scholarship fund that gives vouchers for students to attend private religious school, thus circumventing a ban on using state funds to support religious schools. At the same time, in spite of the U.S. Supreme Court’s clear statement that the “objective teaching of religion” is allowed in schools, few public schools have such courses, and there is widespread resistance to calls that they should be introduced into the curriculum. As of now, little clarity exists as to the place of religion in the public schools of the United States either in constitutional law or in day-to-day practice.

CONCLUSION

An investigation into the relationship between religion and education in any given social or historical context will yield tremendous insights into larger ideological debates at play over national identity and the value narratives that schools are charged with representing and reproducing. This dimension of education research has long been ignored as another by-product of the widely held belief that religion can and should be relegated to a “private” sphere with little relevance to “public” secular arenas. Now that those assumptions are no longer credible in a post-cold war era, where the complex roles that religions have always played in human affairs are more pronounced and explicit, the research opportunities to investigate the intersections of religion and education in particular contexts are legion. Collaborations among scholars in religious studies, religious educators, and historians of education could prove especially fruitful in developing new methods and national and local case studies that will move us toward the establishment of a vital new interdisciplinary field. These efforts are badly needed if the educational history of diverse countries and cultures are to be understood.

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CHAPTER 29

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION

WILLIAM J. REESE

“PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION” remains a familiar phrase in the lexicon of educational historians but commonly eludes a precise definition or agreement about its origins, nature, or impact upon schools. By the first half of the nineteenth century, however, a variety of educators and writers in Europe and America claimed that a “new education” would inevitably replace outmoded instructional methods and curricula. Offering a new way of thinking about the nature of children and how to teach them, men and women on both sides of the Atlantic drew inspiration from a range of sources, promising a revolution in the history of childhood. By the early twentieth century, the phrase “new education” was gradually replaced by “progressive education.” Often reduced to slogans such as “learning by doing” or “experiential learning,” progressive education found expression in many schools worldwide through curriculum reforms and new teaching practices. It often found a home in teacher training programs. Yet the cluster of ideas embraced by many progressives usually failed to transform schools as they anticipated. By the early twenty-first century, standardized testing, didactic instructional methods, and classroom competition remained common in many nations.

In a speech at Teachers College, Columbia University, in 1959, the historian Lawrence A. Cremin claimed that “the early progressives knew better what they were against than what they were for.”¹ He was referring to twentieth-century American educational reformers who more easily criticized conventional schools than agreed about how to implement “natural” pedagogical methods or to meet the needs of the “whole child.” Cremin’s insights can also be applied to many European and American activists in the early nineteenth century who complained about schools and called for a “new education.” They found existing pedagogical practices and the overall treatment of children in the larger society abhorrent, much like reformers today who still dream of greater well-being for all and more child-friendly schools where freedom for teacher and pupil takes precedence.

Throughout the Western world in the early 1800s, critics of schools and traditional childrearing practices could easily find grounds for optimism and despair. The American and French revolutions had toppled kings and promised greater equality and opportunity for more citizens. But child labor, abysmal poverty, slavery, the suppression of women’s rights, and other ancient evils endured despite growing movements for abolition, rising

literacy rates and investment in schools, and an appreciation for women's roles as mothers and teachers, part of the humanitarianism of the age. Advocates of the "new education" attacked time-honored school practices, including pupil memorization of textbooks, Bibles, and other reading materials, enforced when necessary by the rod. Influenced by political revolution, the Enlightenment, and romanticism, these reformers never formed a coherent movement, but they nevertheless shared fundamental beliefs, including a radical critique of conventional educational theories and practices.²

HISTORICAL ROOTS AND NINETEENTH-CENTURY DEVELOPMENTS

In Europe and America, reformers were influenced by an array of thinkers who came before them. This ensured that advocates of the "new education" held eclectic views while calling for school improvements and greater attention to children's welfare. While often deeply spiritual and Christian, they rejected the well-established religious claim that children were born in sin and thus evil by nature; traditionally, stubborn wills had to be broken, like horses, through physical restraint and harsh discipline. Some reformers drew upon the ideas of John Amos Comenius, a Moravian minister who wrote that young children especially learned best from familiar, age-appropriate materials, including visual sources. Even more influential, the English writer John Locke changed pedagogical theory forever by insisting that education above all—not inheritance—decisively shaped children's development; this elevated human agency, highlighted the uniqueness of every individual, and encouraged additional speculation on effective childrearing.

More controversial but equally revolutionary were the various works of Jean Jacques Rousseau, whose political radicalism and religious views horrified the established leaders of church and state. Rousseau also fueled the growth of romanticism, which emphasized the innocence of children and the failures of adult institutions. Like Locke's writings, Rousseau's *Emile* (1762) was translated into many languages and challenged tradition; it became famous for its depiction of a pedagogically rich, imaginary world in which a male tutor raised a child through "natural" means. Advocating experiences over books, Rousseau urged adults to see the world through the eyes of a child, a revolutionary concept if taken literally, since schools had long been teacher- and textbook-, not child-centered. Rousseau's insight—to treat children as children—seems commonsensical today but was revelatory at the time.

Criticisms of schools abounded in the nineteenth century, and the champions of the "new education" aimed to establish education and schooling on a more rational, humanitarian, child-sensitive foundation. Guidance came not only from luminaries such as Comenius, Locke, and Rousseau but also from the immediate romantic stirring of the period. In the late eighteenth century in England, the religious poet William Blake penned his *Songs of Innocence* (1789) and *Songs of Experience* (1794), which contrasted the purity and innocence of youth with their destruction by the baleful influence of church and state, including schools. Blake wrote sympathetically about the plight of chimney sweeps and the urban poor and condemned the use of corporal punishment. Like many romantics, William Wordsworth lamented the soul-destroying effects of formal education. "Heaven lies about us in our

infancy!" he claimed in 1804; soon enough the "Shades of the prison-house begin to close / Upon the Growing Boy." In the United States, transcendentalists such as Ralph Waldo Emerson, a Unitarian minister, similarly linked childhood and innocence, and he applauded European educators and theorists who demanded more humane treatment of children, whether within families, at the workplace, or at school. The child, he wrote in *Nature* (1836), was a "perpetual Messiah," calling adults back to an innocent state.³

On both sides of the Atlantic, numerous citizens echoed the views of poets, philosophers, liberal clerics, and other advocates of the "new education." Schools force-fed students arcane knowledge from textbooks; pupils memorized and recited lessons like parrots; teachers threatened pupils with physical punishment instead of making learning more appealing. While schools, according to many romantics, were often undesirable places, leading figures of the Enlightenment had also concluded that people could behave rationally and, contrary to orthodox Christian belief, promote progress. Individuals were not predestined to heaven or hell, and some reformers dreamed of establishing a heaven on earth. At the least they hoped to improve the lives of the most helpless individuals in society, including the young.

By the late eighteenth century, the publication of encyclopedias, dictionaries, and other means to advance learning beyond the elite classes seemed to portend an age of educational advance. "After bread, education is the first need of the people," said the French revolutionary George Jacques Danton in 1792, and less revolutionary figures also spoke of a coming millennium of peace and prosperity. Thanks to technological innovations that reduced publishing costs by the 1820s, newspapers and magazines reached a wider readership; they often reported on the latest educational ideas. The desirability of education and school improvements thus drew sustenance from a variety of sources, including rising literacy rates in many Western nations.

It was one thing to condemn schools, another thing entirely to improve them. Some romantics, such as Blake, doubted that schools could ever play a positive role in society, but the nineteenth century became an age of institution building, including asylums, prisons, workhouses, and schools. Many of them did not advance the cause of humanity, and historians have long criticized their failings. But two European visionaries, Johann Pestalozzi and Friedrich Froebel, contributed to the hopefulness of the times and offered innovative ways to undermine hide-bound schools. Pestalozzi would forever be associated with "object teaching," while Froebel became synonymous with his invention, the kindergarten. They became central to what contemporaries called the "new education," a romantic, "natural" approach to teaching and learning. Reformers who called themselves progressives in the twentieth century stood upon their shoulders.

Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi was born in Switzerland and was initially swept up in the fervor of the French Revolution. His life transformed after reading *Emile*, he established model schools that taught many orphans, the victims of the continental wars. Pestalozzi became a sainted figure, his image sketched and painted, his writings widely quoted, his schools visited by many educational pilgrims. Children, he argued, learned naturally by handling familiar objects. Pebbles could be used to teach arithmetic, and the close study of nature revealed the mysteries of science, geography, and history. As Rousseau had written, educators should see the world through children's eyes and introduce lessons to them in a natural way, drawing upon their immediate environment. Young children learned from things, not words, as Pestalozzi's followers often said. Books, especially textbooks, represented

adult-centered understandings of the world, far removed from children's experiences. Children, so active outside of school, were expected to sit still in classrooms and often whipped when they failed to conform to the unrealistic expectations of teachers. Pestalozzi imagined a different approach. He idealized peasant mothers, deemed superior in teaching the young compared with schoolmasters wed to textbooks and corporal punishment. Children needed a harmonious education, one where adults in all settings treated them humanely, educating the hand, the heart, and the mind through pleasant means.⁴

Pestalozzi came of age in an era without extensive systems of state-financed schools. Like many famous teachers, he apparently had a charismatic personality, attracting pupils and followers alike, while few teachers anywhere enjoyed such allure. Turning ideas conceived by a charismatic individual into everyday practices in systems of education raised a serious question: Was it possible? Pestalozzians quarreled over how to interpret his writings, which they often read in translation in newspapers and magazines or heard about in lectures. This produced obvious problems in describing a genuinely Pestalozzian school, though most utilized a method called "object teaching," which was packaged in Europe and America in training manuals and textbooks with step-by-step lesson plans in the basic subjects. In the United States they were often written by urban school superintendents far removed from the rural worlds that had shaped the great master's schools and teaching with things, not words.

Prominent educational leaders helped popularize Pestalozzian ideals beyond Europe. For example, Horace Mann, America's leading reformer in the late 1830s and 1840s, praised them in his writings and lectures. He and like-minded educators drew attention to the Swiss master in editorials and articles in leading periodicals, including the *Common School Journal*, which Mann edited. Saying schools should adopt more "natural" pedagogical methods was nevertheless easier than changing time-tested practices. While object teaching certainly became part of teacher training in the United States, historians have discovered that many pupils at the newly established normal schools had to concentrate on mastering the common school subjects before they might learn about alternative pedagogical methods. And most teachers seemed to teach as they had been taught, which meant mastering textbooks, not exploring sylvan fields.

Facing growing numbers of pupils in New York, Boston, and other cities, mainstream educators tried to bring order out of chaos, so they implemented not a flexible but a more uniform curriculum, set by administrators and approved by the local school board. Cities also built larger, better age-graded schools after midcentury. They increasingly hired women as elementary teachers, whose salaries were lower than males' and often had classrooms with fifty to sixty pupils. Paying attention to each individual was very difficult, if not impossible, and teachers often could not model instruction on the scripted lessons in instructional manuals. More schools purchased globes and blackboards, and teachers sometimes taught subject matter with the aid of "objects" such as watches, coins, and rock collections; many schools, which were often overcrowded, nevertheless lacked the resources to buy expensive teaching aids. Reports thus circulated in Europe and America that schools remained textbook-based and teacher-, not child-centered. Traditional practices were difficult to dislodge.

Occasionally a charismatic individual carried the banner of the "new education" forward and demonstrated its practical character. Probably the best example in the United States was Colonel Francis W. Parker. Parker was a popular lecturer, writer, and administrator, the

living embodiment of the “new education.” Having himself traveled to Europe to study education, he criticized rote methods of instruction, corporal punishment, and competitive written tests, the last becoming more common in urban schools after the 1850s. Between 1875 and 1880, Parker, a Civil War veteran, became nationally renowned for his achievements as school superintendent in Quincy, Massachusetts. He helped create a model public school system, where teachers apparently eschewed excessive memorization and recitation. The Quincy school board appointed teachers who shared his views on child-centered pedagogy. Forward-thinking educators and aspiring teachers flocked to Quincy, seeking guidance. But Parker’s tenure was short. Called the “father of progressive education” by none other than John Dewey, a close friend, Parker later headed a well-known teacher training college in Chicago.⁵

The great question from the time of Pestalozzi and Parker to the present was whether teachers would embrace “natural” and child-centered methods when they themselves had often succeeded in old-fashioned schools and found jobs in similar types of institutions. Of course, the “new education” should not be judged only by whether it changed schools wholesale in any particular community or nation; at times, some of what Pestalozzi’s followers and other innovators had in mind made a visible dent in the system.

Indeed many urban schools lacking charismatic leadership or full support for the “new education” adopted some aspects of object teaching after the 1860s. On the edges of the curriculum, for example, “learning by doing” found expression in a range of manual training classes in many towns and cities. Nature study also became popular, supplementing textbook-based science instruction. A remarkable collection of photographs by Frances Benjamin Johnston at the turn of the twentieth century demonstrates that many white and black schools in Washington, D.C., offered classes in dancing, cooking, and manual training, sponsored field trips, and initiated laboratory courses to enliven instruction. But detailed studies of the curriculum in the post-Civil War era show that urban and rural schools nationwide mostly focused on the basic subjects of reading, writing, and arithmetic in the elementary grades, wherein most pupils were enrolled, and on core academic subjects taught in traditional ways to the smaller numbers of pupils enrolled in high school. Many books and magazine articles in the 1890s noted that, even when districts adopted object teaching or manual training, they occupied only a small part of the school day. Most classes resembled the past. Textbooks reigned supreme, and memorization, recitation, and increasingly written examinations were common. Visitors to manual training classes sometimes found teachers lecturing, testifying to the firm grip of tradition.⁶

In 1900 the U.S. Commissioner of Education, William T. Harris, a staunch supporter of an academic curriculum who frequently disparaged the “new education,” said that teachers were basically conservative. Most had succeeded as students in traditional classrooms. Writing in the journal *Education*, Harris explained that children were typically “full of caprice and wayward impulses,” and teachers endeavored to socialize them to adult norms. Teaching, he concluded, “is the most conservative of all occupations, excepting always the ministry. For the teacher has to deal with the unformed, undeveloped human being, and educate it into the manners and customs of civilized life, and above all open it for the storehouse of the wisdom of the human race.” Such statements rattled every progressive. Harris recognized that textbooks might be boring, but he regarded them as tools of democracy; an informed citizenry, as the Founders of the nation believed, needed access to the

same basic knowledge. Textbooks were even more important to the many pupils who had dull, uninspiring teachers.

Harris was no stranger to debates about what knowledge or teaching methods merited a place at school. A Connecticut Yankee, Harris had dropped out of Yale and moved west, rising up the ranks to become the much-heralded superintendent of the St. Louis public schools between 1868 and 1880. As advocates of the “new education” there as elsewhere urged schools to become more child-friendly, Harris, a Hegelian philosopher and admirer of German culture, rejected romantic claims about the value of object teaching. But he notably embraced a key innovation that had originated in Europe: kindergartens.

Kindergartens were first established in the United States in the 1850s and were often found in urban areas populated with German immigrants, who were well represented on the St. Louis school board. While Harris doubted that kindergarten methods would transform the elementary grades as many reformers desired, he built a model system that attracted visitors from around the nation. A local training school prepared hundreds of women teachers, who ultimately spread the kindergarten gospel to many communities. The “child’s garden,” Harris believed, would not usher in a paradise of learning, but it could help adjust children from the informality of the home to the stricter demands of elementary school.

Kindergartens, like manual training, engaged children in numerous activities. They provided living proof that the “new education” could enter school systems otherwise committed to teacher authority and student mastery of textbooks. Children in kindergartens sat in a circle, not in fixed rows, and in moveable chairs, not bolted-down seats. Kindergartens promoted cooperative learning, stressed the educational value of structured play, and provided a sequenced set of lessons employing objects (balls, string, and so forth) and not books as the central means of instruction. Photographs of kindergartens reveal their home-like, middle-class atmosphere, with pleasant pictures adorning the walls and plants and flowers brightening the room. Women dominated in kindergarten teaching and supervision and helped popularize the reform in articles, books, and speeches. Women’s reputation for gentle treatment of little children—especially compared with men’s treatment—made them central to this aspect of the “new education.”⁷

Friedrich Froebel, the German inventor of the kindergarten, had apprenticed in one of Pestalozzi’s schools, and the “child’s garden” became one of the most popular, long-lasting innovations associated with the “new education.” Initially banned in Prussia because of its links to political radicalism, the kindergarten spread to all corners of the world, though the followers of Froebel, like those of Pestalozzi, often disagreed about specific aspects of his educational philosophy and “gifts and occupations,” his richly symbolic curricular exercises. Rival professional associations in many nations debated how to organize kindergartens. By the late nineteenth century, only a small percentage of America’s school systems had funded them, but kindergartens were also found in settlement houses, orphan asylums, and private schools. City systems faced the challenge of paying teachers and constructing new buildings for a burgeoning population. In many large cities such as New York and Chicago, thousands of children in the 1890s could not find a seat in public elementary schools, which remained overcrowded. Providing universal access to new programs in early childhood education was prohibitively expensive in many school districts and inconceivable in some. But kindergartens were here to stay, as the “new education” traveled from Europe to America and other nations.

Emphasizing activities over books led critics then and in later generations to call the movement anti-intellectual. Pestalozzi and Froebel would have found the charge puzzling,

since they expressly desired a harmonious education that cultivated the head, heart, and hand. But some champions of object teaching believed it was a basis for vocational education, particularly for outcast groups such as Native Americans, African Americans, and poor whites. Native American boarding schools that formed after the Civil War as well as public schools for African Americans in different parts of the country tried to downplay academics in favor of trade training. Males at boarding schools and other institutions attended by these groups were often taught obsolete handcraft skills; women received instruction in housekeeping skills deemed suitable for future domestics. Most schools still taught academic subjects, and neither Pestalozzi nor Froebel imagined that hand-training sufficed in a well-rounded education.⁸

By 1900, then, some key developments emerged related to the “new education,” which increasingly became known as “progressive education.” Theorists focused on young children, not older ones, since they were seen as more malleable. Children over the age of twelve or so were usually working or attended school sporadically in Western nations, so the focus on the very young seemed sensible. Charismatic individuals associated with the “new education” established model schools, which attracted legions of the curious, who struggled to re-create what they saw in established systems. The “new education” was also expensive, requiring teaching aids, shop and kitchen tools, and more and better trained teachers, straining school budgets. This ensured that even when reformers promoted vocational education programs, such innovations never replaced the basics, which usually continued to be taught in familiar ways.

Obstacles to adopting reform on a grand scale were many. Schools faced the wrath of taxpayers who attacked “fads and frills” during economic recessions and depressions, which happened frequently in the second half of the nineteenth century. And the notion that children—not teachers and textbooks—should occupy the center of the educational universe struck many parents, taxpayers, and teachers as utopian. Supporting an innovation, including the kindergarten, did not mean one had romantic views of children or hoped that its methods would permeate the entire system. Object teaching, kindergartens, and manual training were nevertheless clear signs that the “new education” left a discernable mark on many schools around the world.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY DEVELOPMENTS

John Dewey, America’s preeminent philosopher in the first half of the twentieth century, wrote critically about the romantics, including Rousseau, Pestalozzi, and Froebel, and in a series of articles and books consistently criticized the excesses of “child-centered” education. In the late 1890s and early decades of the new century, he frequently contrasted the “old education”—seats in a row, children reciting subject matter they did not understand, schools that emphasized order instead of the joy of learning—with a “new education” that tried to recognize children’s interests and needs and to reconstruct pedagogy and curricula accordingly. Dewey recognized, however, that otherwise intriguing proposals for reform could themselves become ossified or counterproductive, as when object teaching was reduced to formulaic prescriptions in guides to teaching and critics sneered at traditional education, which emphasized pupil mastery of academic subjects. Dewey reminded child-oriented educators that learning (as most teachers and parents believed) required considerable effort

by students and that teachers erred in trying to sugarcoat the educational process. The historian Herbert M. Kliebard succinctly explains, “Dewey’s position in curriculum matters is sometimes crudely described as ‘child-centered,’ though he was actually trying to achieve a creative synthesis of the child’s spontaneous interests and tendencies on the one hand and the refined intellectual resources of the culture on the other.”

Examples of “new” or “progressive” educational practices surfaced in a variety of schools over the course of the twentieth century. Sometimes the new generation of reformers lacked much knowledge about the activists and visionaries who preceded them, which might have led to more prudence as they denounced existing schools and proclaimed the dawn of a new age. As Dewey and other observers discovered, progressive schools had diverse characteristics, though they generally stressed the importance of children’s interests and needs, more creative, pupil-friendly pedagogy, and learning activities that eschewed or downplayed textbooks, memorization, and competitive examinations. The aim was to make students active participants in their own education. Like their predecessors, early twentieth-century champions of progressivism labored to make learning inviting by tapping the curiosity of pupils, whose intellectual growth and personal development were reportedly crushed by the old-fashioned methods and curricula still found in most schools.

Over the course of the twentieth century, educational experimentation drew upon familiar sources: dissatisfaction with the status quo, a sense that the vast social changes of the day made educational change inevitable, and the assumption that progress and educational reform were inextricably linked. By the 1890s reformers often drew upon the new discipline of psychology, particularly research on child and adolescent development. As education and psychology became university-based disciplines, child study became fashionable. G. Stanley Hall, one of John Dewey’s teachers in graduate school at Johns Hopkins University, studied the “contents of children’s minds” in the 1880s through surveys, providing early inventories of knowledge. Obstetrics and the study of childhood diseases gained more attention from the medical community, and measuring pupil achievement through the latest quantitative methods became common by the early twentieth century. Research at universities expanded and some cities established their own research bureaus. Despite disagreements about what it meant to study children scientifically, researchers increasingly questioned whether schools should focus on academic subjects alone, to the exclusion of a student’s physical or psychological needs.⁹

Educational experimentation flourished in the early decades of the twentieth century. Between 1896 and 1904, for example, Dewey and his wife, Alice, epitomized the trend, having established the world-renowned Laboratory School at the University of Chicago. The school had a selective student body, mostly the children of faculty members. They studied standard academic subjects but also clay modeling, raised and sheared sheep and spun wool, and constructed buildings, an echo of the “object teaching” popularized by Pestalozzi’s disciples. The lessons emphasized the connections between subject matter and everyday life, showing how occupations evolved over time. The aim was not vocational: teachers were not training future carpenters or shepherds. Teachers guided children and encouraged them to seek knowledge through their own initiative. For example, they could learn to boil an egg by consulting a cookbook, but it was far better if they experimented on their own, learning through trial and error. As Dewey explained in *School and Society* (1899) and other writings, textbooks were filled with abstractions, based on adult

understanding of subject matter. Teachers should breathe life into the abstractions and tie them to everyday experience.

Other educational experiments were under way elsewhere. Like the Laboratory School, they became meccas for educators and interested citizens who lamented the still powerful grip of traditional theories and practices in most schools. People interested in reform read about or tried to visit Maria Montessori's Casa dei Bambini in Italy; the platoon system of schools in many American cities, folk schools in Scandinavia, model progressive ones in the Soviet Union and elsewhere in the 1920s; private child-centered schools and public suburban systems such as in Winnetka, Illinois, that incorporated some of Dewey's ideas, in the 1930s and 1940s; Dalton schools and Waldorf schools; infant schools established in England; and "open classrooms," "schools without walls," and alternative high schools in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s.

As in the nineteenth century, progressives learned about innovative practices by visiting schools at home and abroad, by reading extensively, and increasingly by attending college, often earning credentials in education or in the social sciences. Upon finishing their degrees, graduate students who became professors of education often helped establish laboratory schools at their home institutions, whether they had studied at the University of Iowa or at Teachers College, Columbia University, in New York City. Some reformers such as Dewey traveled extensively, gaining insights into how educational ideas developed and expressed themselves in diverse cultural settings. Ideas traveled across national borders and were reshaped to fit into new contexts. American progressives, in turn, visited schools in Mexico and other nations to gain insights on the wide range of educational subjects, from the use and abuse of intelligence tests to how to improve teaching.¹⁰

Generalizing about such a range of schools, why they were established, and their ultimate importance in different times and places is very difficult. As Dewey and his daughter Evelyn explained in *Schools of Tomorrow* (1915), many aspects of innovative schools varied. Some appeared in rural settings, others in cities. Some were more libertarian than others. School founders and teachers debated how much freedom to grant to pupils and what children should study and why. Activists usually stereotyped the existing institutions most children attended as backward, too rooted in the past and disconnected from the present. Progressive schools, in contrast, usually promised greater freedom for the child, enriched curricula, and disdain for anything conventional.

Women continued to play a crucial role as progressive teachers and as the founders of prominent experimental schools. In Fairhope, Alabama, in the early twentieth century, Marietta Johnson established the Organic School, which, as the historian Joseph W. Newman explains, attracted teachers who shared her views on child-centered instruction. Caroline Pratt's City and Country School in New York City offered an alternative to the conventional teaching methods entrenched in the public system. Over the course of the twentieth century, some progressive schools (e.g., the Dalton School in New York City) had high academic standards and evolved into selective institutions for a college-bound elite; others, such as some alternative high schools in American cities in the 1960s and 1970s, taught pupils unsuited for conventional classrooms. Some progressive leaders and their staff and students wanted a refuge from society, others to radically transform it. In the romantic language of the 1960s, many idealists, sounding like the original romantics, dreamed of allowing a thousand (or more) flowers to bloom. That seemed impossible in regular schools then and even

more so in the coming decades, when many national systems joined a frantic race to raise test scores and race to the top of league tables.¹¹

A few examples of what many contemporaries called “progressive education” in America’s urban public schools illuminate their diversity. One fascinating experiment emerged in Gary, Indiana. Established in 1906, the city was home to U.S. Steel, the largest steel plant in the world. The local school board comprised a small elite of businessmen and professionals who generally supported the innovative ideas of the local school superintendent, William A. Wirt, who served from 1907 until his death in 1938. As Ronald D. Cohen demonstrates in his exemplary history of the Gary schools, Wirt, who became acquainted with Dewey’s ideas while studying at the University of Chicago, drew upon diverse theories. Like many contemporary reformers, he believed that schools should meet the needs and interests of the child; they did not exist simply for the adults who paid for or worked in the system. Wirt and like-minded educational leaders elsewhere thus challenged the belief that schools should focus on academics alone; modern schools should address a widened horizon of concerns of childhood, adolescence, and the local community. “Schools did not just offer curricular and extracurricular choices to pupils,” Cohen writes, “but also provided medical care, baby sitting, social welfare services, recreation for the entire family, adult programs . . . facilities for the handicapped, and employment opportunities, and served as an anchor for the community.” This became central to the modern vision, Cohen concludes, of “progressive education.”¹²

Superintendent Wirt devised the “work-play-study” approach to schooling, popularly known as the “platoon” system, and promoted student engagement, a hallmark of progressivism. Students spent part of the day in academic study of an enriched curriculum that included the arts and music, then moved to shop and manual training classes, with time reserved for sports and physical education. Visitors described the schools as active sites for learning; some had swimming pools, extensive playing fields, and evening classes for adults. According to Wirt, work, play, and study were ideally mutually reinforcing. As children and increasingly adolescents were removed from the full-time labor force, schools also provided more social services, including meals and medical and dental inspection. Above all, Wirt wanted children to stay busy, to find something they enjoyed and in which to excel. Left-wing radicals and conservatives alike praised the system, which promised the efficiency of industrial plants as well as a more cohesive and culturally enriched community.

Dozens of urban districts in America adopted a version of the platoon system, one of the most widely discussed and debated innovations of the early twentieth century. After the stock market crash of 1929, the economic depression that followed caused business leaders to reduce financial support for the platoon system, which unraveled after Wirt’s death. But progressive practices entered many public schools in the first half of the twentieth century, irrespective of the fate of Wirt’s system. Educators often embraced the language and some of the practices of the new, or progressive education. Since the romantic era of the nineteenth century, more educators claimed that children’s needs (always difficult to define) were paramount, that traditional curricula and pedagogical methods repelled many children, and that schools should better appeal to them. While the platoon system disappeared, a full range of social services, including the expansion of programs for special needs pupils, became common in Gary and other school districts after World War II. The academic mission of schools hardly disappeared, but schools performed many social and vocational functions, as advocates of the “new education” earlier anticipated.

While a number of elite private schools in the 1920s and 1930s became famous exemplars of child-centered education, Gary's schools demonstrated that progressivism formulated in a unique way could thrive in a largely working-class city and in a public system. Another example of how progressive ideas flourished for a time in public schools arose in Winnetka, Illinois, a Chicago suburb. According to Cohen, many of Wirt's associates regarded him as aloof. Not so with his contemporary Carleton Washburne, Winnetka's superintendent between 1919 and 1943. Like many leaders associated with the "new education" in the nineteenth century, Washburne was charismatic. Like Wirt, he had an unusually long tenure and until nearly the end of his career enjoyed strong support from parents and the school board.

Winnetka was a wealthy community, committed to building a first-class system when it hired Washburne. Drawing upon an array of ideas, including Dewey's, Washburne offered yet another version of what contemporaries called progressive education. Washburne attended the progressive Parker School in Chicago and graduated from Stanford. After a stint at teaching, he joined the faculty of a normal school in San Francisco, where he was influenced by a colleague, a former student of G. Stanley Hall who emphasized the importance of individual instruction. The uniqueness of the individual, central to romanticism, remained Washburne's abiding concern, and parents in many communities worried that their children would feel lost as schools mushroomed in size. But how could one individualize teaching in age-graded classrooms? The "Winnetka Plan," as it became known, was reassuring to parents, since the local schools offered pupils solid training in academic subjects, which they studied in the morning. Every pupil completed assignments in workbooks, took numerous tests, and progressed at their own pace. In the afternoon, however, students had access to arts, crafts, and more innovative activities. They operated a credit union and post office and built teepees, all in the spirit of "learning by doing." Washburne cultivated a teaching force that shared his ideas; he established a teacher training college within the system, spent considerable time with his staff, and frequently praised them. As in Gary and other districts, the Depression of the 1930s led to budget cuts, attacks on "fads and frills," and a refocusing of the system on academics, which intensified after Washburne left office. But during its heyday Winnetka became a famous expression of progressive education.¹³

Just as normal schools had tried to popularize the "new education," so too did the new schools of education and teacher training colleges in the twentieth century. Many state universities as well as private universities with graduate schools of education established laboratory schools, as John and Alice Dewey had done in the 1890s. Here future teachers could observe master teachers and study how children best learned, which usually meant discrediting methods based on memorize-and-recall for a test. Influential schools such as Teachers College, Columbia University, hired professors who contributed to different versions of progressive education. At Teachers College, William H. Kilpatrick, a devotee of Dewey, popularized the "project method," which challenged the separation of disciplinary knowledge; it found favor in many elementary schools nationwide. Children might work alone or together for days on problems and projects, not on memorizing facts in isolated subjects. At the Institute of Education in London, Susan Isaacs pioneered new pedagogical practices for nursery and primary schools. Similarly influential and innovative educationists taught at the leading teacher training institutions in other nations.

Progressive education was often in the professional spotlight in the first half of the twentieth century. Progressives published specialized journals that featured articles on the project method, kindergartens, manual training, arts and crafts, and numerous ways to

break the strongly forged chains of educational tradition. They interacted in prominent professional groups, including the Progressive Education Association, established in 1919 in New York City, and in the New Education Fellowship, founded in Europe a year later. Members of these organizations usually wanted to tailor instruction for the individual, enhance children's freedom, and offer students an enriched curriculum; they often lamented the glacial pace of change and realized that other educational innovations proved much more influential than theirs. Most struggled to persuade the public that child-centered instruction was compatible with high academic standards, the enhancement of which became ever more important in public policy over the course of the century.¹⁴

While the discipline of psychology had contributed to child study, it had also shaped the modern testing movement, which became the *bête noire* of the progressives. Testing left an indelible mark upon actual classroom practices, far more than romantic notions of child-centered pedagogy. Moreover Dewey and other intellectuals and academics associated with progressivism were red-baited in the 1930s, accused of undermining teacher authority and weakening allegiance to capitalism. The reaction against liberalism and progressive education intensified during the cold war in the 1950s. A figure no less than President Dwight D. Eisenhower claimed that Dewey's influence had undermined academic standards, and many observers, not only conservatives, still occasionally claim that Dewey had enormous influence upon instructional practice. It matters not that Dewey was fairly consistent in his criticisms of romantic notions of children and child-centered education. When the Soviet Union launched its satellites late in the decade, the public schools were blamed, and it was easy to find fault with the system. High school enrollments boomed, but a smaller percentage of secondary pupils than earlier in the century pursued academic courses. Biology enrollments rose while physics declined; social studies replaced many history courses; and foreign-language course enrollments dropped precipitously after World War I. There were many causes for these changes, and few could be linked to Dewey. But the boogey-man of progressivism was invoked nonetheless, since single-cause explanations for complex phenomena never lose their appeal.¹⁵

Schools had clearly assumed many new vocational and social functions since the early twentieth century. Critics of the domestic programs of the New Deal, particularly Republicans, frequently complained that liberalism infected society and its institutions, which accounted for the presumed superiority of Russian science and technology. And, without question, a version of the welfare state existed in the public schools, which probably reinforced the notion that schools had become "soft" and without rigor. Welfare programs existed in varying degrees in the form of breakfast and lunch programs, medical and dental inspections, physical education and health courses (of widely varying quality), and counseling for jobs or college placement. Schools offered vocational training, sports programs, extracurricular activities, and other forms of hands-on learning. Usually limited to male participants before the 1970s, sports programs were often hugely popular with local communities, and many high schools were better known for their basketball or football programs than for academics. Obviously schools had not invented sports mania, whose sources lay in the larger society. Attacks on progressivism were ubiquitous in the 1950s. Prominent historians such as Arthur Bestor, a liberal, attacked schools of education for undermining excellence, since they had weak admission standards and supported more nonacademic programs in the schools. "Back to the basics" became the rallying cry, and groups such as the Council for Basic Education tried to restore standards and weaken the appeal of child-centered ideas.

Not surprisingly, perhaps, the Progressive Education Association disbanded in 1955, though, like swallows returning to Capistrano, child-centered educators made an impressive comeback in the 1960s. They faced the same sort of criticisms that hounded previous generations of reformers.

When outside evaluators discovered that academic achievement was often low in Gary, Indiana's, schools, Superintendent Wirt understandably responded that test scores were inappropriate measures of what schools contributed to pupils and to the larger community. Such a response was ridiculed in the post-World War II era, when conservatives equated progressive education with low standards and letting children do as they pleased. Critics exaggerated how many changes the progressives wrought. The historian Roy Lowe, for example, discovered that child-centered pedagogy was not commonly practiced in England. Similarly Larry Cuban found that while elementary schools in the United States were more receptive to child-sensitive pedagogy than high schools, traditional practices often ruled. Team teaching and the use of television, film strips, and other innovative technologies promised to enliven high schools. Ironically they (like work books) instead reinforced pupil passivity. The schools had added many social services and dramatically expanded their mission by 1960, compared to a few decades earlier. But many classrooms still had bolted-down desks, permitted corporal punishment (allowed by law in the majority of states), and had not become a child's garden. Portable desks did not prevent teachers from lecturing, a common practice in high school.¹⁶

During the civil rights movement and the Great Society of President Lyndon Baines Johnson in the 1960s, progressive educational ideas and practices nevertheless reemerged and attracted considerable publicity. A loosening of dress codes, greater informality between teachers and pupils, grade inflation, and other reforms changed the atmosphere of many public schools by the early 1970s. "Open" classrooms, alternative high schools, "schools without walls," and other expressions of liberal values meant that change was real, though never as extensive as critics sometimes claimed. Important new federal programs such as Head Start revived the idea that early childhood education could help break the bonds of poverty by socializing the poor to middle-class norms. Soon, however, a powerful conservative movement arose in reaction to the "liberal" 1960s, ushering Richard Nixon into the presidency in 1968 on a promise of "law and order," and conservative movements since then have often dominated policymaking. It has not been a hospitable environment for most progressives.

CONCLUSION

The old nemesis of progressivism, testing, reared its ugly head in dramatic fashion in 2002. The Republican president, George W. Bush, and Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, the liberal lion of the Democratic Party, for different reasons helped usher in a massive federal effort to raise standards in the schools, documented by standardized testing, with the passage of No Child Left Behind. Republicans wanted to bring market forces to bear on public schools and, in the process, help privatize the system; liberal Democrats wanted to better document how well ethnic and racial minorities fared in the race to the top. Test scores are currently the gold standard in many national school systems. They are published just like those for athletic events.

By the early twenty-first century, schools in the United States had retained many of the broadened social functions accumulated over many decades. Early childhood education retained its importance, and Head Start enjoyed bipartisan congressional and public support. Teachers in elementary schools remained most amenable to child-friendly pedagogy, but the emphasis on test results ensured the survival of drill and memorization, and talk and chalk. Teaching to tests—a wide assortment of them—drew the ire of some liberals but approval from many moderates and conservatives, who wanted schools to produce better, measurable results. Schools have also borne the heavy responsibility of lifting achievement in systems that by law include virtually all students through high school, including the physically and mentally handicapped.

David L. Labaree has written that schools of education still teach a version of progressive education to future teachers, rebranded as “constructivism.” Instruction, they are told, should be based on the “needs, interests and developmental stage of the child,” should include group work and projects, and promote “discovery” methods that allow more “self-directed” learning to enable pupils to learn “how to learn.” The aim is to enhance “critical thinking” and “problem solving.”¹⁷ The language has changed, but the old dream persists: that the schools should conform to the child, not the other way around, and that learning should be enjoyable and exciting, which is precisely what romantics said two centuries ago.

NOTES

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2. Reese, *America’s Public Schools*, chapter 3; Hermann Röhrs and Volker Lenhart, eds., *Progressive Education across the Continents: A Handbook* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995); William J. Reese, “Progressive Education,” in *The Routledge International Encyclopedia of Education*, ed. Gary McCulloch and David Crook (London: Routledge, 2008), 461.
3. Tal Gilead, “Jean-Jacques Rousseau,” in McCulloch and Crook, *Routledge International Encyclopedia*, 497–498; William J. Reese, “The Origins of Progressive Education,” *History of Education Quarterly* 41 (Spring 2001): 3, 6, 24; William Wordsworth, “Ode: Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood,” in *The Portable Romantic Poets: Blake to Poe*, ed. W. H. Auden and Norman Holmes Pearson (London: Penguin Books, c. 1978), 199; Reese, *America’s Public Schools*, 80–84.
4. Quote is from William J. Reese, *Power and the Promise of School Reform: Grassroots Movements during the Progressive Era* (New York: Teachers College Press, c. 2002), 188; Reese, *America’s Public Schools*, 80–99.
5. Christine A. Ogren, *The American State Normal School: “An Instrument of Great Good”* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 35–38; Reese, “Origins,” 19–22; Reese, *America’s Public Schools*, 91–92, 112; Cremin, “What Was Progressive Education,” 722. Bettina Berch, *The Woman behind the Lens: The Life and Work of Frances Benjamin Johnston, 1864–1952* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2000), 42–46; Reese, *America’s Public Schools*, 116.
6. Berch, *The Woman behind the Lens*, 42–46; Reese, *America’s Public Schools*, 116.
7. Quote is from William T. Harris, “The Study of Arrested Development in Children as Produced by Injudicious School Methods,” *Education* 20 (April 1900): 454; Reese, *America’s Public Schools*, 63–65; Barbara Beatty, *Preschool Education in America: The Culture of Young Children from the Colonial Era to the Present* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995).
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9. Herbert M. Kliebard, “John Dewey,” in Altenbaugh, *Historical Dictionary*, 112; Robert B. Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991); Herbert M. Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum 1893–1958* (New York: Routledge Falmer, 2004), 11–12; O. L. Davis Jr., “Child Study Movement,” in Altenbaugh, *Historical Dictionary*, 73.
 10. Kliebard, *Struggle*, chapter 3; Röhrs and Lenhart, *Progressive Education*; Ruben Flores, *Backroads Pragmatists: Mexico’s Melting Pot and Civil Rights in the United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 3, 11, 107–115.
 11. John Dewey and Evelyn Dewey, *Schools of Tomorrow* (New York: E. P. Dutton, c. 1962); Aaron R. Sadovnik and Susan F. Semel, eds., *Founding Mothers and Others: Women Educational Leaders during the Progressive Era* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); Joseph W. Newman, “Experimental School, Experimental Community: The Marietta Johnson School of Organic Education in Fairhope, Alabama,” 80–81, and Susan F. Semel, “The City and Country School: A Progressive Paradigm,” 121–140, in “Schools of Tomorrow,” *Schools of Today: What Happened to Progressive Education*, ed. Susan F. and Aaron R. Sadovnik (New York: Peter Lang, 1999); Susan F. Semel, *The Dalton School: The Transformation of a Progressive School* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992).
 12. Ronald D. Cohen, *Children of the Mill: Schooling and Society in Gary, Indiana, 1906–1960* (New York: Routledge Falmer, c. 2002), x, 1–2, chapter 8; also see Cohen’s essay, “William Albert Wirt,” in Altenbaugh, *Historical Dictionary*, 387–388; Arthur Zilversmit, *Changing Schools: Progressive Education Theory and Practice, 1930–1960* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Arthur Zilversmit, “Carleton Wolsey Washburne,” in Altenbaugh, *Historical Dictionary*, 378–379.
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CHAPTER 30

THE HISTORY OF SCHOOL TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATORS

KATE ROUSMANIERE

WHAT was it like to work in schools in the past? How did teachers teach, and how did school administrators lead schools? What types of people worked there, and how were they prepared for their work? To begin to answer these questions, we first need to clarify what we mean by teachers and school administrators. The issue is more complex than it initially seems.

The contemporary occupational term “teacher” is a relatively recent one, emerging with the development of state school systems in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Prior to that time, the people who educated students were ministers, parents, governesses, tutors, and workplace mentors, who worked in a wide range of educational institutions that included private academies, home-based dame schools, church schools, and community schools jointly supported by local funding and tuition. Even today teachers are defined by their specialties in elementary or secondary school teaching and by their employment in private, church, or public schools, early childhood and nursery organizations, custodial institutions, residential or boarding schools, and other special facilities. The term “teacher,” then, encompasses a broad and diverse range of occupational experiences and work practices.

Similarly the popular understanding of “school administrator” includes both school building leader, or principal, and administrators in district, state, and federal offices, including elected or appointed boards of education, administrative supervisors and school inspectors, and officials in charge of the legal and financial aspects of student attendance, teacher training and certification, health and safety provisions, curriculum, and the like. Educational administration can also include voluntary interest and community groups such as parent-teacher associations, educator associations and unions, and professional and commercial interest groups that contribute to educational policy development. As government-funded institutions that have vested interests in local communities and economies, schools are complex bureaucratic organizations with a multitude of different players who contribute to the educational enterprise.

THE NATURE OF THE RESEARCH

The historiography of teachers and school administrators is instructive for understanding both changing historical interpretations and changing public attitudes about educators over time. The earliest educational research about school teachers and administrators was prescriptive rather than descriptive, with a goal of improving educational practice. The first histories of teachers and administrators were chronologies of the development of educators' employment, job descriptions, training, and occupational characteristics for the purpose of better understanding how teachers and administrators in the present could clarify their role. These studies tended to center on the dominant political actors in local, state, and national educational reform, emphasizing legislative and policy proposals. The focus often was on what these actors intended to do for and to education through educational policy, and not on the impact of those actions or how educational policies were experienced at the local level. Through the mid-twentieth century, such histories, often written by educational policymakers or leaders who sought to improve school systems, reflected a popular belief that educational systems were well-organized bureaucratic structures in which teachers and administrators could be effective if they learned and acted out their roles properly.

Beginning in the 1960s, social science researchers and historians began to offer a more complex perspective on the way that schools worked in the past and present. This revisionist approach was due in part to the intellectual and political activities of the time: given contemporary observations that schools incorporated many of the most hidebound tendencies of modern society, educational researchers upended the simplistic view of schools as benign and efficiently functioning organizations and began to critically examine how schooling reproduced class and race inequalities and traditional gender and cultural roles.

Sociologists began to look more critically at the school as a complex cultural organization, ripe with personal and power dynamics. These studies moved beyond the prescriptive policy-centered research of how schools *should* be as institutions and focused instead on how schools *actually were* as organizations. Notable in these works was the observation that schools were not an idealized bureaucracy where every piece had a function, as had been imagined by earlier policymakers, but rather that schools were "loosely coupled" organizations that were highly influenced by and context-dependent on multiple players. Such studies revealed that school work at the local level was "far removed from the tidy conceptual schemes of positivistic, behavioral and managerial science" that characterized the earlier educational prescriptive literature.¹

For example, Harry Wolcott's 1973 study, *The Man in the Principal's Office*, showed that the school principal was not just a stiff functionary working in a tightly autocratic system but rather one of the many players in the complex and contested organization of schools, where cultures were negotiated among administrators, teachers, students, and staff. Dan Lortie's 1975 *School Teacher: A Sociological Study* offered a careful study of teachers' occupational ethics, informal work traditions, values, and customary practices, or what later scholars called teachers' work culture. These perspectives provided the more multidimensional understanding that teachers' work was more than classroom instruction, and school administrators' work was more than delivering orders. What emerged was a portrait of schools as dynamic and complex organizations that were influenced by individual and collective cultural and political dynamics.

Drawing on such insights about the organization and politics of schooling, historians of education began to focus on the social history of schooling, paying attention to dynamics of race, class, and gender in school organizations and the ways in which economic factors, national and local culture, and changing purposes, politics, and philosophies influenced educational practices over time. The history of schools began to be seen as more than the history of legal and institutional developments and began to include the history of curriculum, school design, youth culture, and dynamics of gender, race, and class, reaping an array of studies of how individuals and communities experienced education in the past. Yet, ironically, even under this broad new scope, historians continued to overlook the history of teachers' and administrators' experiences at work in schools.

Historians noted that part of the challenge to the development of a social history of teachers and administrators was an absence of sources: the typical classroom teacher was notably absent from the historical record, leaving few documents that were preserved in archives and little evidence of the regular texture and activity of typical school days. Revisionist historians who did look at educators thus tended to focus on formal organizations such as teacher unions and professional educational associations, relying on their official documentation to narrate a history of organizational politics, focusing on leaders and formal political and legislative battles. Another barrier to the development of a social history of educators is that historians tended to collapse the definition of "educators" into one large grouping that enveloped everyone from an official state educational leader to a classroom teacher. Well through the 1970s there was little historical understanding of the day-to-day work of educators in schools, including how teachers taught in classrooms, how administrators functioned in their offices, or how other staff members managed the daily operations of schooling.

In the following decades, methodological and theoretical developments offered new insights into the social history of educators. A significant breakthrough was Larry Cuban's 1984 study, *How Teachers Taught: Constancy and Change in American Classrooms, 1890–1980*, which examined the nature of teaching in the past by examining photographs, architectural designs, student newspapers, school surveys, and teacher self-reports. Drawing on qualitative and quantitative sources, Cuban offered both descriptive and analytic work in his exploration of why teaching practice had not significantly changed over almost a century of classroom reforms. Donald Warren's 1989 edited volume, *American Teachers: Histories of a Profession at Work*, offered the first compendium of new historical research, centering on the impacts of demography, political economy, and labor and professional consciousness on teachers across American history and offering special historical case studies of teaching in rural and urban schools, the development of teacher education and hiring and promotion practices, teacher activism, the feminization of teaching, and the unique history of African American teachers. Kate Rousmaniere's 1997 study, *City Teachers: Teaching and School Reform in Historical Perspective*, expanded the focus of study outside of the classroom to the school building as a whole, mining a range of primary sources to describe teachers' experiences at work under New York City's school reform initiatives in the 1920s.

These and later social histories, or "historical ethnographies," examined the ways in which school organizations around the world functioned at the ground level, chronicling daily work practices, life experiences, and biographies of educators in the past. The work was informed by new historical research methods, including oral history, life history, and critical readings of photography, architecture, and language, as well as new theoretical

understandings of labor, race, class, and gender. Feminist historians, for example, had long argued that women's lives had been ignored by historians who focused on major political and legal enterprises from which women were excluded. Historians of the African American experience had begun to find previously overlooked sources that told the history of enslaved African Americans who had previously been thought to have no recorded history. Labor historians had begun to identify the significance of industrial labor activism not only in leaders' political activities but also in the daily culture of workers on the shop floor. The new approach was taken up internationally, as scholars around the globe began to apply social history methods to document the history of marginalized groups whose stories had been excluded from formal records in the archives.

Educational historians followed suit and began to chart the history of teachers' daily experiences in the classroom, paying attention to the gender dynamics of the feminized teaching workforce, as well as teachers' and school administrators' changing ethnic and class identities over time and the material conditions of educators' work. Beginning in the 1990s, historians of education produced such social history studies of students, teachers, local school administrators, parents, community groups, and popular culture in different international contexts.

By putting the local and day-to-day activities of school actors, including teachers and school administrators, at the center of analysis, these histories focused less on the chronological development of educational institutions and more on the complex interaction of players in schools, their work culture, experience, biographies, and practices, and how social and political dynamics were interwoven into the development of their work. Many of these were small-scale micro-analysis case studies, although even the smallest case study offered broader implications to the nature of how school organizations functioned.

Taken as a whole, across nations and cultures, three themes characterized these new histories of teachers and school administrators: the impact of the creation of state educational systems of educators, the struggle for professionalization, and the relationship of educators to the state educational purpose and structure.

STATE FORMATION AND THE CREATION OF EDUCATIONAL OCCUPATIONS

The development of the occupation of teaching and school administration corresponded with the development of state systems of public education; indeed the current positions of teachers and administrators would not exist without a large state-supported public school infrastructure.

Through the mid-nineteenth century in most Western countries, schooling remained a largely unregulated and eclectic operation, available in a systematic way only to the wealthy, and primarily wealthy boys. The schooling that was available to the poor was largely sponsored by churches and charity organizations. Teaching in any of these organizations was inconsistent and largely unregulated: without an organized, publicly funded educational system, there was no standard curriculum, pedagogy, teacher training, or employment

practices. Even in privileged institutions, teachers had low status, low pay, and minimum security. Nor was there a stable structure of school administration, as most schools were funded and controlled by community or private organizations, leaving the day-to-day management of schools to teachers who were assigned the most basic of administrative tasks: keeping attendance, maintaining cleanliness and order, and delivering the curriculum. Wherever they worked, teachers taught multi-aged groups, using authoritarian pedagogical methods and severe disciplinary methods and relying on drilling and recitation with the goal of basic literacy.

In most nations, a more systemic organization of schooling emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century as part of the development of centralized, cohesive state governments. Political leaders saw the creation of a state educational system as one way to consolidate political order, national culture, and economic systems. Schools would lead their charges to accept self-government that would result in “order, constancy, regularity, and predictability, the willingness to cede legitimate political authority to representatives, to defer to experts, to follow detailed rules and procedures, to keep records, to respect the legitimate rights of others.”² The linking of educational theory with political theory was expanded transnationally by eighteenth-century European Enlightenment philosophers such as Jean Jacques Rousseau and John Locke, who had introduced new ideas about human agency, and educators such as the Swiss Johann Pestalozzi, who advocated a theory of education that started with the child’s interests, and his student, the German Friedrich Froebel, who applied these theories to concepts of early childhood education. Collectively the new educational philosophies promoted the adoption of educational practices that emphasized students’ interests and motivation—a sharp difference from traditional education that promoted education as a disciplinary practice of forcing a set body of knowledge and behavior onto students. Interwoven with the new humane recognition of the child’s needs and interests was an understanding that modern states needed citizens with individual initiative in ways that earlier peasant- and serf-based societies had not.

Reformed classroom pedagogy was thus connected to national state development—an observation that educational reformers in the new nation-states quickly recognized. After the American nineteenth-century educational reformer Horace Mann traveled to Europe to observe these new educational ideas in practice, he advocated a publicly funded school system that relied on collective public investment in the education of youth in basic literacy and numeracy as well as independence, individual autonomy, and innovation. The work of Mann, Henry Barnard, and other nineteenth-century American educational reformers coalesced into the creation of “common schools,” a planned system of public education that would help create a common American culture and political identity. Such linking of reform pedagogy with national identity was not unique to the United States. In the former British colony of Canada, schools taught elements of the identity of “British Canadians” that distinguished the new Canadian nation from its southern neighbor. In late nineteenth-century Japan, reformers began a process of modernization and centralization of their state education system to consolidate culture and political power. Nor did the process end in the nineteenth century: in the newly formed Soviet Union, the new China, the new state of Israel, and other national entities born of political and social revolution, state educational systems were developed, school enrollment required, and new educators were trained and hired for the purpose of furthering new national interests.³

The process of educational development as a function of state formation was less successful in much of South and Southeast Asia, Africa, and South America, where local culture, geography, and colonial and local prejudice complicated the centralization process. In many rural and developing nations, the creation of government education systems faced universal challenges of access, funding, local support, and conflict between colonial and native ruling regimes and indigenous and minority cultures that questioned the purpose and content of education at the elementary and secondary levels. In Mexico, for example, repeated political upheavals postponed the development of a federal system of education until the 1930s, and even then the institution of teacher training, a school inspection system, and school administrative structure was continually challenged by local and municipal populations. In colonized communities, the numbers of players at work in educational development created contentious and complicated political scenarios. In late nineteenth-century Calcutta, India, for example, the Loreto Catholic missionary sisters adapted their schools for poor Native Indian girls to particularly multifaceted and conflicting contexts, navigating between the institutional demands of the British Protestant Empire, the male-dominated Catholic Church, and traditional local beliefs about female education.⁴

But where national education systems did take hold, the central state gradually claimed the preeminent right to set standards and to supervise newly established schools, and state officials set up the infrastructure for an educational bureaucracy to regulate the new system through public funding and regulatory legislation. The monitorial system of education, developed in early nineteenth-century Britain, expanded to become the first global model of school management and classroom organization. Particularly in England and its vast empire, monitorial education promised to improve both society and individuals by rationalizing the organization of students in a standardized model of instruction, at minimal cost. By the turn of the century, most international education systems had adapted a graded system of education, drawing on the work of German educator Johann Friedrich Herbart as well as early child and developmental psychologists, organizing students into sequenced stages of learning according to their performance on an increasing array of tests to assess student knowledge. In this popular and fiscally efficient organizational scheme, teachers and students were divided into graded compartments, and a head teacher, or principal, was assigned to act as an overarching authority figure, organizing the separate courses of study, administering discipline, and supervising the common operation of all the classes across a designated school district. The work of creating, managing, and distributing new state educational policies, curriculum, and guidelines was assigned to staff in central offices of education, who often supervised both classroom practice and managerial processes.

The impact of such organizational developments on those who worked in schools was significant. For teachers, the development of state systems of education meant more regular employment, compensation, and guidelines and regulation, the last an innovation that was not always unwelcome, given the typical disorder and abuse of earlier private schooling. The introduction of the principal to schools radically changed the machinery of the emerging state-controlled educational bureaucracy, as a local school administrator acted as a middle manager who linked the local institution with the state administrative apparatus and thus ensured the implementation of the central educational policies. In so doing, state educational authority was affirmed and consolidated by a state educational bureaucracy that supervised employees, who were paid by the state, often as civil servants. Educators' historic and contemporary civil servant status had major implications for attempts to professionalize and organize themselves independently.

THE STRUGGLE TO PROFESSIONALIZE TEACHING AND SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

The process of professionalization marked a number of occupations through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, most notably in the fields of medicine and law, whose leaders sought to further the social status, economic rewards, and professional autonomy of those in the occupation. Central to the professionalization project was the creation of a competitive qualifications system supervised by a self-regulating legislative body. Among educators, the goal was to link the new state educational systems with an educational profession of scientifically trained and authorized experts, providing educators with greater financial rewards, cultural capital, and social status, similar to that enjoyed by those in the medical and legal professions. But the professionalization path for educators was complicated by two major factors: first, the fact that public educators remained civil service workers funded by the state, and not independent entrepreneurs, and second, that education had become increasingly feminized. Both undercut the goal of professionalization.

The development of training and licensing programs for educators exemplifies the challenge to professionalization. In education, such training was originally offered by government-funded teacher-education institutions, modeled on the German teaching seminary and the French *école normale*, thus leading to the common American term “normal schools.” Normal school advocates identified a select and systemic body of knowledge in educational and liberal arts topics that would prepare new teachers in the specialized science of educational practice. Thus teaching would become not merely the individual acts of adults in a room with children but a professional field of scientifically trained experts in pedagogy, learning theory, and curriculum. By the early twentieth century these efforts would lead to state-authorized education degree requirements and state-issued certification requirements.

But teacher education schools were hardly the selective and competitive institutions that conveyed professional status in other fields. For one thing, new state school systems needed such a large number of teachers that training programs could not be choosy; indeed through much of the early twentieth century, teachers and school administrators alike were hired without any formal training. In addition, teacher education programs taught general educational knowledge, and in many nations they served as popular forms of accessible higher education. Finally, and perhaps most significantly, teacher education soon became the purview of women. The recruitment of women to teaching was an intentional strategy of school reformers in many developing state education systems in the nineteenth century. First and foremost, women were a readily available and inexpensive labor pool. Educated in new state school systems and freed from the most basic demands of the household by modernization, young middle-class women provided an ideal source for relatively low-pay work for individuals with some education. However marginal the wage, teaching attracted women because it was generally the highest paying form of work available to them, and often paid more than men’s unskilled labor. Women also fulfilled an emerging vision of education as humane and caring work. Informed by nineteenth-century ideals of middle-class womanhood and child development, women were identified as having a “natural” affinity for children. Caring and cost were happily linked in the eyes of frugal school administration.

Mid-nineteenth-century school advocates argued that women were such natural caretakers of children that they would not demand much money, prestige, or authority, thus minimizing budgetary costs for new teachers while still allowing for the appointment of men to more prestigious and higher paid positions as school administrators.

The feminization of the teaching force profoundly shaped the nature of the occupation, although women's increased access to teaching did not imply professional advancement for them as a group. Through the early twentieth century across Western Europe, most teachers were male, since women's own educational opportunities and professional aspirations were sharply circumscribed by social norms that delineated where and how women could teach. Women teachers were relegated to low-paying elementary classrooms and were prohibited by cultural norms and school policy from advancement or positions in higher-paying secondary-level classrooms and school administration, and they were regulated by normative social customs governing behavior inside and outside of the schoolhouse. The international practice of the marriage bar for women teachers exemplifies the way they were socially regulated: well past the Second World War many Western nations barred married women from teaching under the cultural norm that women could not serve two "masters": their husband and their principal. Ironically such bans were lifted in part because of changing psychological understandings of women's sexuality: modern expectations and fears of gender and sexual deviance encouraged the hiring of married women and the rejection of sexually suspect unmarried women.

Underlying all aspects of the feminization of teaching was the common cultural belief that teaching was merely an extension of motherhood: it was "women's work," much like voluntary missionary work, and not a tightly competitive and high-skilled profession that could demand respect, high salaries, and protections. This broad analogy significantly undercut any efforts to professionalize teaching.

Gender was not the only social identity at play in the organizational and cultural identity of school work. In developing state school systems, educators required a particular class, race, and cultural background in the aspiring teaching force, reflecting the ongoing agenda of the state to create and reproduce certain types of citizenry. Across nations, school leaders regularly excluded certain people from the teaching force, such as racial and religious minorities, immigrants, people with disabilities or any other identified social "abnormality," and those from working-class or politically radical backgrounds. It was teachers' identity, not their knowledge base of skills and practices, that seemed to matter the most.

As with teachers, administrative identity was influenced by social identities, especially gender. The more bureaucratized schools became, the more gender inequality was instituted into school organizations, with women in the classroom and men in the administrator's office. Cultural constructs of both masculinity and femininity influenced who was recruited to different school positions, and in turn shaped the character and occupational norms of those positions. In part because of its characteristic as a male-dominated organization, school administration was more successfully professionalized than was teaching. By the early twentieth century, across countries, school administration became "masculinized" in much the same way that teaching had been "feminized," following similar normative expectations of behavior. In addition, school administrators were successful at creating regulatory bodies that were designed to shape and control these norms.

These educational professional associations staffed by highly educated white male leaders increasingly took on the regulatory and supervisory work of education, offering professional status to its participants and linking school administration to government regulation.

In Canada in the 1930s and 1940s, for example, select professional education associations aligned with government officials to pass legislation that placed significant regulatory authority into their hands. Under these “teaching profession acts,” teachers in publicly funded schools were required to belong and pay membership dues to a government-approved education association that itself was required to establish “relations and discipline” committees with the legal power to investigate and punish any teachers identified as acting in a “non-professional” manner.⁵ This created a layer of regulation over the occupation, and particularly over the lower-status feminized teaching corps.

Yet teachers were not always as passive as school administrators might have hoped. Ironically the centralization and consolidation of state education systems had the effect of drawing teachers into one cohesive body through the development of state teacher training schools and common occupational experiences. This situation encouraged teachers to shift their loyalty and identity from their particular local community to a collective identity as state teacher employees. Particularly in urban districts in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Western nations, teachers formed their own associations to fight for equitable salaries and improved working conditions. Using industrial unions as their model, teacher activists argued that they were professionals whose work with the nation’s future citizens was worthy of increased public support and respect. They pushed not just for material improvements in salaries but also for democracy in school management, retirement pensions, improved promotion and hiring processes, and curricular reform. Drawing on the politics of working-class labor organizations, teacher unionists argued that under centralized state systems of education, teachers were like factory workers receiving orders from above and earning minimal rewards or autonomy.

Britain’s National Union of Teachers (NUT) is a good example of such a movement. The NUT was founded by elementary school teachers in 1870 as an effort to coordinate a number of local teacher associations that had formed across England and Wales following the 1870 Education Act, which had made elementary education compulsory. Thus as the state attempted to incorporate, systematize, and regulate the work of teachers after compulsory elementary schooling, teachers organized to identify, develop, and sustain a positive self-image and rights. From the beginning, NUT members struggled with whether to identify as a trade union of skilled workers or as professionals. Ironically it was government officials who helped to resolve the crisis by forging compromises that included administrative reforms that established a system of indirect state rule, moderated teacher autonomy, and created partnerships between teachers and administrators in local governance. The compromise was successful at taming what government officials had feared would be a major class conflict among the ranks of teachers, but it did so at the cost of unity within the union, particularly by exacerbating gender inequality among teachers, which led women teachers to forge their own political agendas and unions. Similar fissures within teachers’ unions emerged over ethnic identity and race in the United States, as ethnic teacher cohorts often positioned their own worker rights against the interests of other minority communities. Many of these cultural, political, and community conflicts came to a head over teacher strikes. The most notable of these was the New York City Ocean Hill–Brownsville teachers’ strike in 1968, a months-long confrontation between the new community-controlled school board in the largely African American Ocean Hill–Brownsville neighborhood and the city’s Jewish-dominated United Federation of Teachers.⁶

In developing nations, teachers often played a leadership role in radical organization. In colonized nations, local teachers stood at the nexus between community life and the

government, both in their position as civil service workers and in their experience as educated and prominent community figures. Teachers, after all, were well-educated and familiar with government regulations and ideologies, and they had access to all levels of community life; as a result, many became skilled at local economic development and community leadership. Numerous prominent leaders in revolutions and independence movements across sub-Saharan Africa, the Caribbean, and South and Southeast Asia were originally teachers. Mexican women teachers were activists in the revolutionary movements of the early twentieth century, arguing successfully for programs to benefit female teachers and to further women's political advancement in the national union. Yet, here and elsewhere, as teacher unions accommodated to and aligned with the state, the unions inevitably abandoned their radical mission and excluded those radical teachers who argued for a more democratic organization that addressed the needs of rank-and-file teachers.⁷

Outside of unions, teachers have a long history of resisting certain educational policies, even when those teachers work in isolation from a union or other organized group. In their day-to-day work life, teachers have faced the tension between state regulation, loyalty to their own ideas of professional educational practice, and commitment to the communities in which they live, and they have challenged injustice, often at great risk. In Soviet schools, where teachers were unable to form protective professional associations, many still took a lead in political mobilization against the Soviet regime in the 1980s, drawing on their role as local intellectuals, their access to government knowledge, and their community prominence. In South Africa both white and black teachers were the vanguard in the twentieth-century anti-apartheid movements. Before the civil rights movement in the United States, African American teachers challenged racist educational policies at the local level through strategic tactics of publicity, personal pressure, underground organizing, and community mobilization. Teachers' political activism was thus not always self-interested or focused on their own occupation, but often bled out into the community in which they worked.⁸

Teachers' efforts to organize as workers, political activists, or professionals were challenging, primarily because teachers were rarely a unified group. They retained traditional divisions and different interests, divided by grade and job description, preparation and licensure requirements, pay and compensation, and status within the educational bureaucracy. Even in the most centralized state educational system, teachers in different communities earned different levels of privilege, respect, and freedom, and teachers were themselves divided by ethnicity, race, gender, class, and politics. All of these differences undercut teachers' ability to form a cohesive political platform, whether in a professional association or a labor union. Yet even with these divisions, teachers across the globe have historically taken on political action, either in formal trade unions or in smaller community organizations, and many have seen such work as part of their own definition of professionalism. Thus professionalization has a unique and often contested meaning in the international history of educators.

EDUCATORS AND THE PURPOSE OF SCHOOLING

Distinctive of both teachers' and school administrators' work is what Larry Cuban calls the "policy-to-practice paradox," which refers to the way educational policy is created in and

delivered from a central office, and then translated by local school administrators to classroom teachers.⁹ The term speaks to the sociological concept of a “loosely coupled” organization in which multiple, highly independent players are involved in one project with inconsistent coordination and regulation. The concept is significant for understanding the extent to which educators follow the specific regulations and expressed purpose of education as set out by state authorities. As civil servants, teachers are required to follow the regulations of the educational state bureaucracy. Yet the particularly complex dynamics of school life allows for multiple variations and interpretations between what is assigned and what actually happens in a classroom or school office.

Historically teachers have played out the policy-to-practice paradox tension in their training and delivery of state-mandated curricula and educational materials even as they retained informal authority in their own classroom. Historical studies have recorded how teachers resisted, adapted, and accommodated certain aspects of their working conditions, both through formal political organization and through individual acts of adjusting lesson plans and ignoring or sidestepping administrative directives on a daily basis. However authoritarian and standardized were the educational policies, teachers across time and location have maintained their own sense of local authority in their own classroom.

Even in highly regulated government regimes, such as the Soviet Union, teachers experienced the tension of their double role as civil servants and community members. As agents of the state, Soviet teachers instructed a prescribed and ideological body of knowledge and enforced government regulations. Privileged in their role as employed government officials in a vastly expanding educational system designed to inculcate Soviet ideology, teachers were also subject to government restrictions, regulations, and punishment, and as such were both agents and victims of terror.¹⁰

School administrators also enacted the policy-to-practice tension in their role as middle managers. Working within an increasingly dense bureaucracy, school administrators could still make small autonomous moves to undermine or adapt central office directives, maneuvering between the rules of their regulating authority and their own sense of professional responsibility as educators. For example, in late nineteenth-century Germany, the creation of a head teacher in local state schools, and the authorization of those head teachers to supervise their schools, challenged for the first time the exclusive power of Catholic and Lutheran clerics in the evaluation of local education, leading, ultimately, to the abolishment of church regulation of education. The emerging authority of the German head teacher thus contributed to the decreasing authority of the clergy in state education and the corresponding development of a cohesive state education system.¹¹

So, too, in early twentieth-century Mexico did the development of the school director, or principal, further the development of the state education system. By their very existence, Mexican school directors, like the Bavarian head teachers, represented state authority, yet the particular context of their rural school community, the resistance to authority that they encountered, and their own individual ability to negotiate state demands on local communities reveal the “dual personality” that school administrators often assumed in answering to communities and executing federal policies.¹²

School principals, like teachers, were not always direct mouthpieces of the state, as seen in the case of Soviet school principals, who worked in particularly precarious positions that balanced responsibility to the state with their own heightened political vulnerability: one false or unpopular step could lead to being fired or arrested. Studies of Soviet principals reveal that many negotiated the contradictory demands of blind obedience to the state and

their own individual school-based problem-solving, working as both agents of the state and the educational leader of a community of adults and children.¹³

Another example of the way educators managed the policy-to-practice paradox was in racially segregated schools in the early twentieth-century United States, where African American school principals maintained their racially segregated, economically starved, and politically marginalized schools in the context of a hostile supervising white educational leadership body. Principals of segregated African American schools obeyed the racist policies that guided their schools, but they surreptitiously undermined and adapted those policies, leading with a double consciousness that was both accommodating and resistant.¹⁴

The policy-to-practice dynamic was also played out in the particular social and cultural normative values that shape educational expectations. Educational policy is itself influenced by popular cultural norms that shape contemporary ideas of excellence and quality in education, and these normative expectations of behavior are often embedded in the regulatory guidelines for educators. A case study in early twentieth-century Denmark encapsulates how the work of women teachers was drastically shaped by one educational policy that was interwoven with cultural expectations, and the case provides a useful conclusion to this discussion of educators' history in state formation, professionalization, and alignment with state educational purpose.

In Denmark a series of education acts in the 1890s was designed to professionalize the work of Danish teachers. Prior to this time, teachers had been considered locally regulated and unorganized "peasants among peasants," and the newly formed Association of Danish Teachers worked with the national government to improve the working conditions of teachers and create a more common educational system. Central to the new educational policies was enhanced training requirements, higher classroom expectations, and greater regulation of teachers, including a process of teacher dismissal for incompetency and criminal behavior. Interwoven in the regulations were new pedagogical ideals that stressed certain gendered expectations of female teachers, including behavior modeled on idealized maternal behavior. This policy regarding "professional" behavior was developed and interpreted with deeply gendered assumptions. Accordingly, scores of women teachers were dismissed from their positions for what local and state officials identified as a perceived lack of care or kindness, inability to cooperate with parents, obstinacy, and "quarrelsomeness."¹⁵ In this case, it is possible to see the intersection of state policy, local dynamics, and cultural norms as enacted by the state in coordination with educators' professional associations, which resulted in changed expectations and regulation of women teachers. As policy was translated into local practice, it was mediated by cultural norms.

CONCLUSION

The history and historiography of teachers and school administrators reveals a number of insights about the nature of educators' work. First, the positions of public school teacher and administrator as we recognize them today are dependent on a vast state bureaucracy. Public school educators are civil service workers, and to that extent they maintain an allegiance with and reliance upon the national and state government. This dynamic has played out in different ways across nations, but common across time and context is the creation of

an educational state that offered educators more structured employment, while often constraining their role, identity, and behavior. Whatever their particularities, all state-employed educators are regulated by a central state bureaucracy that authorizes their qualifications, organizes school regulations, and pays school salaries. Notwithstanding the transnational neoliberal educational reforms of the past twenty years that have introduced models of privatization and decentralization to state schooling, educators remain servants of the state.

Second, across history and nations, the educational project of professionalization has always been unique for educators. Even as highly educated white-collar workers, teachers' compensation and privileges have remained relatively limited, and their status has remained dependent on popular cultural norms of gender, community, and citizenship. Unlike other highly educated workers, educators have little professional autonomy or control over their work, particularly given their position as employees of the state. The feminization of the teaching force has sustained the historically popular belief in teaching as a mission to which one is "born" and not a profession one "earns." Political activism in labor unions and professional associations has not eased this contradiction. School administrators, too, have an unclear status as middle managers in a large bureaucracy, required to balance the often contradictory expectations of their local community and the centralized administration above them. The extent to which local school administrators control their own work—a defining characteristic of a professional—is debatable.

Third, as a result of their civil servant status and their ambivalent professional standing, teachers and local school leaders have historically exemplified the policy-to-practice tension. Working in a "loosely coupled" organization, they share neither the lock-step work process of factory laborers nor the blind obedience expected of workers. Teachers and school administrators have never simply followed the formal guidelines of educational policy, and to some extent cultural norms about education have allowed such flexibility. A written curriculum plan or educational test does not tell us how teachers introduced that curriculum or test, how students experienced it, or how the school principal evaluated it. Schools are complex, dynamic organizations, and each person in that organization adapts, accommodates, and resists school rules every day, whether it is a student passing a prohibited note, a teacher adjusting an assignment, or a principal ignoring both. The history of education has taught us that this is not a new phenomenon.

NOTES

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CHAPTER 31

TRANSITIONS FROM RURAL TO URBAN SCHOOLING

DAVID A. GAMSON

WE live at a fascinating moment in history. Sometime around 2008 or 2009, according to United Nations statistics, humankind passed a planetary tipping point whereby the world's growing urban population briefly equaled its rural population, before rising above it and moving upward. For the foreseeable future, it seems, the global future is an increasingly urban one.

This demographic milestone need not signal a major shift in understanding the history of education. In fact, geographers and demographers, among others who have been watching these changes for some time, caution against interpreting this pivotal point as an indication that the world is entering some kind of hyperbolic “urban age,” subject to unprecedented city forces, challenges, or “crises.” Nevertheless research has demonstrated that the change is a profound one, and it offers a unique opportunity for historians to revisit and reflect on accepted narratives about the destiny of rural communities in urbanizing nations—both industrialized and developing—and to reconsider the concomitant influences on rural schools across the globe.

What happened to schools during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as countries around the world transformed, deliberately or otherwise, from agrarian societies into larger and more complex nations capable of housing new types of urban institutions? What explanatory factors have historians identified, and how much do we know about the causes, outcomes, and consequences? Awareness of the current global demography (while at the same time vigilantly avoiding presentism) may entreat scholars to devote new vigor to understanding the processes of urbanization; it is a fitting moment to recalibrate an understanding of the relationships among rural communities, major transnational economic shifts, national urbanization, and public schooling. Doing so offers valuable insights for countries and cities currently undergoing their own swift change.

The urbanization that occurred in industrialized nations in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has been mirrored by rapid changes over the past half-century in Asia, Africa, and South America, although many of these more recent dynamics are, of course, quite distinct. The world's population experienced unparalleled expansion during the

twentieth century, multiplying a full *tenfold*. Most of this growth took place in low- and middle-income countries, and it is likely that these nations will witness most of the world's demographic expansion for the foreseeable future. Asia and Africa hold three-quarters of the world's fastest-growing cities, as measured by growth rates between 1950 and 2000, and Africa's urban population already exceeds the urban population of North America. To put this in some perspective, in 1964 Malcolm X proclaimed that Harlem had "the largest concentration of people of African descent that exists anywhere on this earth. There are more Africans in Harlem than exist in any city on the African continent." That imbalance has now reversed itself, and a deeper understanding of the transnational dynamics of that shift might help us to develop new analyses about fundamental educational transformations.¹

The massive population increases in the countries of the Global South—Africa, Latin America, the developing nations of Asia—are part of what researchers have designated a "second wave" of demographic, economic, and urban transitions that are much bigger and much faster than the first wave. The previous "modern" or "first wave" began in Europe and North America—the Global North—in the early eighteenth century. Between 1750 and 1950 nations on these two continents industrialized and urbanized in a transition that was relatively gradual but that ultimately yielded capitalist societies that dominated the world economy.

These global transformations point to the importance of understanding the interrelationship between broad social, economic, and demographic forces and the fundamental changes that took place in rural communities and their schools. Historians have amassed a storehouse of scholarship on city school politics and on the dimensions and divides of class, race, and ethnicity in large metropolitan areas in Europe and North America, whether as individual case studies or as broader cross-case analyses. There is also a tradition within the historiography (though less extensive) on characteristics of rural schooling, as well as a growing robust literature on suburban schools.

Nevertheless there is surprisingly little work that focuses directly on the nature and dynamics of the *transition* from rural to urban schools that occurred in virtually every industrialized and industrializing nation during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and that has continued into the early twenty-first, nor are there many studies that attempt comprehensive historical overviews of rural schools from national or cross-national perspectives. Perhaps the transformation away from rurality seemed so natural, so much a part of the modern industrializing world, that scholars proceeded with their analyses apace, looking at the intricacies of urban systems as they became more bureaucratized, standardized, and fashioned upon business models. Whatever the reasons, few monographs endeavor to provide a unified interpretation of rural schooling over time.

Histories that touch on rural schools have explored questions regarding rural school enrollment increases, the spread of local schooling, and if or when local schools became linked into some kind of a national or state system of publicly supported education. Scholars have investigated the connections between rural school growth, economic activity, and industrialization, asking whether economic expansion and rural school development occurred together or one tended to drive the other.

An abiding interest in economic development has led in turn to cross-national comparisons exploring whether all economic models—feudal, centralized, (post)colonial, capitalist, and so on—pushed rural school expansion in the same way or if clear variations emerged within or between alternative systems. In pursuing economic analyses, scholars have at times subordinated other historical factors that could be equally important in understanding

general school quality, such as teacher training, gender, and pupil experiences, to name just a few. Such concerns usually surface in more focused, local studies that help illuminate how context has varied over time and location.

What, precisely, constitutes “rural” or “urban” has been open to constant debate and reinterpretation, and researchers have pointed out that the slipperiness of the terms and the lack of conceptual consensus have created barriers to internationally relevant studies. In the United States, for example, “urban” traditionally meant communities greater than 2,500, while in Canada the benchmark has been 1,000. Today the Organisation for Economic Co-ordination and Development considers cities to be centers that have populations greater than 100,000; everything below that is denoted as a village, town, or rural area. The only true agreement seems to be that the terms “rural” and “urban” have long been ambiguous, ill-defined, misleading, and “epistemologically marshy.”²

There are a few general characteristics that historians have seen as distinguishing urban from rural schools, features that can be readily enumerated. Urban schools are, for instance, hierarchical, bureaucratic, and age-graded and tend to focus on mass education. For many years these characteristics have collectively yielded a standard scholarly narrative. A synthesis of the historiography from the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s “suggests in an unequivocal manner that education became a mass, bureaucratically organized, politically meaningful, deliberately conceived instrument of political authority, cultural transmission, moral and social regulation during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries beginning in North America, Great Britain, parts of Western Europe and extending gradually over the course of the two centuries to Eastern Europe, Japan, China, Africa, and the Middle East.” To historians writing in the late twentieth century, the rapid popularization of schooling was itself a characteristic of modernization. Some even saw mass education as “an irresistible, and apparently, irreversible, invention of social and political planners throughout the world.” Irresistible, perhaps, but not inevitable; historians still seek to determine the precise relationship between mass schooling and the rise or decline of rural schools.³

Many scholars note that the study of rural education and the examination of connections between urbanization and schooling have their origins in the research traditions of Europe and North America, thereby offering a fitting place to begin.

EUROPE

The complex interplay of factors that influenced the development of rural schools across Europe, the slow linkage of early voluntary, fee, and charity schools (whether religious or secular) into larger systems, and the hatching of national education ministries has led to something of a scattershot approach to studying countryside schools. The literature in general is rather lean and the portraits are often impressionistic. Other factors come into play as well.

Due to the early urbanization of many European cultures, there tends to be an implicit urban, rather than rural, predisposition in much scholarship. In fact, by some perspectives, the key to understanding much of the social change in Europe between the Renaissance and the present day lies in the process of urbanization itself. Urbanization took place in different

regions at different times across Europe, beginning intensively in Britain and the Low Countries at the turn of the eighteenth century, then extending more slowly to France and Germany during the nineteenth century, and reaching Italy, Spain, and central Europe only toward the end of the 1800s. Be that as it may, a preoccupation with industrialization, stratification, and inequality overlooks many other significant developments in the social history that occurred outside cities and in less urbanized nations.⁴

The 1980s were a rich and productive period for European scholars, exploring the interlacing of schools with childhood, families, the rise of literacy, and nationalism. Of the specific topics covered by European historians, at least three stand out as central: the spread of literacy across regions and countries, the increase of local school attendance, and connections between economic expansion and national education systems. One line of inquiry has examined the extent to which laws regulating and formalizing school attendance *followed* voluntary school expansion or *led* that growth instead; it seems that in both England and France legal compulsion followed schooling expansion of the voluntary kind. For example, by the late eighteenth century there were about 14,000 voluntary schools in England, as well as 4,000 endowed schools for the poor, with a likely total enrollment of about 650,000; by 1833 the number of schools had risen to perhaps 40,000 with an approximate enrollment of 1.25 million. In other words, the popularity of schools, at least in England and France, spiked long before they were vested with official support and the sanction of the state and generations before compulsory attendance laws.

Historians have recognized the special role that French primary teachers played in the Third Republic (1870–1940), especially in rural areas, as they endeavored to spread the values of the newly established republic, often despite the opposition of a Catholic Church, which remained quite powerful in rural areas. Teachers disseminated French civilization—the fruit of the Enlightenment—to the rural provinces, having a quasi-religious mission as secular priests. Hence teachers had a higher social standing than in other European countries, something along the lines of the doctor and the Catholic priest. By the passage of the Jules Ferry Laws, which made elementary schooling free (1881) and then obligatory and secular (1882), the battle for universal schooling might already have been won. In 1876–1877, for example, of the 4,500,000 French children between the ages of six and thirteen—that is, of school age—4,716,000 were recorded as attending some sort of school. (The numbers were inflated by the attendance of children younger than six or older than thirteen.)⁵

The fact that the Industrial Revolution hit England well before most other nations does not appear to explain the growing enthusiasm for schooling in rural areas, especially considering the lack of demonstrable material payoff for acquiring academic knowledge and given that many Europeans could still acquire skills through other means. Nevertheless the effects of industrialization were widespread, and for many years historians depicted industrialization as the source of social decline across the country, with nineteenth-century Britain characterized as enduring “the most savage onslaught of urbanization that the world has yet witnessed.” Scholars have also linked urbanization to dramatic disparities in educational resources. By this perspective, industrialization transformed the whole country, making urbanization a fact of life, even in smaller towns, which eventually experienced a kind of urban infection. Historians link social decline with the “invasion” of an area by industry and its unskilled workers, “who speedily colonized existing property by multi-occupation, rented hastily thrown up terraces of tenements, or moved into common lodging houses.”⁶

It is not only British historians who have taken national or urban systems for granted as the unit of analysis, overlooking key linkages to rural communities. The gradual nature of urbanization in continental Europe perhaps accounts for the lack of interest in educational studies that peer outside the cities and into the countryside, along with a concomitant fear that scholarly inquiry into the details of rural sites might lapse into “localism and parochialism.” However, more recent literature offers exceptions. For example, historians have pursued close examinations of the efforts of the nineteenth-century reformer Ottavio Gigli to spread early childhood literacy across the countryside of the recently unified Italy. Working through the National Association for the Founding of Rural Infant Schools in the years 1866 to 1873, Gigli endeavored to “mold the peasant masses” into an Italian nation. Italian efforts at nation-building also coincided closely with contemporary efforts to establish national offices of statistics, leading some scholars to argue that “Anglosaxon” models of commerce, financing, and education directly influenced Italian businesses, government programs, and education.⁷

In recent decades, historically leaning sociologists have also become more interested in the effect of education on social and economic inequalities over time. More specifically, they have explored the question of whether national educational growth (sociologists term it “expansion”) improved the relative standing of historically disadvantaged groups such as the poor, women, and ethnic minorities. Much of the sociological research attempting to answer this question has been guided by the “industrialism hypothesis,” the theory that industrialization promotes greater social mobility and that as societies develop, urbanization, mass communication, and industrialization should lead to greater social openness and a shift from particularistic to universalistic bases of achievement. Ireland, for example, experienced steady school expansion in the twentieth century, its biggest surge coming in the late 1960s. This rapid growth corresponded with a set of reforms in 1967 designed to provide greater educational opportunities by, for instance, abolishing tuition fees for secondary education. However, scholars have shown that this expansion did not necessarily make education more egalitarian, using the phrase “maximally maintained inequality” to describe the persistence of social standing across the multiple birth cohorts, not only in Ireland but in many other nations as well.⁸

Beyond more traditional studies examining the growth of national educational systems, scholars who undertake comparative histories often find they are compelled to revisit their own operating conceptions of “rural” and “urban” and to recognize the dangers of translating conceptual frameworks from one national context to another. European historians have appropriately critiqued the application of common interpretive lenses to multiple countries and cultures. Conveying the complete connotations of “urban education” to Spanish audiences, for example, proves challenging, because it is difficult to translate the precise meaning urban education holds for “Deweyan educators in Anglo-Saxon countries.” In more recent European studies, urbanization and urban schools are recognized phenomena, but the concepts can nevertheless have very different meanings depending on country and context. Whereas in the U.S. and the U.K., “urban” tends to stand as a proxy for poverty, racial discrimination, inequality, and mass schooling, rural schooling is rarely depicted in these terms. However, in Spain the reverse often seems to be true, though not universally so.⁹

German scholars have often been in the forefront in calling for new forms of global history that challenge traditional boundaries and concepts; the partitions and segmentations that continue to shape today’s scholarship are, to a large extent, products of the eighteenth century. Transnational history, they assert, perhaps offers the best path to investigate the historical

roots of global conditions that have led to modern globalization. Other historians have forcefully argued that there is an indisputable need for the field of history of education to address global and globalization processes with a strong theoretical grounding “in order to closely investigate the dialectic of de- and reterritorialization and de- and renationalization on the one hand and on the other, the overlaps between different, often rival, spatial concepts.”¹⁰

In Eastern Europe, Russia has offered a particularly compelling case of the historical shifts in rural schooling due to its vast geographic expanses, the diversity of its regions and cultures, and the precarious position of its peasants. Much of the traditional historiography before the 1980s has been described as primarily institutional, with an emphasis on a legacy of legislative decrees that had been imposed by a large bureaucracy on “a recalcitrant, lethargic, and ignorant community.” Over the past several decades scholars have upended the standard narrative that Russian peasants were “lurking, sullen, and ignorant” by demonstrating their agency, evidenced through complex and rather shrewd relationships with outsiders and village teachers. In the period between the emancipation of the serfs (1861) and the Russian Revolution (1917), educational growth was driven not by elites but through the determination of the peasant community. Their efforts were periodically assisted by the *zemstvos* (local governments). After the 1890s the imperial government and the *zemstvos* launched a major and successful educational campaign that abolished fees paid by local communities, built thousands of schools, and improved teacher salaries and benefits. Yet even in the 1890s, much of the funding came from communities at their own initiative. The structural base of local rural schools provided the foundation on which later national efforts could build. By 1914 more than half the school-age children (age eight to eleven) in the Russian Empire were enrolled in school.

Reevaluations of the role that education played in Russia has led researchers in a variety of fields to suggest that the three great revolutions of modern European history—English, French, and Russian—took place when each country was approaching the threshold of 50 percent literacy. Others have pinpointed a 40 percent literacy rate as a precondition of modern economic development (about where Russia was in 1914). These (relatively) high rates could not have been achieved without some kind of widespread schooling among rural populations. European historians counsel against any reductive tendency to depict schools as simple bridging agents that replaced traditional mores with a more modern worldview. Nevertheless, by the advent of World War I the partial successes of the movement to provide Russians with universal education meant that the Soviet authorities inherited a large-scale school network.¹¹ Scholars exploring the links between education, economic development, and political change have had plenty of material to investigate in other regions of the world.

NORTH AMERICA

A commonplace observation among those who dwell outside North America is that the organization of schooling in the U.S. and Canada seems a chaotic jumble, a product of the local nature of school governance and the seemingly haphazard history of school development. The U.S. is often singled out for its peculiar reliance on local school districts, and many details of the history of rural education in the U.S. can best be understood by exploring the decline in the number of districts as local communities were nudged, prodded, or forced to

consolidate their smaller districts into larger ones. The tally of districts dropped from an estimated 200,000 at the beginning of the twentieth century to a total today of 13,567. Canadian educational history has several similarities with its southern neighbor. Canadians have very little federal presence in education—the ten provinces and three territories oversee local school districts with elected boards (the 800 Canadian districts of the 1990s have been reduced to roughly 250). Canada, like the U.S., was settled by Europeans who pushed indigenous people off their lands. Both nations are now increasingly more diverse. However, the legacy of slavery is one that white leaders in the U.S. have yet to fully address.

Over the past century, educational researchers have fastened on to a few standard narratives about the demographic shifts of people and schools within the U.S. Foremost among these was the notion of a rural nation that initially appeared to embody Thomas Jefferson's vision of an agrarian democracy, whereby an able countryside citizenry would wisely steer the state toward future success. Yet the U.S. ended up with more of a cosmopolitan political culture, one that often embraced many of the centralizing efforts of Alexander Hamilton's economic plans, promoting manufactures and commerce as the way forward. As Richard Hofstadter once summed it up: the United States was "born in the country and has moved to the city." Scholars often follow Hofstadter's aphorism with a recitation of illustrative statistics: in 1790, 95 percent of the U.S. population lived in rural communities; by 1920 over 50 percent lived in towns or cities; and by 2010 over 80 percent lived in urban areas. Of course, such enumeration fails to capture many dynamic shifts of the second half of a twentieth century: the advance of suburbanization and "de-urbanization" that occurred as citizens left the cities for the suburbs and as central cities lost industries and their tax base.¹²

Historians have understandably been drawn to the periods of rapid social and economic transformation, looking especially at the unprecedented transitions of the early nineteenth century. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century, both the U.S. and Canada developed the kind of travel and shipping networks that Europeans had enjoyed for centuries. Thereafter, one of the distinguishing features of nineteenth-century North America was its decades of swift growth, as the economy of the northern states experienced a significant shift from agricultural to nonagricultural production, an economic development that had significant consequences for the types of skills that employers wanted their employees to have. Scholars have distinguished between "the market revolution" that occurred in the years leading up to 1840 and the "capitalist transition" that characterized economic activity thereafter. Between the 1960s and 1980s historians focused many of their analyses on the educational effects of industrialization and urbanization.

Given the "urban crisis" that captivated many social scientists on both sides of the Atlantic during the mid-twentieth century, the focus on cities led to investigations that sought to uncover the sources of educational inequity that had often been perpetuated through the mechanisms of racial and ethnic discrimination. Nevertheless the historical fascination with cities left much of the rural countryside underexplored. By the 1980s, researchers using new analytic techniques convincingly demonstrated that nineteenth-century rural areas had much higher enrollment rates than did the large commercial cities; indeed the smaller towns enrolled the highest proportion of their children in schools, and the largest towns the lowest proportion. These rural-urban differences already existed in Massachusetts and New York by the 1820s due to the remarkable expansion of rural school enrollments beginning in the 1780s. In other words, the spread of common schooling should be seen as rooted in the countryside, not the city.¹³

The place of schooling has often been overlooked in more recent scholarship about economic and social changes, and education historians argue that it is time to shift our collective gaze from urban centers to rural expanses. Studies of antebellum financial institutions, for example, suggest a more specific chronology of capitalist economic development. Undue focus on the history of urban education has distracted education scholars from connecting these crucial developments to schooling, and historians could productively continue to build off this rich historiography.¹⁴

Perhaps one of the most intriguing avenues for continued research has to do with the need to thoroughly explain the local demand for education that emerged well before schooling was publicly funded or state administered. Much of this expansion can be attributed to the growing participation of women in schooling as both teachers and students, and families must have found the education of their daughters to be worthy of investment. The reasons for this rapid shift are likely a cluster of factors that include the shifting significance of female labor in household production, the rise of education as a status marker, and the importance of schooling for social and financial security. It is equally imperative to examine more closely the demand for education that arose among the recently freed slaves after 1865.¹⁵

Despite the explanatory power of economic models, other puzzles are untangled by social history. The establishment and expansion of common schools in the nineteenth century *prefigured* the growth of a capitalist economy in many parts of the country, particularly in rural areas that were relatively untouched by industrialization. If industrialization and urbanization sufficiently accounted for the rise and spread of common schools, there would not have been such replication of institutional patterns in out-of-the-way locations that still operated on a mercantile model or via small-scale entrepreneurship. Moreover, despite the attention many researchers devoted to city schools, other historians have reasserted that nineteenth-century urban areas were still only tributaries to the larger mainstream story of rural America. In this regard, then, nineteenth-century education can be seen as mostly a voluntary social movement, “the largest instance of decentralized institution-building in American history.”¹⁶

There was never a flip-of-the-switch moment when schools in the countryside—at one point referred to as “district schools”—became “rural schools,” but once the distinction had been made, sometime around the advent of the twentieth century, it became hard to undo. Thereafter rural schools and their communities found themselves increasingly pressured by Progressive Era reformers to put an end to what elites called the “rural school problem.” Scholars of rural educational history pinpoint the “infamous” 1896 Committee of Twelve, established by the National Education Association, as a turning point after which rural schools were described as “wasteful and inferior” and local educators were relentlessly urged to adopt reforms such as centralization and bureaucratization, the kind that could be achieved only through district and school consolidation.¹⁷

In the 1970s, however, rural revisionists set out to challenge the “conventional wisdom” of the rural school problem, a notion, they argued, that had warped the views of American educators since the end of the nineteenth century. The major grievance was twentieth-century reformers’ patronizing attempt to “save” America’s rural schools by rearranging or replacing them, thereby rejecting what was unique about their rural character and heritage. One particularly harmful initiative, according to the ruralists, was the effort to foist an “urban reform model” upon rural schools and school districts. In other words, to “urbanize” rural schools was less to overwhelm them with new numbers than it was to transplant a foreign and ill-suited form into a rural setting.

The retrospective critiques of the ruralists had a certain resonance in the mid-1970s, when large urban school systems across the U.S. were under attack for being sclerotic, alienating, and ineffective. Therefore a robust reassessment that simultaneously toppled the logic of bigger-is-better and the fiscal benefits of “economies of scale” while harkening back to a time when schools were small, personalized, and deeply connected to the community held a great deal of attractiveness for many educators. The best scholars among the new band of rural revisionists were not trying to recapture a lost past but to reassert a new appreciation for the positive qualities of smaller schools in rural settings. Nevertheless one acknowledged policy goal of their work was to slow the continued progress of district consolidation, a reform movement that persisted well into the 1970s and beyond. The main problems—in both past and present—according to ruralists was the continued imposition of generic urban-style reforms on rural schools over the past century, leaving locals out of decision-making, enforcing unhealthy uniformity, and pushing the embrace of a “national” over a local culture.

Despite the contributions of scholars of rural education, there are some significant flaws in their analysis, only some of which have emerged in recent scholarship. Urbanization, for example, is the product of a range of forces with broad influences that go well beyond narrow effects to schooling. In this regard, the role of states must be taken into account; “urbanization” of schools was not enforced by sudden mandate but was a more complex, gradual, and many-faceted approach to change. State legislatures were in no hurry to wrest local control away from their own constituents. Moreover the application of an “urban” model to rural schools was simply a second wave of imposition of a business model upon American schools. Many local communities in both the U.S. and Canada found ways to resist this imposition of external models and reforms.¹⁸

Finally, rural communities have neither been as monolithic nor as free from internal conflicts as the earlier generation of rural scholars liked to depict. A range of religious affiliations and class differences often undermined unity; district schools could either reflect communal religious unity or yield to interdenominational jealousies; and school reforms of local (grassroots) origin often played a crucial role in educational modernization.¹⁹ Nevertheless the reexaminations of rural schools have reverberated well beyond American historiography, influencing scholarship in a number of industrializing nations.²⁰

THE GLOBAL SOUTH

A wide range of significant political and economic shifts have had profound influences over the past half-century on rural communities and school enrollments in regions considered part of the Global South. The dissolution of colonial empires, the gaining of independence by once-colonized populations (with the concomitant development of new capitals, governments, and educational institutions), the ousting of totalitarian regimes by democratic rule, and the removal of restrictions on internal migration (colonial powers had often restricted the right of their citizens to live and work in urban areas) have all been important factors in transforming the lives of large segments of the population. However liberating or jarring these shifts may have been, scholarly work on their causes, and especially their

consequences, has been slowed by a number of factors, including the irregular collection of data and the lack of standardized approaches for doing so, resulting in large gaps in knowledge. Some researchers have also bemoaned the fact that many scholars writing about developing nations have not lived in the nations they write about.

The decline of rural communities and the growth of urbanization has been especially concentrated in the nations of the Global South since the 1950s. Much of the extant scholarship tends to be tucked into the work of demographers, economists, geographers, sociologists, development scholars, and urban planners, among others, rather than in full-scale historical studies. Historians observant of these academic trends point out the great need for more rigorous use of primary source materials when and where they can be located and collected.

Latin American educational history is distinguished by the diversity of its theoretical perspectives and the variety of its methodological approaches and multiple ideologies at play. When these are mixed with the linguistic differences, regional variations, and geographic particularities of Latin America, the work offers vibrant new conceptual approaches. There are not one but many rural ways of living, scholars have asserted, distinguishable from each other by factors such as types of landownership, commercial or production practices in the region, distance from urban centers, and the sociocultural characteristics of the populations and their stability or mobility. Rural schooling has been studied unevenly across Latin America and from the vantage point of different disciplines, including rural studies, geography, historical anthropology, and sociology, making comprehensive overviews all the more difficult.²¹

Newer studies published over the past twenty years utilize local primary sources to offer a more theoretically sophisticated view than traditional narratives that had simply chronicled development and modernization. For example, recent regional and local histories of Mexico show that Mexican education had never been as universal, centralized, secular, and state-financed as authorities once liked to pretend. Not only does the analysis of new primary source material help topple the Mexican “myth of universal popular schooling,” but scholars have also found that secular elementary schools predated independence in 1810 and that rural schools had been in operation before the 1910 Revolution.²² Beyond these analytic advances, Mexican researchers have challenged the educational project that came out of the Revolution, once seen as a coherent, centralizing, and homogenizing movement. Reaching beyond the official education ministry documentation into state and local archives, historians sifted through evidence of the local struggles that took place as some communities asserted their right to free education, while others resisted federal government control.

Similar themes play out across other countries in Latin America, as historians endeavor to transcend accepted national narratives and to challenge earlier arguments about the power of state ideologies and reproduction. Chief among this new work is the identification of patterns of local educational demands as they aligned with or resisted reform programs initiated by elites and the state. Scholars still lack a deeper understanding of *why* rural communities were interested in schooling, especially when the returns would have been few. Local primary sources culled by historians continue to upend the previously dominant narrative that described schools as imposed by elites upon resistant populations. In Bolivia indigenous peoples opened their own schools because of the authorities’ lack of interest, as did immigrants in Brazil. In Colombia the church was the institution that

opened local schools in remote territories, whereas in Chile and Mexico, the survival of many twentieth-century rural schools was through community efforts.

In some sections of Latin America, the availability of education in rural areas was spotty and haphazard. For example, in the region of Tarapacá in Chile the dispersed population often could not reach schools due to the shifting geographic work practices of salt production. In Mexico, politicians often determined the location of rural teacher training colleges and agricultural schools depending on political dynamics. In Costa Rica agricultural expansion displaced village populations, moving them away from where schools were concentrated, leading to an "un-schooling" situation. In nineteenth-century Chile and Mexico some landowners supported schools, while others did not, although the reasons for either remain unclear.

Education was not conditioned by economic development alone: political interests, racism, or cultural prejudices could be more determinative than economic factors, depending on demographic shifts or work opportunities. Educational outcomes also varied a great deal. By the beginning of the twentieth century, for example, Colombia had very low rates of literacy and schooling, while Costa Rica had the highest levels of education in Central America, although gender differences resulted in stratified levels of achievement.

Scholarship on modern agrarian social movements in Latin America offers promising possibilities for the exploration of alternative approaches to rural education. In Brazil, the Landless Workers Movement waged a national campaign to transform the federal government's official approach to rural schooling, winning legal recognition to establish its own schools and teacher training programs in the 1990s. Scholars following the movement also document the travails of its accomplishments, as social reformers encountered the challenges of success, such as rapid expansion and confrontation with bureaucratic hierarchies. Researchers have also documented how concerted attempts to exclude farming people from policy development and decision-making have been accompanied by the formation of an international peasant and farm movement, such as the *Vía Campesina*, which emerged in Central America in the 1990s. Through its broad-based educational campaigns, the *Vía Campesina* has developed the capacity to engage with international conglomerates and multinational institutions, such as the World Trade Organization and other multinational agencies that are increasingly responsible for determining agricultural and food policies. In recent years the *Vía Campesina* has built its own international university for the sons and daughters of peasant farmers, where they learn a mix of agroecology and organizing skills. Such research on the establishment and evolution of transnational social movements promises to offer valuable contributions to our understanding of the possibilities for the various forms that rural education might take.²³

African educational histories are as varied as the thousands of indigenous languages and dialects on the continent. Perhaps more so than other continents, Africa is characterized less by comprehensive or national studies than by regional and local histories of education, many of which are in the form of unpublished theses. Collectively this work offers a range of insights into the distinct histories of towns, homelands, rural communities, and nations, thereby providing a strong foundation for ongoing historical overviews. Scholars have posited a number of arguments about educational changes across continent and time that, when viewed together, articulate a number of common themes that apply to the history of education in African rural communities.

Studies of African education covering the past two centuries begin with an acknowledgment of the far-reaching effects of European colonialism on virtually every aspect of African life, both past and present. The continuity of destructive and restrictive government policies led to the development of “underfinanced, understaffed, and low-standard educational system[s]” across the continent. Despite the segregative policies of colonial governments and the lack of resources devoted to non-European schools, not all educational institutions successfully imposed the curriculum of imperialism.

The case of Zimbabwe is illustrative for the dimensions of its repressive colonial education schemes as well as for the resistance that developed among the target population for these policies. In the early twentieth century under the direction of its Native Education Department, Zimbabwe (as did many other colonial governments in Africa) introduced a form of vocationally oriented instruction known as “Phelps-Stokesism,” named for a private philanthropic effort in the U.S. that focused on the advancement of African Americans. The program was derived in part from the practical training philosophy of Booker T. Washington at the Tuskegee Institute; the premise for the use of the program outside the U.S. was that a vocational education designed for American freed slaves, adapted to local “developmental and environmental needs,” offered a suitable model of schooling for the colonized people of Africa. As established in Zimbabwe, schools were mandated to avoid the “traditional, more scholastic system of education.” The implementation of vocational education programs, riddled with racist assumptions about the creation of a segregated rural Africa, was far less successful than its designers anticipated. African students gravitated toward schools that offered at least the rudiments of academic instruction. Locals also participated in establishing mission schools that promised to provide more advanced education. In the early 1920s students protested and organized strikes against government schools, eventually compelling colonial educational authorities to offer more significant academic, nonindustrial schooling. Similar strikes and protests against Phelps-Stokesist curricula took place in other large non-European educational institutions throughout southern Africa.²⁴

More recent studies of rural educational history in Africa have focused on the nagging persistence of inequality and poverty and its exacerbation by modernization schemes, including the role played by nonprofits and international organizations, both governmental and nongovernmental. The precariousness of education for women has increasingly become a major focus for both academics and activists, and the role of teachers and the differences between rural and urban pedagogy have also pivoted attention toward women’s training. The effects of the past fifty years of globalization, urbanization, and industrialization on the African continent has been more the domain of sociologists, but historians are beginning to recognize the possibilities offered by this more recent time period. African specialists have challenged the previously prominent analytic models traditionally used by Western scholars and the tendencies of earlier scholarship to be too narrow or urban in focus. Historians have called for more attention to the “continuous two-way urban-rural flows of people, money, goods, ideas and values [that] connect the African town with the countryside so firmly that rural processes pattern and shape urban processes, and vice versa.”²⁵

East Asia and Southeast Asia offer a multiplicity of avenues for historical inquiry. China provides a particularly useful glimpse into the potential for alternative narratives because Chinese education has been centrally planned and intentionally designed to create equalizing policies between rural and urban communities and their schools. Scholars have traced

educational developments since the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, a history that illustrates the difficulty of promoting economic prosperity while also remaining consistent with the socialist idea of establishing an equitable society. Uneven economic scarcity has meant that policies crafted to promote economic development directly compete for resources with those that are designed to expand social opportunities to traditionally disadvantaged groups, including rural communities.

The early educational policies of the PRC reflected a political emphasis on the dual goals of economic development and social equity. The newly established republic found itself with a population that was 80 percent illiterate and an educational system that enrolled a mere 20 to 40 percent of the school-age population. The PRC sought to address the educational imbalance and focused on educational expansion as an important first step toward economic development. China successfully directed massive expansions in basic education nationwide. Public expenditures for education nearly doubled between 1952 and 1957, while capital investment increased tenfold from 1950 to 1957. Total primary enrollment grew from 24.4 million to 64.3 million, while secondary enrollment jumped from 1 million to 6.3 million between 1949 and 1957. Ten million rural peasants were enrolled in schools by 1951, and many more attended *miniban* (people-run) schools. The *miniban* schools were locally managed and financed, and they greatly expanded basic educational opportunities available to rural children in the early years of the PRC.

After 1958 the Great Leap Forward sought a marked leftist turn toward rapid economic development through the strategies of collectivization, mobilization of grassroots labor, and the combination of education with productive work on a massive scale. The strategy of “walking on two legs” was formulated in the late 1950s to express the desire to expand mass education at the same time that secondary and tertiary education were also developed. Rural primary and secondary schools were combined, but their terms shortened while expanding the number of schools providing midlevel technical training, such as agricultural middle schools. Initially conceptualized as a means of expanding education in rural areas, the “walking” policy underwent changes in early 1960s, especially when Great Leap Forward economics were discredited by the Great Famine (1959–1961). Leaders reverted to less radical strategies for economic development, shifting to an emphasis on the creation of expertise and educational quality.

Between 1966 and 1977 China undertook the Great Cultural Revolution, a far-reaching and chaotic social movement that again returned to a more radical leftist political agenda; a central goal was to undercut differences between the peasantry and the rest of the population. Educational tracking was abolished, at least officially, as were schools devoted to elites. The standard narrative is that educational quality unquestionably suffered during this period, but some scholars have argued that the policies during this period were more effective than researchers had previously believed, especially in promoting mass education among underserved groups—including the rural population. After all, primary school enrollments reached 96.8 percent by 1975. Nevertheless another reversal in policy came after 1978, when officials abandoned much of their egalitarian ethos in favor of policies that emphasized quality, competition, individual talent, and the mastery of concepts and skills important to the development of science and technology. During the 1980s the government reinstated the exam-based system of student progression and shifted considerable resources to elite “key point” schools across the country, housed predominantly in urban areas. Such reapportionment led to the erosion of educational opportunities for the population of rural

China. The inferior quality of rural schools and the increased attention to vocational and technical education placed barriers in the path of rural students who were often blocked from transferring to urban schools.

In sum, scholars characterize the political history of China between 1949 and the 1990s as vacillating between a socialist egalitarian model and a liberal competitive model. The historical evidence demonstrates that shifts in the political context of education policy have been closely linked to educational inequities across urban-rural boundaries. Moreover China's experience with an increase in urban-rural inequities presents a clear illustration of the social costs that may accompany reforms designed to promote economic goals. Scholars also suggest that this history has relevance beyond China's borders. For example, direct correlates to China's post-1978 reforms can be seen in Vietnam, Cambodia, Mongolia, and the Lao People's Democratic Republic, all of which have become increasingly oriented toward a market economy. In many Southeast Asian countries, the rising costs of education have been increasingly shifted to individuals and families, and they are linked to large urban-rural differences in enrollment. More recently, scholars place changes in Asian educational systems within a broader context of world trends toward competitiveness-driven educational reforms that pursue the goals of efficiency and quality at the expense of equity.²⁶

CONCLUSION

Despite some of the significant differences across these international histories of rural education, there are several common themes that connect the study of rural communities and their schools through time and place. There are also some intriguing unanswered questions as well as multiple foundations for needed future research. One striking question that emerges across countries is this: Why were peasants interested in education? Given the limited opportunities for the use of academic knowledge and skills in the early stages of modern economic expansion, why did demand for education by farmers and rural communities precede, rather than follow, industrialization? Another way of phrasing this is to consider when, where, and how local schooling had a meaning completely independent of the elite's designs. Second, today's rising economic inequalities, both across and within countries, might lead scholars to dig deeper into primary sources that could yield insights into when and how schooling either helped alleviate or further exacerbated local, regional, or national inequities.

Another theme that emerges from this exploration is that historians undertaking transnational approaches must yet confront the challenges that arise when scholars attempt to decipher and translate key notions and definitions—"rural" and "urban" being the most significant—that have distinctly different meanings and connotations across regional and national borders. Fourth, historians might pursue more detailed studies of the conflicts that have emerged when local cultures confront external pressures for curricular uniformity. Finally, the commonalities and differences noted above demonstrate the continued need for compelling, comprehensive histories of rural education across continents. Such studies, of course, will require that historians persist in doing what they do so well: illuminate the particular while always keeping an eye on the larger story.

NOTES

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CHAPTER 32

THE MODERN HISTORY OF LITERACY

DAVID VINCENT

IN 1915 the registrar general of England and Wales reported a moment of victory: “The proportion of husbands who failed at the time of marriage to sign their names in the marriage register has gradually fallen from 32.6 percent in 1841–45 to 0.9 in 1913, and of wives from 48.9 to 1.0.”¹ Full nominal literacy had been achieved as Europe was plunged into war. In statistical terms, the capacity to read and write was almost everywhere a narrative of progress. Different countries began at varying levels in the early-modern era and improved at different rates, but always there was a sense of a common journey toward the possession of the basic skills of written communication.

In the countries of Europe and North America, mass literacy became an objective if not a reality during the nineteenth century. Just before the First World War Britain was one of a handful of countries in northern and western Europe to report the conclusion of the drive against illiteracy. In the United States performance varied extensively by region, but the national average had reached the low 90s by 1910. Countries in southern and eastern Europe and in the recently colonized parts of the world were further from their destination, but all seemed to be on the same track. Whereas other indices of civilization, such as mortality or crime, showed alarming fluctuations under the manifold pressures of modernization, there were no cases of an epochal collapse of the capacity to read and write, a generational reversal of the basic skills of written communication. Nor was there doubt that eventually the challenge would be met. Even the First World War itself, which challenged so many notions of Victorian progress, had little discernible effect on either the possession or the use of literacy.²

The print revolution of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries generated in the more stable and prosperous European countries a growing expectation of literacy among most men and a minority of women in the middling and upper ranks of society. Reading was learned before writing and was more widely disseminated. In northern and northwestern Europe, countries such as Denmark and Finland and city-states such as Geneva would expect most of their male populations to be able to decode basic texts by the end of the early modern period. A similar achievement was displayed by New England. The mother country, on the other hand, had unfinished business. About 33 percent of men recorded signature literacy in the mid-seventeenth century, and nearly 66 percent by the mid-eighteenth. Women progressed from around 10 to 40 percent. By the time the Industrial Revolution

commenced, there was a tradition of near-universal literacy as far down the scale as male artisans, and even among the laboring poor the wholly oral community, bereft of any contact with or use of the written word, had long disappeared. Elsewhere in Europe at the end of the eighteenth century, literacy could not be assumed of any social group, even, in the case of Serbia, of the monarch himself. Where they could be counted, the aggregate male rates were below 25 percent and often in single figures. After a period of relative stasis, the countries in the most advanced sector began a drive toward nominal literacy for both men and women in the second third of the nineteenth century. Starting from a lower base, women and poor working men doubled their scores in little more than a generation. Only on the fringes of Europe, largely untouched by economic growth or urbanization, were the rates slow to move. Progress was sluggish in Russia, Spain, and the Balkans, but even there the middle and upper classes became able to correspond with each other and their counterparts elsewhere in the modernizing world.³ The Universal Postal Union, founded in 1874 to promote the global use of literacy, embraced 135 states and colonies by the outbreak of the First World War.

THE INVENTION OF LITERACY

It is possible to address the capacity to decode and create texts as far back as written history exists. Literacy, on the other hand, as both a word and a concept, is of recent coinage. In 1840 the recently established General Register Office of England and Wales published a half-page table that transformed the way reading and writing were understood. Three columns of figures expressed the “proportion per cent. in the Metropolis, in each English county, and in North and South Wales, of persons married in the Year ending June 30, 1839, who have signed with marks.”⁴

The data were derived from a recalculation of information in the marriage registers that had become compulsory, standardized documents under the Act of 1836. The bride and groom, and two witnesses, had to attach either their names or a mark to the form. The staff of the Register Office realized that if these entries were added up, it might be possible to represent on one sheet of paper the communication capacity of an entire society, in all its local variation, in all the confusion of educational provision. It was a means of visualizing on a national basis what was coming to be seen as a key cultural artifact. To the surprise of the officials, subsequent returns indicated that information derived from so contingent an act as the decision to marry was generating a stable time series, creating the possibility of establishing the dynamics of change. The discovery was associated with the contemporary invention of “statistics” as a term referring not, as once it had, to any information relating to a state but rather to the quantitative representation of social and economic behavior. The inability to write appeared an absolute condition and soon was described as “illiteracy” (or just “ignorance”). But as it was clear that the inscription of two words could imply many levels of writing competence, commentators were slower to reduce the converse to a single word, and “literacy” itself did not become a widely used term for another four decades.⁵

Literacy and illiteracy, and corresponding terms in other European languages, were, in this sense, artifacts of the growth of the modern state. The data were derived from the new capacity to record and publish the characteristics of entire populations, whether through

information on demographic events, and censuses, which in some countries included questions on reading and writing, or military records where mass conscription was practiced. Prior to the second quarter of the nineteenth century, such quantitative information remained latent in intermittent public documents such as court depositions or in the archives of particularly well-organized churches. These had to await reanalysis by historians to reveal long-distance national trajectories. The earliest such exercise was conducted in France, where in 1877 Louis Maggiolo, a retired schoolmaster, was funded by the government to conduct the first large-scale historical study of literacy based on the registers kept by past generations of parish priests. Later in the twentieth century a series of archaeological investigations were undertaken into local deposits, most notably Egil Johansson's reconstruction of Swedish literacy on the basis of records kept by parish ministers under the Church Law of 1686.⁶

The self-taught practitioners of the emerging discipline of statistics worried about their data. In the case of marriage registers or conscript records, they were describing entire populations on the basis of cohorts mostly in their late teens to late twenties. In periods of sustained growth in literacy levels, the figures both understated the capacity of the school-age population and overstated the attainments of the population as a whole. Reanalysis of the returns suggests that in countries such as England and Wales, where there was steady improvement in the second two-thirds of the nineteenth century, the parental generation was as much as twenty points less literate than their offspring, and equally more literate than their own parents. Where there was sudden growth, such as in late nineteenth-century Belgium, the gap could be much wider. The apparent pre-1914 triumph of literacy in northwest Europe was an achievement of the young. Interwar society was still populated by elderly men and women displaying the shortcomings of earlier educational provision.

The statisticians were also aware of the range of capacity concealed by the single act of signing a name. Micro-studies of captive populations such as prisoners and, later, school-children, revealed large variations in comprehension of what was read and fluency in what was written. But they and the governments who sponsored their work were persuaded that there was a worthwhile trade between nuance and generalization. However crude the signature was as the measure of literacy, it was at least consistent over time, and unlike the self-reporting in many census returns, a signature was second-order data established for another purpose and less subject to witness or observer bias. This form of counting made it possible for the first time not only to describe the problem of inadequate communication skills but also to measure the consequence of intervention. Literacy tables became one of the first key performance indicators of public investment. As the education budgets grew to become second only to poverty relief as categories of nonmilitary state spending, so both the need for additional taxation and its outcome could be displayed. Further, the modernization of the postal systems following the introduction of the flat-rate, prepaid penny post in Britain in 1840 led to the creation of a new measure of use. With the final decline of private postal networks, the state possessed a monopoly of communication data, first of letters and then of telegrams. And everywhere the graphs showed upward movement. Literacy became a means by which, in the modernizing West, the nineteenth century could describe itself as the era of progress.

The legacy of the discovery of literacy still informs contemporary engagement with the subject. There remains a binary understanding of possession, driven by press commentary that forever seeks to construct national tables of achievement that are no longer automatically

headed by former global leaders such as the U.K. or the USA. The economy of sampling techniques, not discovered until the end of the nineteenth century, permits more intensive surveys of capacity. However, in published reports these tend to be expressed as national literacy figures based on aggregated individual scores rather than social practice. The Victorian statisticians occasionally pondered the event that created their data. "Each marriage constitutes a family," wrote the registrar general in 1857, "and to the family the fact that one of its members can read and write, is of more importance than the fact both can read and write."⁷

Intermittent attempts were made to embody this insight in statistical analysis, but the arithmetic was complicated and the results difficult to interpret. Viewed in these terms the data suggested that those nineteenth-century societies with long traditions of capacity, such as the U.K., Prussia, France, Sweden, the Netherlands, the northeastern states of America, were much more at home with literacy than the official tables indicated. Even the allegedly illiterate laboring poor could readily find a witness capable of signing a name, a family member who could decode a fragment of print, a neighbor who could help with composing or reading a letter. They were familiar with the materials of written communication through the basic religious texts distributed by the churches and cheap imaginative literature hawked throughout the countryside. The *luboks*, the *bibliothèque bleue*, the chapbooks provided opportunities to both gain and use the skills of literacy for little more than a drink in a public house. They were read by those who had learned their letters to those who had time to listen, integrating the role of print in popular culture. But as it was counted, literacy was seen as a form of property, owned or absent, rather than one among a bundle of skills for living that could be begged, borrowed, or appropriated as need and opportunity arose.

LITERACY AND SCHOOLING

The individualized conception of reading and writing was reinforced by twin developments in the modernizing economies and in the state infrastructures that facilitated their growth. Increasingly employment was seen as a contract in which personal labor was sold for a weekly cash wage rather than a domestic undertaking in which family members pooled their work for collective gain that might be only partly monetized. And education was a process in which isolated pupils came together in a formal classroom, away from and in key regards opposed to the socialization of the home.

The aspiration of a wholly literate society was accompanied by the vision of an all-embracing elementary education system. Both were dreams of the Enlightenment. During the course of the eighteenth century, some of the more advanced European states introduced sweeping blueprints for national provision that they could neither afford nor administer. The Prussians led the way as early as 1717, followed by the Swedes in 1723, the Danes in 1739, the Bavarians in 1771, and even the Poles in 1783. It was inevitable that as the French Revolution laid the foundations for a new society, it should turn its attention to elementary schooling, introducing the *Loi Lakanal* in November 1794, and the *Loi Daunou* passed by the Convention on its last day in October 1795. These prescribed comprehensive national systems of secular education that, in the case of the final legislative act, would teach reading, writing, arithmetic, and republican morality.

The emergence of the postrevolutionary states after 1815 was accompanied by the growth of a European and North American project of literacy training. As countries began to measure their attainments in relation to each other, so they shared ideas about how to tackle the challenges that they had identified. Innovations were copied, manifestos were written and translated, fact-finding tours were undertaken. The monitorial system invented by the English church societies was admired and copied. The Mulhauser method of teaching writing was developed by a Swiss schoolteacher in 1831 and became the basis for teaching a range of European languages.

Horace Mann, secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, visited Europe in 1843, and his subsequent report, deeply influenced by the Prussian system, was in turn widely read on both sides of the Atlantic. The outcome was a pattern of legislation that sought to turn elementary instruction into a profession, and the state into the principal provider of literacy training. In England it was hoped that a combination of subsidy, inspection, and measurement would translate the work of the churches into a *de facto* national structure. By 1870, with the marriage register scores indicating a stubborn residuum of illiterate working-class children, the state finally committed itself to ensuring provision in every locality, making attendance compulsory ten years later. In 1833, through the *Loi Guizot*, the French state required communes to establish schools for boys, but waited until 1881 and 1882 before making instruction free and compulsory. Sweden, where the notion of a comprehensive provision had been pioneered by the churches, introduced universal compulsory instruction as early as 1842 but resisted full state funding until 1875.

Elsewhere the process of reform reflected the gulf between the aspirations of educational reformers and the continuing inability of central government to raise taxes and to enforce its will over either the obstruction of the churches or the recalcitrance of parents and other vested interests. The model of the secular common school was promulgated in the USA in the 1830s, but during the second half of the nineteenth century, states across the Union passed and repassed comprehensive legislation without achieving a national system of provision. In southern and eastern Europe, every country had to have an education law, in the same way that they possessed a railway and a post office. But the less developed the economy, the wider the gap between prescription and reality. Spain's *Ley Moreno* of 1857 embodied best contemporary practice but took another century to be properly implemented. Russia passed laws in most decades but was still faced with a fragmentary system when the Romanov dynasty collapsed in 1917. Faced with a weak state infrastructure, peasants seeking to become literate had to pick up their education wherever they could. At the end of the nineteenth century, just 16 percent of the men in the Russian province of Voronezh could read and write. Of these, 39 percent had learned their skills during military service, 34 percent had been taught by other villagers, 21 percent had taught themselves, and just 6 percent had been instructed in a formal school.⁸

The uneven relationship between the discovery of literacy by nineteenth-century states and the creation of the machinery of official instruction calls into question two related assumptions about reading, writing, and the process of modernization. The first, which was embodied in the commentary on the new literary tables, was that progress toward universal capacity was a measure of external provision, initially by the churches and then by governments. Introducing the first table of marks and signatures in England and Wales, the registrar general wrote, "In considering in what manner the records deposited in this office may be rendered useful in illustrating the condition of the people, I have found the Registers

of Marriages calculated to throw much light upon the state of education with respect to writing, among the adult population of England and Wales.”⁹

Subsequent improvements were entirely attributable to the growth in public investment in this field. The illiterate parents of illiterate children could be expected to neither entertain the ambition of instruction nor possess the means of supplying it. The skills of decoding texts and composing at least simple messages were fundamental requirements of an industrializing economy. They were essential for the creation of a flexible, self-disciplined workforce capable of adapting to the new regimens of factory production. And they were a means more generally of instilling a rational popular culture in the urbanizing populations.

The first assumption is challenged by the basic issue of compulsion. Most professional educationists wanted to compel parents to send their children to school; with the exception of Prussia, few were able to do so until late in the nineteenth century, and even then they were frequently forced to compromise with the demands of the local economy and expectations relating in particular to the role of daughters in the work of the household. Until that point, every child that learned to read and write did so, in the last resort, because his or her parents sanctioned the activity. They either paid for instruction directly or through the forgone earnings of a son or daughter, or they arranged for some kind of informal instruction within the family or neighborhood.

In the general absence of any kind of national statistics on schooling before the nineteenth century it is impossible to give a precise account of who bought what from whom, but light can be shed simply by shining the torch of literacy data backward. All the official narratives on the literacy problem in the nineteenth century focused attention on what still needed to be done, and then, after a time, on how effective the educational reforms had been. But the data demonstrated that the leading countries in northern and western Europe had by the 1840s already achieved signature literacy levels stretching far down into the culture of the laboring classes.

For generations, literate artisans had raised literate sons, and while their daughters were less often educated, there remained a fair chance of a marriage at that level of society involving two partners who could at least read to each other. As the state began to address the agenda it had set itself, progress remained dependent on the parents of the laboring poor sending their children to school in increasing numbers. If allowance is made for the elapse of time between the ending of formal schooling around the ages of ten or eleven and the average age of marriage some fifteen years later, most of the children in these advanced countries were at school before the state dared to start punishing those few parents who were still resisting the process of instruction. Compulsion was made possible by consent, not the other way around.

LEARNING TO READ AND WRITE

In essence, learning to read and write was a function of market demand until the state finally began to achieve a monopoly of instruction as universal nominal literacy was achieved. Prior to the nineteenth century, the skills were everywhere acquired separately and sequentially. Learning to read was held to be the easier task. It could be taught by women to children still too young to be of much value in the domestic economy. There was

no necessary progression to writing, which was learned in early teens or beyond as part of preparation for work in counting houses and other commercial occupations. In the case of reading, the influence of the professional male teachers who emerged at the beginning of the eighteenth century was felt in their role as producers of spelling books.

The first primer in reading English appeared in 1538, not long after the invention of printing. Subsequent texts extended and ordered what was a fixed model of instruction. Words were composed of sounds, beginning with individual letters, progressing through common syllables, and advancing to words of increasing complexity, particularly those found in the Bible. In 1707 Thomas Dyche, a schoolmaster in Stratford Bow in London, published the *Guide to the English Tongue*. Once they had become familiar with the alphabet, pupils were faced with a list of disconnected syllables: *ba, be, bi, bu, ca, ce, co, cu*. Learning was by repetition and combination. Although slates, blackboards, and chalk were beginning to find their way into the classroom, the process of mastering the decoding of texts was vocal. Silent reading did not become an aspiration of the formal classroom until late in the nineteenth century. Children sounded the fragments and eventually complete words individually or in unison.

The textbooks were self-contained aids to instruction, supplying both pedagogy and learning materials. They were clear, well-organized, cheap, and sold in such numbers that a large secondhand market soon developed. In London in the 1730s and 1740s, a single publisher brought out more than a quarter of a million copies of one among a range of competing cheap reading books. Dyche's *Guide* went through several hundred editions, crossing the Atlantic in midcentury and remaining in print as publicly sponsored elementary education began to appear in the 1830s and 1840s. A rival manual, William Markham's *An Introduction to Spelling and Reading English*, was first published in 1728 and remained on sale in nominally new editions until 1885. Elsewhere in Europe a combination of technology and growing public engagement with reading supported a burgeoning publishing industry, regardless of confessional practice.

The instructional literature became as commonplace as the religious texts it was designed to support. In the early 1720s a Swedish study discovered that the six hundred families of a rural parish owned 400 ABC books as well as between 650 and 750 catechisms, over 1,000 psalters, and over 200 other religious books, including Bibles. The industry was not confined to the more literate corners of Europe. Over a third of a million Slavic primers were published in Muscovy in the second half of the seventeenth century.

In 1810 George Crabbe in his poem *The Borough* looked into a classroom after the children had left for the day:

Various our day-schools: here behold we one
Empty and still: —the morning duties done,
Soil'd, tatter'd, worn, and thrown in various heaps,
Appear their books, and there confusion sleeps.¹⁰

The texts in whatever tattered shape were accessible to dame school or day school teachers taking in pupils for a few pence, to Sunday school teachers supplying instruction between working weeks from the late eighteenth century onward, to parents supplementing paid schooling or supplying it themselves where none was available or could be afforded, and to children or adults seized with the ambition to instruct themselves. At this level the children of prosperous parents learned much the same lessons in much the same way as those of

artisans and at least some laborers, and increasingly girls as much as boys. During the eighteenth century those with money to spend on the task could purchase a range of additional study aids, such as alphabet dice, reading cards, puzzles, and board games. Gathering pupils together in a classroom was the most efficient mode of instruction.

Literacy rates generally were propelled upward by an increase in the volume of schooling. But accounts left by working men and women who learned their letters in this period indicate an absence of any kind of system or order of learning. The same was true of Colonial America, where "there were multiple avenues to the attainment of literacy." Dame and day schools opened and closed according to the health and energies of the teachers and fluctuations in local demand. Attendance was interrupted by the rhythms of seasonal labor, by illness, by bad weather, and by the fortunes of the family economy. "I was put for two or three years to a day-school kept by an old woman," recalled James Lackington, "but my career of learning was soon at an end, when my mother got so poor that she could not afford two-pence per week for my schooling."¹¹

Additional instruction might be supplied by the chance presence of an educated older sibling, relative, or neighbor with time on his or her hands. And a visit to a market could result in the acquisition of a primer to practice upon in private. In the eighteenth century, primers were the connecting link between widely contrasting contexts for learning literacy. One cannot overestimate the importance of such primers in spreading the ability to read.¹²

Order was to be found in the pages of the manuals, not in the contexts in which they were used. An intersection of parental demand and unemployed laborers or poor widows led to the emergence of unofficial schooling all over Europe. In Russia, the *vol'nye shkoly*, or private "wild" schools, catered to rural children. French peasants organized classes on winter's evenings, taught by the least illiterate among them. Irish "hedge schools" often lacked any kind of premises, collecting children together on the edge of a field or in a temporarily vacant barn. Unlicensed *Winkelschulen*, or corner schools, were started up in Prussia and Austria by ex-soldiers, wandering preachers, and broken-down working men to instruct the children of the urban poor. Their attraction was a concentration on literacy to the exclusion of extraneous knowledge, including religious instruction.¹³

The process of change from the later eighteenth century onward at once entrenched and challenged this diverse model of instruction. On the one hand the explosion of popular print, driven by a combination of technical innovation, political crises, growing urban populations, and relatively high basic reading capacities, further increased the opportunities for unofficial instruction and self-study. It became easier and more interesting to practice half-grasped skills, and there were increasing numbers of active readers to assist those still unsure of their capacities. Booksellers' catalogs embraced both the latest editions of Dyche or Markham and broadsides selling in tens of thousands. For a penny a would-be reader could practice his or her skills on a dramatic narrative, illustrated with a picture for those yet to read, and accompanied by a simple verse to memorize the contents. In England, William Cobbett, a leading voice in the movement for parliamentary reform, connected insubordination and educational self-help with his *Cobbett's Grammar*, first published in 1818 and selling over a hundred thousand copies by 1834.

On the other hand, the threats to moral and political order posed first by the French revolutionary crisis and then the emergence of nascent industrial societies provoked the

state and the churches to mount an attack on all forms of unofficial schooling. The Danish founding laws of 1814, passed as Europe began to look forward to the post-Napoleonic era, captured the twin ambitions of the new system of instruction. The function of the elementary school, the laws proclaimed, was “to educate children to be good and upright persons in accordance with the teaching of the evangelical Christian church; and also to give them the knowledge and training necessary to become useful citizens in the State.”¹⁴

Even where the schooling was technically nondenominational, as in Mann’s Massachusetts common schools, the enterprise was strongly supported by Protestant ministers who supplied funding, leadership, and pedagogic resources. For the most part the emerging public sector was only too grateful to ally itself with the resources and energy of the churches, which saw in the schoolroom the last great opportunity for resisting the tide of secularization. The state was nowhere more prominent than in Prussia, but the education remained organized on denomination lines. As late as 1862, all but 1 percent of Protestants and 3 percent of Catholics attended schools of their own confession. Governments at the national or local level still lacked the infrastructural power to achieve their educational objectives alone. Instead they joined with the revitalized religious orders to professionalize the occupation of elementary teaching, setting up training colleges or “normal schools” to turn bright working-class pupils into public employees and creating systems of inspection to ensure the appropriate application of their newly defined skills.

The traditional primer both facilitated and obstructed the campaign to impose system upon the process of becoming literate. The journey from disconnected fragments to polysyllabic words provided a structure for the progress through elementary school. The convention of learning by sounding appeared suitable for large groups of pupils under the supervision of a single teacher. In the widely admired Prussian system, class sizes had reached an average of 80 by 1848. Growing demand and constrained public funding continued to drive up class sizes. They stood at 91 in Silesia in 1861 and reached 103 in Westphalia. At the beginning of the final quarter of the century the figures were still in the 70s for Austria and the Netherlands and as high as 92 for the United Kingdom.

The one innovation was the integration of writing with reading. Just as texts were decoded by first breaking them down into their constituent elements, so under the Mulhauser system letters were separated into lines, curves, and hooks and then recombined on carefully drawn horizontal grids. The difficulty was that the growing availability of printed materials of all kinds made it increasingly easy for parents who wished to avoid the cost and discipline of school days and terms to make their own arrangements for instruction.

In conventional accounts of the history of education, the nineteenth century is the era of foundation-building, as the architecture and methods of the modern classroom were established across Europe and North America. In practice it took the form of prolonged conflict between the inspected and unofficial classroom. In mid-nineteenth-century London, nearly half a century after the church societies pioneered the monitorial system designed to deliver mass instruction with mechanical efficiency, there were still more pupils learning their letters in unofficial dame and day schools than in the inspected classrooms. Some kind of victory was achieved in the closing years of the century by a government apparatus armed with a range of regulatory instruments.¹⁵

The sense of progress in the nineteenth century is also qualified by the limited ambition held for literacy. The early primers were designed to enable pupils to spell their way through

the Bible and other religious literature. There was little expectation that children would be able to explore the meaning of what they read or to conduct their own journeys into the literature of the period. Writing, where it was taught, was essentially a process of copying, and became a creative skill only when combined with sufficient command of arithmetic to permit engagement in commercial activity.

It is possible to trace the emergence of an epistolary literacy among not only the middling ranks of society but also, at times of acute need, among artisans and even paupers petitioning for relief. However, such skills were learned, if at all, not in the classroom but from manuals published for adults. Early attempts to stress comprehension in the official curriculum and creativity in the use of writing were swamped by the overwhelming emphasis on producing large numbers of basic readers and scribes. "Composition," which in effect meant drafting a simple letter, did not enter the English Code until 1871, and applied only to the one child in fifty who reached the top Standard 6. Able pupils were now permitted to encounter anthologies of poetry and prose in the classroom, which in some cases fired a lifelong passion for literature.

In the same year, the General Regulation for the elementary schools of unified Germany created space both for composition and for the study of national poets. In terms of constructing a bridge between education and the active use of literacy, the most significant changes lay outside the classroom. A penny or its equivalent would purchase Sunday newspapers from midcentury and daily papers a generation later, and for the price of a loaf of bread or a pint of beer, complete reprints of classic novels could now be bought and read in private. The mass production of paper, ink, and steel nibs made it increasingly easy to practice such rudimentary writing skills as had been acquired. During the last third of the century changes in regulations permitted the introduction of the picture postcard, with its minimal requirements for inscribing and decoding a short text, thus finally engaging the bulk of the population in postal communication, if only a few times a year.

LITERACY AND THE ECONOMY

The qualifications that need to be made about the role of formal schooling in the creation of mass literacy also call into question the assumed relationship between elementary education and economic growth. At face there appears a direct causal connection. Those countries with nominal male signature rates of over 40 percent in the later eighteenth century were among the earliest to industrialize, and by the end of the following century, the most successful economies generally had the most literate workforces. The order and scale of the inspected classroom appeared to foreshadow the developing system of mass production and to prepare its pupils for the new regimen of disciplined factory labor. Criticism of this model began with the first modern analysis of literacy data. The evidence suggested that the capacity to read and write may have been a victim rather than a cause of economic change. Michael Sanderson and others have pointed out that in the early "takeoff" period of the Industrial Revolution, nominal literacy scores across the expanding European economies were at best flat, and in local instances went into decline for several decades. A succession of studies has suggested that increases stalled or were forced backward until the second

quarter of the nineteenth century, when in the modernizing economies they began an uninterrupted rise to universal literacy.¹⁶

The emergence of new working practices and the rapid growth of urban communities provided ample cause for the dislocation of basic education. Among the laboring classes, literacy was always a luxury good. It was purchased when the necessities of life had been paid for or provided when literate family members could find some spare time in the daily round of productive and household labor to take a child through the alphabet. As such it was eminently deferrable, and accounts by those who did learn their letters in the early nineteenth century are full of breaks in whatever instruction was provided. It was not so much that they left school at a certain point, but rather that one among a succession of interruptions finally proved to be permanent.

An immediate effect of new working practices was to place further pressure on the investment decisions that needed to be made. There was a shift in the balance between direct and opportunity costs in purchasing schooling. During the early phase of the Industrial Revolution, changes in the value of a child's labor increased the penalty of taking the child out of the economy and placing him or her in a classroom. With a cash wage available at an age when previously young boys or girls could make only intermittent and nonquantifiable contributions to the family economy, literacy became an increasingly expensive acquisition. Furthermore the communities that supported the complex structures of informal and formal education were themselves being disrupted by rapid growth. Analysis of the occupational and residential composition of the literacy tables in England and Prussia suggests that a major cause of short-term declines in literacy scores was the tendency of the rapidly expanding urban communities to suck in workers and their families from the less literate rural hinterland. In New York, for instance, it seems likely that literacy rates were driven down in the early years of the nineteenth century by the combination of an influx of ill-educated migrants and a labor force expanding faster than the availability of employment.¹⁷

However, if the "takeoff" period threatened literacy rates, it is less easy to take a pessimistic view of the longer process of industrialization. The falls in literacy rates where they occurred rarely lasted more than a generation and usually involved halted improvement or a decline of a few percentage points. A recent study of proto-industrialization in Leicester, for instance, finds male literacy rising until 1810, falling from 68.6 to 61.8 percent in the next two decades, before resuming its upward growth.¹⁸

The major difference after about 1830 was that the educational attainments of the city's population were no longer subject to fluctuations in its economy. It is evident that the rapid growth of framework knitting had for a time disrupted the mechanisms for learning to read and write, but given the elapse of time between schooling and the measurement of literacy at marriage, the effect was over by about 1815. If the complex structure of formal and information education is situated in the general body of social conditions and amenities in the towns and cities of the period, such as infant mortality, recreational provision, crime, and church attendance, literacy even in the periods of decline seems relatively robust. Thereafter a combination of changing modes of factory production, increasing child protection legislation, and the provision, later in the nineteenth century, of nominally free, publicly provided elementary schooling made it less expensive to keep a child out of the labor force before the age of ten or eleven. As has been noted, literacy rates were rising rapidly well before the state attempted to force parents to send their offspring to school.

In some parts of the economy, new incentives for learning to read and write emerged. The uniformed working class, principally postmen, railway workers, and policemen, grew rapidly in the second half of the nineteenth century, providing secure, even pensionable incomes in return for demonstrable educational attainment. For girls there were openings as typists and nurses late in the period, and more generally a basic literacy was of value in securing a position in the expanding servant class. Yet while there was some kind of consonance between the upward graphs of economic performance and literacy, the scale and direction of cause and effect remain difficult to specify. This is partly an issue of counting. The invention of literacy as a quantifiable condition in the nineteenth century, together with related forms of measuring the provision of official schooling and communication practices such as the use of the post and the telegraph, has tempted economists to apply human capital theory to the Industrial Revolution. The essence of this approach to explaining growth is that it is possible to place in the same equation the performance of the economy and the investments workers made in their skills. But it is by no means clear that in this period, the educational data will stand up to such analysis.

David Mitch, who has undertaken the most theoretically and statistically informed study of the topic, observes that, "since systematic census evidence on adult attainment did not begin until the mid-twentieth century, estimates of labor force education attainment prior to 1900 should be treated with some scepticism."¹⁹ His own work uses literacy data as a proxy for schooling, but as we have seen, there was no consistent route to the acquisition of the capacity to sign a name and no constant value in the communication skills that this achievement represented.

Michael Sanderson's recent review of professional boundaries notes that "there are difficulties in these studies sometimes more evident to the historian than the economist."²⁰ Those who have immersed themselves in all the complexities of formal and informal learning and all the meanings that can be attached to the inscription of a signature will erect reliability warnings around every aspect of the data that is available. They will resist accepting the assumption of the early statistical movement that behavior that could not be counted was intrinsically worthless. The very absence of system from which figures could be derived was seen as a measure of inadequacy. It was by this means that the immense provision of dame and private day schools was written out of the record.

Historians will also challenge the view inherent in the binary divide of the official tables that literacy everywhere generated economic opportunity, and conversely that illiteracy was a condition of ignorance and incapacity. Since the publication of *The Literacy Myth* in 1979, Harvey Graff has argued strongly against the view of educationalists and commentators in the nineteenth century and subsequently that literacy dissolved structural inequalities of class, ethnicity, and gender and that the inability to write your own name necessarily implied exclusion from gainful economic activity.²¹

As far back as the invention of printing, the basic hierarchies of status and identity have been the leading indicators of literacy levels, and the growth of formal schooling largely reproduced these inequalities. Studies of nineteenth-century social mobility suggest that most children who learned their letters held at marriage much the same occupational level as their less literate parents. While the proportion using their schooling to rise to white-collar positions tripled in the second half of the century, that still accounted for only 3.8 percent of those born into the working class. The key factor was not the growth of

elementary schooling but the failure to establish a bridge for all but a fortunate few to secondary education.

The one transformation in the nineteenth century was that in the inspected classroom, girls for the first time enjoyed much the same educational experience and came to display almost the same outcomes as boys, but the implications of their achievements for their future participation in the economy remained sharply different. Further, it is misleading to equate schooling with skill in the industrializing workplace. As Jane Humphries has argued, the childrearing agenda of working-class parents was dominated not by the acquisition of literacy, which might be taken for granted at least in artisan families, but rather by whether it would be possible to arrange an apprenticeship at the age of fourteen with a suitable master. For their part factory employers generally delegated the selection of recruits to their existing employees because their interest was not in examinable attributes but in habits of discipline and good conduct best understood and guaranteed by parents and older relatives.

CONCLUSION

The grand narrative of literacy and economic growth thus dissolves into a range of indirect connections and smaller interactions. If literacy can be included in the causal framework of the early takeoff of the Industrial Revolution, it related to the long-standing ability of men in the middling orders of societies in northwestern Europe to engage in the paper-work required for commercial endeavor. The early factories made few demands on the educational attainments of their workforce. Familiarity with print may have accelerated the acceptance of paper currency, hence improving trade and investment. Once economies had begun to take off, there was a link between the capacity of governments to raise taxes from at least a rising middle class and the increased funding of public elementary schooling. But there was no direct correlation between regional levels of literacy and the incidence of industrialization.

Bavaria, for instance, was well-schooled but still largely an agricultural economy in the later nineteenth century. Lars Sandberg has suggested in his study of Sweden that while literacy did not guarantee growth, when for exogenous reasons the economy began to expand, it was aided by existing high levels of literacy, if only by the absence of a need suddenly to divert investment into the sector. The volume of manual occupations directly requiring educational qualifications grew faster than the overall workforce in the second half of the nineteenth century, but the most detailed study of occupational requirements suggests that in England the "literacy required" sector embraced in 1891 only one in nine working men and half as many women. The most striking feature of the final drive to nominal literacy up to the First World War is that the men gaining literacy for the first time were largely those who described themselves as unskilled laborers at marriage. These entrants into the world of written communication were destined for jobs in which their new skills were virtually irrelevant.²²

Taking the statistics at face value, there is just one consistent association across Europe and North America in the later nineteenth century. The hierarchy of postal flows, the best

measure of functional literacy in the period, is directly associated not with signature levels or with school attendance but with passenger miles traveled on the railway systems that all modernizing countries possessed. Literacy's place was in the communications revolution of the era. It belonged to the movement of people, goods, and ideas rather than the making of objects and money.

NOTES

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CHAPTER 33

CURRICULUM HISTORY

DANIEL TRÖHLER

WHEREAS history of education became established in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, few studies on curriculum history emerged before the last quarter of the twentieth century. Additionally, history of education as an academic field emerged foremost in nineteenth-century Germany and was developed by scholars trained in Lutheran theology and/or German philosophy, but curriculum history as an academic field, with a few individual exceptions, is based in the United States, with its predominantly (Reformed) Calvinist culture. And although in the late nineteenth century the genre “history of education” spread from Germany first to France and then to the English-speaking world, curriculum history in particular and curriculum studies in general have remained largely restricted to the English-speaking world. It is only since the late 1990s that curriculum history/studies has been internationalized by providing a frame in which different international case studies are being developed, often for comparative purposes.¹

Curriculum history as an academic field did not emerge in a vacuum, for it presupposed an institutional environment at universities or colleges, as a rule in departments of curriculum and instruction (or the like), which emerged in the 1960s and 1970s in the context of teacher education at universities. These departments were established due to what was then called curriculum construction, or curriculum studies, and the obvious quest for curriculum theory, which in contrast to Europe has boomed in the United States since the 1920s and 1930s. In Europe the discussion focused primarily on subject-matter didactics, and in Germany additionally on general didactics, referring to the idea of *Bildung* (the idea of an inwardly aesthetic harmonization of the soul, largely irrespective of learned knowledge). This makes an international comparative discussion on curriculum difficult, and even more so when considering that against the background of the culturally nonnegotiable epitome of *Bildung*, in Germany questions of schooling and curriculum or syllabuses have always had a difficult standing in the academic community. Accordingly in (continental) Europe a more or less continuous research tradition under the catchword “curriculum” has never really existed. Even interest in relevant transatlantic research has been rather marginal, quite in contrast to some Nordic states such as Sweden and Norway, where curriculum studies have been developed by researchers with closer ties to pertinent research in England and foremost in the United States.²

Therefore curriculum studies/curriculum history as an academic field has to be suspected of being to a large degree an offshoot of a particular U.S. way of understanding

the organization of schooling and instruction as foremost local means to create the future citizen. It emerged as a reaction to challenges of massive immigration, modernization in terms of commercialization of life and the growth of large cities, and then the experiences of the First World War. These experiences triggered initiatives resulting in the publication of *Methods of Teaching Patriotism in the Public Schools* by a member of the New York City Board of Education, and broader movements, such as the organization of science fairs and clubs promoting extracurricular activities concerning (American) citizenship or the American Patriotic League, which at the turn of the century produced publications including *The Gill System of Moral and Civic Training* and *A New Citizenship: Democracy Systematized for Moral and Civic Training*. This was the time when the social sciences were established at the modern research universities to face societal challenges, and professors developed programs such as Education for Citizenship in a Democracy and published books in response to the “growing demand for the more adequate teaching of morals in the schools, especially with reference to the making of good citizens.” Accordingly, and encouraged by the Bureau of Education of the Department of the Interior, which aimed to “improve the citizenship of this land,” the schools started to implement “social studies” in their curriculum to reinforce civics and social responsibility as democratic desiderata. Books like *How to Make Courses of Study in the Social Studies* were published to help curriculum makers implement social studies at school.³

The curriculum was understood as a core public educational or instructional means to foster national integration and to reinforce U.S. citizenship in ages of change and uncertainty, and curriculum studies dealt in an academic way with these public means so as to make them more effective or efficient. The National Society for the Study of Education dedicated the 1927 yearbook to questions of curriculum-making; the first volume, *Curriculum-Making: Past and Present*, was to provide a historical and systematic survey, and the second volume, *The Foundations and Technique of Curriculum-Construction*, aimed at constructing “a consensus statement concerning the basic principles of curriculum-making.” This explicit commitment to (the U.S. interpretation of) democracy prevailed over the century and was apparent even in historical accounts. Evidence of this can be found in the very popular book by Daniel Tanner and Laurel N. Tanner, *History of the School Curriculum*, where it is argued that “curriculum history is useful,” “constructive,” and committed to the “idea of progress” as an expression of “the force of the democratic ideal.” In accordance with the dominant view on curriculum studies and curriculum as an ordering principal of schooling, curriculum history seems to have a thoroughly practical character, for it is being destined to advise actual curriculum developers and reformers.⁴

However, the programmatic-constructive character of curriculum history as an academic field has entered a state of crisis, as may be seen in the nearly de facto standstill of the Society for the Study of Curriculum History, founded in 1977 at Teachers College, Columbia University. The Society’s activities appear to have faltered.⁵ This rather frail institutionalization of curriculum history may be interpreted in the broader context of the U.S. curriculum debate called the “reconceptualist movement,” which attempts to “understand, not just implement or evaluate, the curriculum,” as William F. Pinar noted. The quest to “understand” was directed toward an analysis of curriculum as a cultural construction that includes particular visions of the (ideal) child, the (ideal) social order, and the (ideal) citizens. The endeavor to understand was therefore less engaged in advocating and more engaged in critical analysis of curriculum. By insisting on a critical-analytical

and often international-comparative understanding of curriculum, scholars have contributed to a particular discussion since the 1990s that allows, under certain methodological premises, a more international discussion, free from an American national agenda.⁶ This critical-analytical movement in curriculum research and history and its potential for international cooperation deals with two major questions: the historiographic challenge between the national and the global, and historic links between constitution and curriculum.

EPISTEMOLOGICAL PITFALLS: GLOBAL, INTERNATIONAL, OR TRANSNATIONAL

The internationalization in curriculum history (and theory) since the 1990s is an alternative to the popular theories that are based on the thesis of an emerging world culture and that argue for *one* pattern of global development. According to that viewpoint, a historical process of curricular isomorphism can be detected in which the historical development of curricula is part of one great global narrative of curriculum history, with a database that is macro-sociologically restricted to “simple curricular outlines, listing subjects of instruction and usually indicating the number of periods per week or year to be devoted to them.”⁷ However, as Ivor Goodson notes, school subjects are not “monolithic entities but shifting amalgamations of sub-groups and traditions,” exposed to prevalent systems of reasoning, norms, and values that vary over different locations.⁸

Hence the most effective alternative to a nationally biased research agenda in curriculum history (and also in curriculum theory) is not provided by globalization narratives, which describe phenomena of globalization in a universalistic way rather than analyzing them. The alternative is instead an international research agenda that respects cultural differences and analyzes transnational flows, as found, for instance, in the *histoire croisée* research approach, which focuses on multilayered (cultural) patterns of reception and “translations” into cultural value systems. It seems that this understanding was more common more than a hundred years ago. *The Making of Citizens: A Study in Comparative Education* by Robert Edward Hughes compared schooling and curriculum in France, England, the United States, and Germany in 1902 and recalled, “The school is a political institution maintained by the State for the cultivation and propagation of national ideals” and that therefore “every school is a machine deliberately contrived for the manufactures of citizens.” Hughes stressed that “each nation has . . . the system best suited to its idiosyncrasies” and can therefore “only be understood when seen in its own setting,” since it expresses “its nation’s genius; it is characteristic of its people”; it is an “indigenous product.” Hence it “is impossible to measure comprehensively any system of national education in terms of another.”⁹

Another example is found in the writings of Horace Mann. When Mann reported his impressions from a trip to Europe in 1843 and advocated major elements of the Prussian education system, he never meant to endorse an ultraconservative Prussian-style kingdom lacking any political constitution and featuring a highly segregated school system. He was not recommending copy-and-paste but rather greater understanding of how and why the different education systems with their varying curricula worked. Knowing well that an education system and its curriculum “has in it some of the secret workings of national life,”

the question was: How can we learn anything of practical value from the study of foreign systems of education? Hence Mann “read” Prussia in the frame of his own conceptions of democratic republicanism and interpreted organizational and curricular models as suitable in service of his cultural, social, and political ideals. Similarly, none of the admirers in Germany of the Swiss reformer Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, who were devoted to Pestalozzi’s educational methods and established Pestalozzi institutes all over Germany, ever meant to undertake the Virtues Republic that Pestalozzi had in mind. Not everything that was admired somewhere in the world was to be adopted at home, if it was not “translatable” into one’s own ideological or cultural “language,” as Hughes indicated in 1902: “The discipline of the German school is admirable, so is the general system of training—for *German children*; yet there can be no doubt that such a system would be the very worst for English or American children.”¹⁰

Be that as it may with regard to the “best” and the “worst,” curricula were and are to be understood against the background of the respective dominant perceptions of an ideal or just society, the ideal citizen(s), and the (ideal) child as a learner and one who is becoming a citizen. The relevant definition of a school subject, its respective contents, and its standing among all school subjects are expressions of particular cultural and alchemistic (the arranged practice in which the child is being transformed into the citizen) hopes and strategies, even in the case of rather unsuspicious school subjects such as mathematics, which transform children into valuable or loyal citizens within the respective cultural frame or value systems. Hence the assumption that there is one global development is of little help in overcoming a nationally biased research agenda that may be challenged only by respecting both national/cultural idiosyncrasies and transnational flows. To understand the cultural framing of the curricula and the transnational flows in their development it seems to be crucial to refer to the actual formal basis of curricula (or at least of curriculum making), namely, the school laws. Historically these laws were generally passed after the adoption of new constitutions. This is no coincidence at all, as constitutions both express and sanction the very normative base of modern citizenship, which entails the need for mass education and therefore for curricula.

CONSTITUTIONS AND THE CREATION OF CITIZENS

It has been generally acknowledged that the erection of mass school systems has to be seen in light of the emerging nation-states in the long nineteenth century, starting with the U.S. Constitution and the French Revolution and ending with the foundation of Finland after the First World War. Surprisingly only a few published studies reconstruct the close cultural interrelation between the foundation of the (nation-)states and the erection of the modern school systems. Constitutions are a set of fundamental principles according to which a state is governed and is entitled to organize social, economic, institutional, and political interaction. Against this background, constitutions (of national entities or, in less centralized countries like the United States, Germany, or Switzerland, also of regional entities, such as states, *Bundesländer*, or cantons) define (dominant) visions of a just social order,

and they legitimize institutions like the army or the police to implement and defend these visions. They also legitimize the institution of schooling as a place for the making of the desired, constitutionally defined citizens, as citizens are not only born but are made; schooling may be seen as the “pedagogic machine that operates not only to impart knowledge but to instruct in conduct and to supervise, evaluate and rectify childhood pathologies.”¹¹

The relation between constitutions and school laws and therefore curricula is threefold: legal, executive, and cultural. From a legal perspective, school laws and their curricula have to follow the fundamental guidelines defined in the constitution, for no law may contradict the constitution. From an executive perspective, school laws or curricula are designed to implement what is being specified in the constitution: the constitution defines the ideal citizens in the envisioned ideal social order; the school laws and curricula implement. And from a cultural perspective, both constitutions and school laws and their curricula are much more “equal,” for they both express dominant beliefs and values about the social order and aim at applying them. Constitutions and curricula reflect fundamental, taken-for-granted “cultural-cognitive” assumptions about the “good life” and a just social order constituted of ideal citizens.¹²

These assumptions about the good life and the social order differed in various countries, and accordingly, the educational theories varied to a large degree. These overall cultural visions had an impact on the curricula; some curricular developments seemed on the surface to have close similarities but were in fact very different, as may be shown in the example of classical languages. For instance, in 1902 Hughes argued that democracy and classical languages in the curriculum were incompatible, an argument that stood in a long line of democratic republicanism, as represented by Benjamin Rush or Thomas Paine. Equally critical of classical languages, but for very different reasons, was the young Kaiser Wilhelm II on the occasion of a school conference in Berlin in 1890. Based on his own experience at a *Gymnasium* (upper high school) in Kassel, Wilhelm felt qualified to call into question the value of the classical education with its two central school subjects, Latin and Greek: “Whoever has been at Gymnasium himself and has had a look behind the scenes knows what is missing. A national basis is wanting. The foundation of the Gymnasium must be German; we must raise national young Germans and not young Greeks and Romans.” In addition to increasing the hours devoted to German in the curriculum, Wilhelm demanded preferential fostering of the study of patriotic history, greater emphasis on physical education, which had been neglected, and a reduction of higher educational institutions and of university graduates.¹³

Hence similar formal curricular developments, such as the slow disappearance of classical languages from the curricula, can indicate very different systems of reasoning that stand behind these developments, which again undermines an interpretation of curriculum history in the frame of a teleological global movement. Whereas in Great Britain and the United States the skepticism toward classical languages was derived from a democratic concern, in Germany democracy was understood as being un-German. Thomas Mann noted in 1917 that “democracy” was of foreign origin and had to be translated into *volkstümlich* (traditional, popular) and that a vision of Germany as democracy and republic would be a “horror.” Accordingly, when Peter Peterson translated the essential ideas of the (American) project method into German, he noted with regard to John Dewey that “democratization” is not compatible with the German system of reasoning: “It has to be translated as: *Volksgemeinschaft* (national community), exactly in the sense we give the notion today”—that is, in 1935.¹⁴

Constitutions define the citizens, their rights, and their duties. But constitutions are not simply constitutions, for they differ formally in the way they are located in the overall judicial system, as we can see by comparing France, the United States, and the United Kingdom. It makes a fundamental difference whether the constitution has absolute priority over statutes, as in the United States, or whether the laws passed by legislatures are nearly equivalent to the constitution, as in the case of France, or whether a constitution does not exist at all and the tradition of court decisions takes its place, as in the United Kingdom. Additionally, given that the U.S. constitution is fundamentally federal, whereas the French constitution is largely central, the relation between the “free citizens” of these two countries and between the two republics could hardly be more different. The U.S. citizen is locally defined with legal certainty basically in the constitution, protected from excessive state power by checks and balances, whereas the French citizen is centrally defined with legal certainty in the laws adopted by the parliament as the epitome of French republicanism. This in turn explains why federal laws in the United States hardly regulate directly the organization of schooling and laymen, as members of the local school boards control the schools to a large degree and may act as curriculum makers on site; in contrast, education policy and curriculum making in France are almost completely governed by central experts, who are often trained at the highly elitist *écoles normale supérieure*.

Comparing France, the United States, and the United Kingdom shows that “constitutions” not only differ in their material aspects (distribution of more or fewer rights, defining the modes of interaction) but also in their formal aspects (location in the overall legal system). They create different kinds of citizens, which makes it impossible to construct one global narrative of curriculum, even if the curricula seem to become similar when we look at the formal existence (or disappearance) of school subjects. A French *citoyen* is not identical to a U.S. citizen; a U.S. citizen is not identical to a British citizen; a British citizen is not identical to a German *Bürger*; and a German *Bürger* is not identical to a Swiss *Bürger*—despite the fact that France, the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, and Switzerland are all constitutional democracies and that any dictionary would translate *citoyen* as citizen or *Bürger*.

International curriculum history that looks at transnational flows needs to define the notion of the citizen first as a floating signifier that is materialized in the different cultural systems of reasoning and therefore in the different curricula in very different ways, expressing unfailingly the respective dominant views of social order and citizenship, which are also reflected in the constitutions. The European nation-states of the long nineteenth century illustrate this phenomenon very effectively, for every time a constitution change was attempted to articulate a new social ideal for the respective nation-state, a new school law generally followed within five years or less.

THE NATION-STATE AND THE NEED FOR LOYAL CITIZENS

The invention of the nation-states was a complex process spanning the long nineteenth century. “Nation-state” forcefully and sustainably combines the meanings of “nation” and

“state.” Whereas the notion of the state may be more or less clear, the notion of the nation is more complex. In its Latin roots *natio* is derived from *nasci*, which means “to be born” and includes ideas of origin and descent but also tribe, which indicates shared experiences and, mostly, a shared language. Originally, however, the idea of nation was not of any concern to those who were identified by others as being part of this or that nation. Similar to its counterpart, the idea of natural rights, the idea of nation is an intellectual phenomenon, and until the end of the eighteenth century, it was not yet tied to the idea of the state and its sphere of influence. According to Montesquieu in 1748, there is a distinct “general spirit of a nation” which is formed by “climate, religion, laws, the maxims of the government, examples of past things, mores, and manners,” and it cannot be and is not to be changed unthinkingly: it was obviously durable and sustainable. An expression of these national characters is found in its economic dimension in Adam Smith’s *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) and, more important for this chapter, in the idea of a “national literature,” mentioned first in 1777, an idea that would become powerful some decades later in the construction of the language curriculum in (upper) high schools.¹⁵

The need to combine the durable and sustainable intellectual idea of the nation with political structures occurred in connection with the first two modern constitutions creating modern citizens—the constitution of the United States ratified in 1788 and the *constitution française* ratified in 1791—and then with all the new territorial entities that were defined in the aftermath of the Congress of Vienna in 1814–1815. By the end of the nineteenth century, almost the whole European continent was divided into constitutionally defined and legitimized nation-states that found their strength—besides in the economy and the military—in loyal citizens that were not just born but also had to be created.

In several parts of Europe, the precondition for being loyal citizens was speaking the same language. The particular objects of this “linguistic nationalism” were inhabitants of territories that spoke either a dialect or even another language, such as most inhabitants of the newly created Italy, or the Bretons or the inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine in France. In 1859 the rector of the Strasbourg Academy claimed that the Alsatians were in fact French patriots with the “defect” of speaking (a) German (dialect): “They are in all likelihood French, but I would like them to be French more completely. But that will not be the case until the day when the language of Bossuet and Racine will have become for them the language of favor, the language of intimate thoughts, of inspections, and of prayer.” The French language, the French religion, and French literature were the pillars of making loyal French citizens in the process of nation-building, and the expansion of formal schooling played a crucial role in this process.¹⁶

The same ideology applies to other nation-states, such as Germany. After the German Empire defeated France in 1870–1871, four formerly French departments were renamed the Imperial Territory of Alsace-Lorraine and now belonged to Germany. Thus the inhabitants had to learn that they were now in fact Germans, and not Frenchmen, for their language was in fact German. Immediately after the occupation (or, in another reading, liberation), the German officials established German schools to inculcate “loyalty to the German Empire.” The curriculum for the schools was copied from the Prussian regulation of 1854 and focused to a large degree on religion. Whereas the strong focus on German as the only instructional language often failed due to the lacking German skills of the French teachers, new curricular elements were introduced, such as physical education for boys and singing for all children—school subjects that were almost unknown under prior French authority.

Physical education was meant to prepare future male adults to be brave and strong soldiers, and singing, in the whole Protestant world, was part of the preparation to become members of the (Protestant) community; in Switzerland around 1800 over 60 percent of all Protestant elementary schools offered singing, as compared to only 15 percent in Catholic elementary schools.¹⁷ Yet the Germanization of the Imperial Territory of Alsace-Lorraine found an end in 1918, only to be resumed in 1940 with the Nazi occupation of France, and was abandoned again in 1945. The curriculum construction had been a constant back-and-forth for the people of this region, and primary schooling served significantly the ever-changing loyalties of the citizens by changing the curricula—not so much the school subjects as formal teaching units but the content and also the administration of schooling, including teacher education.

By the end of the nineteenth century, “the nation” had become both guidance and point of hope, even a secular vision of redemption. Accordingly, in 1882, and stimulated by the question of the nationality of people living in the Imperial Territory of Alsace-Lorraine, the French intellectual Ernest Renan defined “nation” as something spiritual behind its appearances: “A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Two things which, properly speaking, are really one and the same constitute this soul, this spiritual principle. One is the past, the other is the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present consent, the desire to live together.”

The European tragedy was that the sacralization of the nations was everything other than uniform or homogeneous. In their own perceptions, the Germans were born “heroes,” but they saw in the British solely homeless “merchants,” as the German sociologist Werner Sombart claimed in 1915. Accordingly, the curriculum of the German school was to be designed to educate German heroes, “heroic men and heroic women.” In sharp contrast to the British preference for sports and the British inclination to record scores, the Germans were to harden their physical strength in order to create women “broad at the hips,” who would give birth to “capable warriors,” and to implement heroic sentiments fostering devoted patriotism. A year before Sombart’s claims, one of the future mandarins of German educational theory, Eduard Spranger, appealed to Germany’s youth saying, “There is something worth dying for!,” namely, the German fatherland, and in 1915, Spranger attacked John Dewey’s educational theory as “kitchen and handyman utilitarianism” that had to be countered by the (German) “theory of the ideal *Bildung*.” After the First World War, Spranger advocated, along with the German language, *Heimatkunde* (the study of *Heimat* [home] as a school subject) as the most crucial element in the curriculum, for Spranger saw *Heimat* as reflecting the organic unity in the world, the totality of life that is invisible to the modern sciences and, accordingly, was not to be taught by the specialized school subjects.¹⁸ In some sense, these reflections on *Heimatkunde* mirrored a particular but nonexplicit curriculum theory (and not subject-matter didactics) that devoted curriculum to the making of the German *Persönlichkeit*, the nationally embedded holistic German personality.

It is these differences, made evident in the examples of France and Germany, that make also the notion of the “nation,” like the notion of “society” and “citizen,” a floating signifier, to be materialized country-specifically. The recognition of “new models of nationhood” constituting “the larger world environment” may apply, with regard to education, to the tertiary level but hardly to the primary and secondary levels of *compulsory* schooling. “Nation” bundles the culture-specific or idiosyncratic content into the formal definition

that Renan provided: "A great aggregation of men, in sane mind and warm heart, created a moral conscience that calls itself a nation." To construct this "moral conscience" that "calls itself a nation" in the "aggregation of men" with "sane mind and warm heart," what was needed was not only a definition of "same" but in a dialectical way also of "others," and it was the noble duty of the modern mass school system in the different nation-states to create the distinguishable citizens of the particular nations.

CULTURES, EDUCATION SYSTEMS, AND CURRICULA

The idea of the nation-state connected conceptually the constitutions and curricula in the aspiration to make a new citizen, a loyal citizen in different spheres of performance, such as family, society, economy, politics, and possibly the military. The example of the new elementary school law in 1835 of the canton of Bern in Switzerland, following the constitution of 1831, is in this respect representative. It begins by stating that "nothing is more important for the whole fatherland than the elementary school," because in it young persons "acquire the knowledge and skills" needed in their future occupation. The law states further that the school has to promote the development of the mind and the sentiments, allowing each person to fulfill his or her "determination as Christian and citizen."¹⁹ Hence the future citizen is economically responsible and can sustain the family, has Christian morals, and is a politically participatory citizen.

The perception that schooling is not just important but is crucial for the building of the nation-state expresses a fundamental cultural shift that has been labeled the "educationalization of the world," and the indisputable hero of this was at the time the Swiss reformer Pestalozzi. Even though when it came to financing schooling, the readiness to redistribute money from the army or infrastructure to education remained relatively restrained, the general identification of stakeholders with the elementary school was more than lip service. Even constitutions were clear about the importance of education, as in the case of the canton of Thurgau, Switzerland, in 1831. The Thurgau school law of 1833 stated with regard to curricular construction of the future citizen, "The formation of youth through education and instruction, a common affair of the concerns of the parents and the state, is being supported and promoted by the civic association by institutions of public education. The task of these institutions is in general to develop the abilities and strengths of the children and to form children's competence in their bourgeois lives and making them into morally good and religious people."²⁰

However, from the very beginning, modern schooling was divided into several levels. The elementary level started as a rule at the age of five or six and lasted, depending on the territory, between two (for instance, in Italy) and six years (for instance, in Germany and Switzerland). For most children schooling ended with the elementary level, perhaps followed by attending a "repeating school," in which the curriculum was repeated. Few children continued their schooling; most went to a postprimary school, situated on the secondary level and leading to so-called lower occupations. This was not identical with the prestigious

secondary school, which prepared the young students for an apprenticeship for more challenging occupations or, in rare cases, for the transition to the *lycée* or *Gymnasium*, the upper high or “grammar” school, from which they were able to enter the university.

The organization of the education systems differed from one territory to another: they all had different school levels, often structured into different grades, and they sometimes had (and over the course of time more and more) parallel tracks within a school level, all characterized by particular curricula. The development of thorough apprenticeship or vocational training as a promising alternative to the upper high school for the fifteen- to eighteen-year-olds took place foremost in the German-speaking countries, with effects up to today. The creation of different architectures of school systems composed by grades, levels, tracks, and the institutionalization of the different transition regimens between them, created the particular school systems representing the overall curriculum of an educational authority. This ensured not only the creation of the loyal citizen as national category, incorporating the feeling of inclusion and of exclusion of others, but also the acceptance of social stratification within the nation-state. Hence loyalty to the unifying nation was one aspect of the educational fabric, and recognition of social distinctions was another.

The Prussian school system, for instance, foresaw for wealthier parents and their children already on the elementary level a parallel track to the free elementary school, namely, a school charging fees. This “prep school” (*Vorschule*)—the preparation school or preliminary stage leading to the *Gymnasium* (upper secondary or high school)—excluded almost all of the schooled children who went to the public school free of charge. And in contrast to the free elementary school, it taught Latin, which was crucial knowledge required for entry to the *Gymnasium*, which in turn was the prerequisite for entering university. A university degree was the prerequisite for becoming a higher-ranking official or civil servant, who earned more money, allowing his children to attend “prep school.”

The national strategies for social distinctions based on different curricula in the different school tracks are evident foremost on the secondary level. For example, when Luxembourg reorganized its secondary school level in 1968, it defined two parallel tracks, both called *lycées*. However, there was a more prestigious level, the classical upper high school (*lycée classique*), and a less prestigious level, the technical upper high school (*lycée technique*). The language of instruction in the classical upper high school is French, but the teaching language in the technical upper high school is German. This is relevant, considering the fact that multilingual Luxembourg decreed that its only *official legal language* is French, despite the fact that Luxembourgers’ vernacular language is Luxembourgish, a Moselle Franconian dialect—that is, a German dialect. Notwithstanding, Luxembourg’s constitution and all its laws and regulations are uniquely written in (rather stilted legalistic) French and precisely not in all the official languages to which Luxembourg is committed, quite in contrast to other multilingual nation-states such as Switzerland, Belgium, and Finland. It is evident that students at the classical upper high school (*lycée classique*) with the instructional language of French are much more prepared to be future participative citizens and to enter a prestigious occupation such as civil service than students attending technical upper high school (*lycée technique*), who are taught in German. It is no surprise that 80 percent of the students at the more prestigious classical upper high school are of Luxembourgish origin and only 20 percent foreign-born, and that at the less prestigious technical upper high school foreign-born students make up almost 50 percent of an age cohort.²¹

CURRICULUM HISTORY AS RESEARCH DESIDERATA

The overall curriculum of an entire education system—consisting of the particular curricula for the school subjects, divided into grades, levels, and tracks, and organized to move young students from one grade to another, from one level to another, and between the tracks—provides the preconfigured educational pathways of future loyal citizens. And they express both obvious and subtle mechanisms in ensuring social stratification. The historically grown architecture of the school systems, with their particular curricula and the mechanisms coupling these curricula that set the array of educational opportunities of the students, are not coincidental but indeed represent educational means to implement dominant cultural visions of the social order and the corresponding cultural construction of the loyal citizens within this order.

There are, of course, reasons to assume that after the end of both the Second World War and the cold war, national determination in constructing the respective curricula may no longer play an important role. Providing proof of this are transnational organizations such as the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the World Bank, which articulate a global rather than a national agenda. However, these “global” agendas may turn out to be not genuinely universal but at least partly imperialized national agendas, extrapolated from one particular cultural context to parts of or even the whole world. This is true in particular in the case of the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA), which aims explicitly to “produce the kind of people” that it wishes.²²

History of curriculum will, then, be in need of comparison, which in turn is in need of formal categories and notions that are to be used methodologically as floating signifiers, such as the notion of the citizen as the bearer of two loyalties, loyalty to the unifying nation and to social distinctions, but also the notion of the society, the nation, and even the constitution. With regard to the different cultural constructions of the citizens expressing different visions of social order, the comparative study of historically developed and distinct mechanisms balancing national unity and identity on the one hand and social distinction on the other seems to be both possible and promising. The actual curricular implementation of the social ideal not only expresses these cultural ideals but also reinforces them; in this respect, curriculum has to be understood “as culture” and curriculum history, therefore as cultural history. Even though certain cultures seem to be isomorphic, and accordingly the curricula increasingly conform to each other, in Europe deliberate teaching of continental rather than national histories, geography, and values has actually enhanced national sentiments. This may be related to the fact that Europe has failed to ratify a draft European constitution that was signed in 2004 by the representatives of the member states (twenty-five in number at the time) of the European Union. After France and the Netherlands rejected the constitution in May and June 2005, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Ireland, Poland, Portugal, Sweden, and the United Kingdom canceled their scheduled referenda, and the idea of a common European constitution, expressing ideas of a social order and its citizens, was buried. Given the European reactions to the refugee flows in 2015–2016,

namely, building—even against the Schengen Agreement—walls and fences to “protect” the nations, there is hardly any empirical basis to assume that “new models of nationhood and citizenship are emerging” that would reshape “national institutions across borders.”²³

There is no doubt that there exist visions of a continental global social order and the future citizens in this social order, and that the visions have instruments at their disposal, like national blaming for poor performance assessed via a comparison based on culturally indifferent indicators. However, they are in harsh competition with systems of reasoning that are in the intersection between culture and the nation-state, backed up by the power of constitution, by sovereignty in education policy, and by a long history. There is a space in between the global and the national, in which global aspirations are transformed into the national idiosyncrasies. The strengths of the latter may lie exactly in their ability to appear to be globally uniform but to in fact act in accordance with national aspirations and narratives that do indeed change over time but at a much slower pace than policymakers and intellectuals with global aspirations may wish. It is exactly these differences that allow comparison as a condition of doing history, and vice versa. The alternative is to believe with John Meyer that “the whole world can be a Silicon Valley” heading to “a future in which all groups, races, religions, and social classes can progress into a future Eden.” This faith is culturally anything but neutral, for it is deeply rooted in American Protestantism expressed first in 1630, when the Puritan John Winthrop in his sermon “A Modell of Christian Charity” praised the vision of the “city upon the hill” as a model for the world.²⁴ To extrapolate one cultural idiosyncrasy to the global sphere is more hegemonic than global, and most of all not international, and is thus a barrier to history as reconstruction of the distinct trajectories of development, also of curriculum history and its understanding.

NOTES

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CHAPTER 34

THE HISTORY OF NONFORMAL AND INFORMAL EDUCATION

ANDREW GRUNZKE

IN 1971 UNESCO established the International Commission on the Development of Education to assist governments with the formulation of national education strategies. The Faure Report of 1973, summing up the commission's findings, distinguished three categories of education: formal, nonformal, and informal. The report defined formal education as the type of education conducted predominantly by state educational institutions. The report also attempted to define nonformal education as the set of educational systems designed to complement, supplement, or provide an alternative to the existing formal schooling process.¹ Informal education, for comparison, deals with everyday experiences that are not planned or organized, through which an individual may engage in incidental learning. Nonformal and informal education take place in a space and in a manner that is virtually indistinguishable from the everyday life of participants.

In this respect, informal and nonformal education are far more diverse categories than formal education. By and large, formal education includes only state-run or state-accredited schools. Nonformal and informal education can take many forms. Some nonformal educational institutions are highly organized, explicitly educational endeavors, like scouting troops for young boys and girls, in-services and seminars for employees, community centers with afternoon and evening classes on various topics for a variety of age groups, internships and apprenticeships, and the like. These institutions essentially operate like schools but may simply lack the oversight, unifying mission, or official state recognition of formal educational institutions.

Other nonformal institutions may have education as an important, but not primary, mission. Libraries, particularly academic research libraries, may work closely with formal educational institutions and even provide educational opportunities for their patrons, such as instruction in research and study skills. Primarily, though, libraries exist to serve as repositories of knowledge, documents, and publications. An archivist may or may not possess formal pedagogical training and likely would not consider himself or herself primarily a teacher. Likewise science, art, and history museums provide experiences for their patrons

that may prove to be educational, but their *raison d'être* is not, by and large, to provide formal instruction. Other nonformal educational institutions might see their function as largely noneducational. Private clubs formed around special interests and hobbies might see themselves as primarily social clubs but still provide members with educational experiences. A knitting club might provide someone with opportunities to learn advanced techniques in the craft, even as the organization does not see itself or its mission as inherently educative.

The diversity of informal education is greater even than that of nonformal education. Human beings learn a great deal from interacting with friends, elders, peers and colleagues, chance encounters, and romantic partners. They learn from the games they play. Children learn a great deal from their interactions with toys and dolls. People learn from the songs and stories they hear, the books and magazines they read, the movies and television programs they watch. People learn from quiet moments of contemplation and self-reflection. Education pervades every aspect of human life.

Oddly, though, the concept of informal education is a relatively recent phenomenon. There is some debate over who coined the term "informal education." While the Faure Report and certain educational scholars (such as Russell Kliebard and Allen Tough) popularized the concept in the early 1970s, educational thinkers had been using the term "informal" in reference to education since the late 1940s. Josephine Brew's *Informal Education* (1946) is frequently credited with having been the first work to use the term. Some consider Malcolm Knowles, in his book *Informal Adult Education: A Guide for Administrators, Leaders, and Teachers* (1950), to be the first to employ the term "informal learning." There is some indication of both terms being used prior to this time. The American Council of Education, for instance, endorsed an experimental educational motion picture program in 1940 it described as part of a movement "vaguely known as 'informal adult education.'"²

How long prior to the 1940s the term was used is unclear. Of course, informal education had been discussed in different terms for a much longer period of time. John Dewey, with his emphasis on experience, environment, continued and lifelong learning, and community, certainly discussed informal education—even if the concept had not been formulated during his lifetime. In any event, it was not until the mid-twentieth century that educational thinkers really began to formally consider the idea of informal education.

The notion that informal education is the older and more pervasive form of education contrasts with the relative recentness of its discussion among scholars. This seeming contradiction makes the idea of defining informal education in opposition to formal education an intriguing one. Informal education significantly predates formal education. Long before the state (or even private interests) created schools for formally educating youth, young people learned the tasks they needed for adulthood from watching parents and other adults in the community perform them.³ For the bulk of human history, hunting, gathering, farming, and leadership skills were all taught to children in a manner seamlessly integrated into the day-to-day activities of members of most societies. Informal education, therefore, also has a significantly longer history than its formal counterpart. Even today the overwhelming majority of people learn to speak through informal educational processes.

Still, the idea of the primacy of formal education has become deeply entrenched in modern culture. Despite the fact that most people complete their formal education early in life, most of their learning still takes place outside of that formal setting. Formal learning represents the smaller part of the sum total of all the learning a person will do in his or her lifetime.⁴ While informal education tends to be defined in opposition to the types of education

that take place in schools and other educational organizations, it is the most natural form of learning and takes place in the ways most thoroughly integrated into cultural life.

This attitude of the primacy of formal education is, by and large, a product of the Industrial Revolution. Prior to industrialization, young people learned their occupation, often in apprenticeship programs, from masters of the craft. Those apprenticeship programs taught work skills using a variety of nonformal and informal processes. Industrialization, with its emphasis on expertise and scientific management, inspired a desire to create an efficient workforce.⁵ Along with this desire came educational reforms designed to formalize and standardize the educational process—moving the educational center of the culture away from nonformal and informal educational processes and into formal educational institutions.

From the perspective of a historian of education, studying formally educational organizations is, for these very reasons, a more clearly defined endeavor than examining their nonformal or informal counterparts. As the Faure Report noted, the professional literature in education is notably silent on defining the concept of nonformal pedagogy. While informal education may be a more natural educational process, its pedagogy also lacks standardization—making the job of the historian to define, examine, gather evidence, and draw conclusions more difficult.

Most formal educational institutions are obligated by the state to produce documentation, meet set standards, engage in specific educational practices and curricula, and produce diplomas and degrees backed by state accreditation. This documentation provides a great deal of primary evidence for historians of education. Even nonformal educational institutions such as youth organizations, community centers, summer camps, and museums of art, science, and history are typically under no obligation to maintain any such documentation. The process for engaging in educational history examining these organizations is a far less standardized process, and the documentation tends to be spottier. Informal education processes, such as folk and mass media, learning on the streets or the “school of hard knocks,” or even happenstance, lack the same framework for scholarly examination possessed by formal or nonformal education. As a result, historical examinations of formal education and, to a lesser extent, nonformal education are far more common in the scholarly literature than scholarship examining informal education.

The level of development of the historiographies of nonformal and informal education is also highly dependent upon geography. In nonindustrialized geographical areas, there tends to be much less emphasis on formal education. As a result, the study of informal and nonformal education is far more developed among scholars who study geographical areas in which substantial portions of the population do not have access to formal education. As the reliance on informal and nonformal educational processes increases, so does the scholarly attention paid to the issue.

One of the areas in which historians in the academy have made strides recently on incorporating the informal and nonformal educational processes into the larger history of education is the history of Native Americans. Historians are beginning to explore the ways in which examining informal pedagogies, such as experiential learning, storytelling, engaging in religious rituals and ceremonies, dreaming, and creating art can expand not only the scope of history of education as a field but also whose contributions and stories will be included in that history.⁶ Such an expansion, Donald Warren has even argued, changes the nature of educational history; including these types of educational processes turns education history into “more essentially a family of methods than a topical jurisdiction.”⁷

There is, likewise, a relatively robust level of Western scholarship on nonformal and informal education, particularly produced by and for education policymakers, regarding Africa, Asia, the Pacific Islands, and other parts of the world.⁸ Many of these studies take the form of examinations of the pedagogical effectiveness of certain nonformal educational institutions, including those aimed at adult education.⁹ The history of nonformal and informal education has taken a rather piecemeal approach. These studies tend to be geographically narrow and highly culturally specific. One study may examine the use of traditional games to teach hunting and warfare skills in precolonial East Africa.¹⁰ Another might examine the ways that Japanese women's magazines during the post-World War II American occupation sought to change cultural attitudes about proper gender roles.¹¹ Yet another might examine the Turkish prison as a site for political education.¹² These studies often provide fascinating insights into the myriad ways that informal and nonformal education have contributed to cultural continuity or social change. There is, indeed, much room in the field for more of these studies, and there is a great need within the field for both metastudies and historiographies of informal education in numerous geographical regions.

Even as historians of education have, aside from certain pockets of scholars, placed less emphasis on nonformal and informal education than on formal education, so, too, have scholars of education generally. The bulk of educational research produced concerns formal education. There are a select few areas of education that focus to any large degree on nonformal and informal education.

Among the areas with a stronger emphasis on informal education is, ironically, workplace learning. While workplace preparation provided the impetus for the rise of formal education, business managers have a special interest in studying nonformal educational process. The temporal nature of formal education, tending to take place during a person's younger years and to be completed prior to entry into the workforce, means that any skills required for an employee to perform his or her job not learned during the formal credentialing process must be obtained through nonformal educational opportunities supplied by the employer.¹³ Thus those who study workplace learning tend to be more keenly concerned with nonformal and informal education. As a corollary, though, studies of nonformal and informal education tend to see these processes as either an education on the periphery or an education of the gaps. In a formal educational setting, one learns a set of standard knowledge, necessary for employment in a given area and represented by a credential. Attitudes, tastes, moral values, and those skills one failed to learn going through one's formal educational institution tend to be seen as the purview of nonformal and informal education.

There is a need, generally, for further specifically historical study on the close relationship between adult and informal education. As Joseph Kett points out in his book, *The Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties*, the modern conceptualization of formal adult education has grown from historical antecedents in self-improvement and other informal educational opportunities for men and women. Where once churches, newspapers, political organizations, and other informal and nonformal educational structures dominated the realm of adult education, the process has more recently become formalized and grown to be more closely associated with occupational concerns. So, while the business sector has begun to research the ways it can employ informal education techniques to promote on-the-job training for adults, there is room for historians to examine more fully the process by which formal adult education has grown out of previously informal and nonformal education processes.

The view that values and tastes are properly shaped by informal educational processes, while career skills are the purview of formal education, however, tends to set up the formal/nonformal/informal educational categories as a continuum. To an extent, this view is a logical one. State-run schools tend to have the greatest level of standardization and the most clearly defined educational goals; mass media tends to have a much smaller level of standardization and far more nebulous educational goals.

Viewing the formality of education as solely a continuum, however, ignores the important idea that informal education takes place in a way that is integrated into a person's daily life. So even as one attends an institution of formal education, a great deal of what one learns in the setting is learned informally. Attending a state school places you in contact with other people from whom you may informally learn certain aesthetic tastes, moral values, speech patterns, and many other lessons not part of the formal curriculum of the institution. In other words, one cannot merely say that informal education is the sort of education that takes place outside of the doors of the schoolroom. Indeed institutions of formal education are constantly actively engaged in both formal and informal educational processes. As an example, Dewey's philosophical emphasis on controlling the classroom environments can be seen, at least in a certain light, as an attempt to formalize the informal pedagogy of a given educational space. Thus seeing formality as a continuum tends to obscure the informal processes that are occurring alongside the formal ones.

Seeing formality as a continuum also obscures the idea that the type of informal educational processes in which one engages impacts performance in formal educational settings. The experiences of children differ widely, depending on numerous factors, including and especially race, gender, and social class. Parenting styles, childrearing methods, and selected family activities are often influenced by geography, class, and race. This, in turn, leads to the phenomenon Annette Lareau, in her work *Unequal Childhoods*, termed the transmission of differential life advantages. In effect, the social class identity of a family has a profound effect on the experiences of its children, leading not only to different experiences in formal educational settings but also to a diversity of informal and nonformal educational experiences. In turn, these differing experiences impact children's development of etiquette, vocabulary, body language, and other aspects of cultural and educational capital. Informal and nonformal educational experiences have marked effects on a child's success in formal educational settings.

Pragmatically for historians, the consequence of seeing the formality of education as a continuum is the creation of relatively separate scholarly spheres for the examination of the different forms of education. Some scholars, then, become advocates for either formal or informal types of learning. Instead of seeing educational spheres as simultaneously formal and informal spaces, conceptualizing formality as a continuum can, if followed to its logical conclusion, lead to dichotomous thinking about educational types, leading scholars to categorize a given practice as either formal or informal. This creates a situation in which one has the potential to become a proponent of one of the types over the other—accentuating the strengths of a certain level of formality, while emphasizing (or even exaggerating) the weaknesses of the other.

This process is less common in history of education than it is in other fields. A scholar of workplace learning may advocate for reforms of formal education to include a set of skills commonly taught in on-the-job training. A philosopher of education may proclaim the benefits of an educational process that is fully integrated into the student's everyday life or

for a system of education that carefully controls for any randomly informal elements. A theorist may argue against a formalization of the educational process, as tending to create a system that rewards conformity or dampens individual choice; he or she may, on the other hand, argue against informal education as being too highly dependent upon chance or the vagaries of individual preference.

History of education is, on the other hand, more highly dependent upon the existence of primary evidence. This, in itself, has led to the tendency to overemphasize formal education in the field—as it tends to be the more likely to have extant documentation. Discussion of educational trends and periodization is also more difficult when dealing with nonformal and informal education. Nonformal education is largely a matter of the personal choice and interest of the participants. Participation in scouting, attendance at a museum, or taking a class to learn a new hobby at a local community center may represent significant educational experiences for an individual, or the individual may just see them as a fun and frivolous way to pass an afternoon. Tracking numbers of participants, the extent to which these experiences impacted the lives of these participants, whether these activities supported or ran counter to the educational goals of the community and the motivations of the educators are less likely to have been documented by nonformal educational organizations than formal ones.

Informal education, which can be intensely personal and highly idiosyncratic (if not, at times, relatively random), tends to be even less documented than nonformal educational experiences. Unless an individual participant has opted to leave documentation of how a specific informal experience changed his or her perspective or attitude or unless an individual providing the informal educational experience documented the interaction, that informal educational experience will be entirely lost to the historian. As a result, the historical record regarding informal education tends to be more sparse and less complete than either formal or nonformal education.

In a way, the relative scarcity and completeness of research in informal education is a problem somewhat peculiar to history of education. An anthropologist of education conducting an ethnographic study of a specific culture is able, through observation or participant observation, to document educational interactions, formal and informal. Educational historians engaged in studying informal education are at the mercy of whatever documentation, largely produced by the participants themselves, has survived. When informal education is discussed in educational history, it tends to be as a footnote or addendum to a larger piece of scholarship, providing a layer of richness or a broader perspective for a given topic in formal education. In history of education, formal education is, by and large, the cake, while nonformal and informal education are the icing.

Ivan Illich, in his theoretical work on education, hypothesized that there might come a day when computers could match lists of people who wanted to learn a particular subject with lists of people who were able and willing to teach that subject. He envisioned a time when these informal relationships might supplant the formal educational systems that he felt had displaced more organic, informal processes. Today the internet has created a multitude of avenues to connect people and spread and share knowledge, information, and skills.¹⁴

Currently storehouses of knowledge are being mutually built by individual actors around the globe with the use of tools like wikis. Educational videos like those in the Kahn Academy series bring nonformal educational techniques to venues like YouTube. Any individual with a webcam can post on the internet his or her homemade instructional videos concerning nearly any topic to be accessed by people virtually around the world. Social media of

various types can shape public attitudes, impact political discourses, and change the course of human events. In short, technology has created a situation in which the reach of any given nonformal or informal educational experience has been greatly expanded from what it might have been even a decade or two ago.

The history of education will, in time, have to adapt to a changing educational landscape in which nonformal and informal education are drastically more prominent features (especially in the developed world, where formal education has garnered most of the scholarly attention in recent memory). This job will be an especially difficult one for historians, given the ephemeral nature and lack of a systematic archiving of online texts. Refocusing more scholarly attention on nonformal and informal educational history and honing the theoretical tools historians of education use to examine them will help the field rise to these new challenges.

Even though the bulk of educational history concerns formal education, the field is enriched by the inclusion of nonformal and informal education scholarship. For one thing, the nature of nonformal and informal education places them at the heart of many of the ontological questions of the field of the history of education. The first among these questions is this: What constitutes a legitimate topic for research in the history of education? While schools and other formal institutions of education lie comfortably within the discourse, nonformal and informal education (whether they take the form of elements of folk culture, popular culture, or other non- or informal processes) often have to justify their inclusion in histories of education.

Stretching the limits of what constitutes a legitimate topic within history of education allows the discourse to more fully and accurately represent the varied and diverse phenomena that run the gamut of people's educational history. Failing to include a critical mass of nonformal and informal educational studies within educational history has the potential to distort that history, giving a greater sense of agency to formal institutions than may be fully warranted. Asking questions about which institutions ought to be included within educational history also sharpens our sense of the real limits and functions of the field. This debate may seem esoteric or, at the very least, academic. Nevertheless the way the historical discourse answers these ontological questions can have a discernible impact on broader educational questions, as certain institutions and organizations seek either to be included or excluded from consideration as educational forces.

THE CONTINUUM OF EDUCATIONAL FORMALITY?

Early library journals frequently advocated for nonfiction-only collections to promote the idea of the public library as an *educational* institution. In an article for *Library Journal* in 1879, for instance, Charles Francis Adams wrote, "Furnishing any sort of amusement and relaxation . . . is not a proper function of government."¹⁵ There is a certain irony to Adams's statement, as now public libraries in the United States are used for precisely the purpose of amusement and relaxation. Here we see exactly the existential question underpinning the problem of nonformal and informal education as a topic of study by historians of education.

The conceptualization of the formality of education as a continuum with serious study on one end and pure entertainment on the other obscures the actual educational impact of a

given phenomenon. In the instance of early library reformers, they sought to promote the idea that their institutions were educational by distancing themselves from fiction. That is to say, implicit in their idea that amusement and relaxation cannot be associated with education was the idea that in order for an institution to be educational, the type of learning it provides must be formalized. Librarians sought to have their institutions viewed by the public and funding agencies as formal institutions of education. In so doing, though, they associated informal education with frivolity. From this, we can see how the debate over what constitutes a formal (as opposed to nonformal or informal) educational institution and whether nonformal and informal processes should be considered legitimate forms of education can have an effect on how educational institutions define themselves, measure their educational value, and find funding.

Still, in terms of inclusion in the history of education, libraries have proven relatively unproblematic. The historiography of libraries is robust. Libraries, as institutions straddling the line between formal and nonformal, benefited from this status in terms of the keeping of their history as educational institutions. Add to that the propensity of librarians for keeping and maintaining documents, and historians of education have largely welcomed library history into the field. Slightly less welcome have been the more obviously nonformal educational institutions: museums, zoological and botanical gardens, aquariums, and summer camps. These institutions fell less squarely within traditional conceptions of educational institutions. Including them in the historiography forces historians to ask the ontological questions: Should an institution that serves as pure entertainment for one patron and as a scientific learning experience for another be classified as formally or nonformally educational? Ought educational historians borrow the conceptualized continuum of many nineteenth-century librarians with formal, serious education on one end of the spectrum and informal educational entertainment on the other, or is this conception too restrictive for meaningful historical inquiry?

Complicating these questions are institutions, such as circuses and advertising agencies, involved in the shaping of public attitudes and tastes, but whose educational processes lie somewhere between informal and nonformal. Do these organizations merit inclusion in the history of education? If so, how does a historian of education approach an investigation of an informally educational institution, when neither the informal educators nor, indeed, their consumers (dare I say, students) view the endeavor as educative?

THE UNIQUE CONCERNS OF NONFORMAL AND INFORMAL EDUCATIONAL HISTORIES

Nonformal and informal education had been a significant topic of investigation in education scholarship since the 1960s. Bernard Bailyn, in his groundbreaking 1960 work, *Education and the Forming of American Society*, juxtaposed the nonformal and informal educational processes through which the children of early American colonists learned survival and occupational skills and cultural and religious values to the types of explicitly formalized, deliberate, and intentional learning that took place after the development of early American schools.

Few scholars earnestly attempted to heed Bailyn's clarion call to widen the scope of educational history to include nonformal and informal education until the 1980s, when Lawrence Cremin reiterated that call to open the history of education to the examination of educational institutions defined more broadly, declaring that "the news broadcasts conveyed information, the documentary heightened awareness, the soaps conveyed formulas for resolving family conflicts, Captain Kangaroo taught about games and the world around us, commercials created wants and needs for consumer products."¹⁶ Prior to the work of Bailyn, historical studies of nonformal and informal education were largely nonexistent, and the field remained largely free of examinations of informal (and to a much smaller extent nonformal) processes even until the publication of Cremin's *American Education* volumes. The relative newness of the inclusion of topics in nonformal and informal education in the history of education has also served to put the examination of nonformal and informal education at a relative disadvantage. The historiography related to such topics tends to be smaller than those of other areas of educational history whose inclusion in the field is more well established.

Still, the historical study of nonformal educational organizations (as opposed to informal ones) is in many ways more akin to creating histories of formal educational institutions. Familiarizing oneself with the historiography of similar institutions in the historical era in question provides a framework for examining the selected nonformal organization. If, for instance, one is interested in pursuing the history of libraries or museums as nonformal educational institutions, it would make sense to look at the historiography of schools during the same era to get a sense of the educational goals that these types of formal institutions might have shared with their nonformal counterparts and the cultural context with respect to education in which both types of institutions existed. After locating whatever primary resources are available and gathering that data, the nonformal education historian analyzes the primary evidence within the historical context laid out by the secondary research.

However, inquiries into nonformal education come with an additional onus. Readers of a study in nonformal education will expect a discussion of the extent to which a specific nonformal educational institution can be considered educational. They will want to know whether the institution had an educational mission, the motivations of the nonformal educators, and information about the types of pedagogy in which they engaged. A historical piece focusing on a formal secondary school would likely not need to discuss in any great detail the extent to which it ought to be considered an educational institution; readers of a piece of educational history focusing on a recreational club or a theater, though, would expect such a discussion.

Additionally there exist difficulties surrounding the historical study of nonformal and informal education that do not exist in other areas of study. The tools that scholars of educational history should use for this type of research are less developed. While the processes involved in writing the history of a certain aspect of academic life in a specific institution of higher education may be relatively clear, the theoretical tools used to examine a soap opera as an informally educative medium are less clear. The fabled film producer Samuel Goldwyn once said, "If you want to send a message, use Western Union." This sentiment, in certain ways, cuts to the heart of one of the major difficulties involved with conducting studies in the history of informal (and, again to a lesser extent, nonformal education).

Watching soap operas, for example, can serve as a deeply educational experience. They can influence one's sense of style, affect family dynamics and behaviors, provide language

instruction, teach a sense of narrative structure, and serve any number of other legitimately (though informally) educational functions. Creating an educational history of a given soap opera, however, is a difficult proposition. It is likely the producers, directors, actors, and promoters of soap operas did not see themselves as educators. Viewers of a soap opera might not see themselves as being engaged in an educational activity either, and, even if they did, they would be unlikely to document their learning. The historian of education might have to use textual evidence from the soaps themselves to surmise the educational intent of the producers or the lessons learned by the consumers. To a degree, this is a different standard of evidence from the one that would normally form the basis for historical inquiry in educational history. It is an inquiry that, by necessity, might be more heavily concerned with explicit and implicit textual messages and less focused on measurable and stated educational goals, policies, and the like.

A given historical text might be analyzed by a historian of education for its potential to serve as a piece of informal education, but if Goldwyn is to be believed, informal educational agents, especially those involved in the production of mass media, might even see their own role as one that is emphatically noneducational. Agents within formal educational institutions often saw (and see) it as part of their educational mission to make it seem as though potentially informally educational media were seen as either noneducative or as having a negative educational influence.

Dime novel authors saw their works thoroughly rejected by librarians, who actively sought to keep the books out of the hands of readers. Early filmmakers took some of the rancor out of anti-dime novel crusades by providing a new, more pressing target. Comic books authors were decried by activists, like Frederick Wertham in his book *Seduction of the Innocent* (1954), for exhorting youth into various types of corruption. Modern producers of video games find themselves having to defend their own products from charges regarding the negative moral education they provide youth. Producers of mass media and other purveyors of informal education frequently have a vested interest in making it seem as though they are not providing educational materials. (In the case of mass media, this desire to maintain a noneducative stance is even further justified by a desire to achieve the widest audience possible, frequently by providing an experience of pure entertainment, with neither educational subtext nor a potentially controversial message.)

In any event, when conducting a historical study of nonformal and informal education, one is frequently met with educational figures who either actively or tacitly see themselves as outside of the educational endeavor. Given the relative lateness with which historians of education themselves opened the discourse to nonformal and informal processes, this is hardly surprising. Even so, this tension makes conducting the history difficult; historians are examining educational institutions that frequently explicitly ask not to be treated as educational.

One of the ways historians might circumvent those difficulties is through the use of biography. In creating biography, historians can focus on the informal factors that might have influenced the development of an individual's identity. It is simpler to determine the influence an informal educational experience had on an individual, both because of the types of documentation an individual might leave behind and because it is easier to determine the impact of an experience on an individual than on a group of people. When considering the informal educational influence a person might have had, biography is also

a useful tool for historians of informal education because an individual historical actor is more likely to leave documentation of the pedagogical intentions of his actions.

In the end, however, historians of education are left with more questions when it comes to the study of nonformal and informal education. How does a historian (especially with respect to popular media) negotiate the potential disconnect between the message the author did (or did not) intend and the work's actual impact in changing perceptions of individual audience members? If an audience (or an individual audience member) learned something from interaction with a given text, does it matter that the producer of that text did not set out to teach that particular lesson? Does the educational intent of the author even matter with respect to the medium? Or do we care only if it has a discernible impact? What are the ways in which that impact is documented? Finally, how do the answers to these questions change the way history of education is conducted? Should historians shift their tactics to methods like oral histories, which might make it easier to tease out the impact of nonformal and informal educational influences?

INTENT AND IMPACT IN NONFORMAL AND INFORMAL EDUCATION

The methods of historical investigation of informal educational phenomena are markedly different from the ways of investigating formal and nonformal educational types. This is especially true if the educational intent of the participants in the educational process is unknown. It is often difficult to ascertain whether a given experience, which may have had the potential to teach a lesson, actually performed an educational function. Simply because it may have been possible for a person to learn something about etiquette from being invited to a dinner at a friend's house, this does not necessarily mean that such learning took place. A conversation between a youth and a more experienced member of the community may have had the potential to be an educational experience for both parties, but there is nothing inherent in the interaction implying that education must have taken place.

In schools and other formal educational institutions, the extent to which the stated educational goals have been met by individual students tends to be measured and documentation preserved, but because informal education is typified by chance encounters, personal interest and individual effort, frequently undocumented interactions among different people, and other attributes that make the process more holistic and less deliberate, it is often more difficult to determine whether a given phenomenon actually qualifies as informal education, unless one knows either the intent or the effects of that phenomenon. In general, while one can gloss over these issues when it comes to formal and nonformal education, when one is doing educational history involving informal educational processes, discovering motivations and impact can play a much larger part in the research process. The extent to which a researcher in the history of informal education must defend his or her choice of subject is, in many ways, an open question.

This is especially true when it comes to discussions of folk and mass media as educative texts. At times, a researcher will find the producer of the text adopting a stance that his or

her artifact is not intended to send a message. You might find, as occurred in hearings regarding comic books and penny dreadfuls on both sides of the Atlantic, media producers arguing vociferously that their chosen medium was not an educative one. Such an argument, though, is unrealistic—not necessarily from the perspective of the author of a text but certainly from the perspective of a historian of informal education. People are changed, often in unpredictable ways, by their interactions with media and with each other. Simply because a given text was not intended by an author to teach does not mean that nothing was learned by individual audience members. A claim made by a producer or author about the lack of an educational message in a text does not, in itself, dismiss that text from examination in informal education history.

At times producers of informal educational texts are open with their intentions. For example, Joss Whedon, the creator of the *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* film and television program, once said of his work, “If I can make teenage boys comfortable with a girl who takes charge of a situation without their knowing that’s what’s happening, it’s better than sitting them down and selling them on feminism.” Statements like this, though, while they make the educational intent side of the media equation more obvious, may not be enough to fully justify a given text’s inclusion in informal educational history. This theoretical question is a bit trickier: Is intent to educate a sufficient condition for inclusion of a given phenomenon in educational history? One might be tempted to argue that until one has demonstrated that *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* has actually made an appreciable impact on notions of gender, one cannot consider the text a piece of informal education.

In so saying, though, one might be holding informal education to a higher standard than its formal counterparts. A historian of formal education might produce course catalogs, class rolls, and curricula showing that a school intended to teach a given subject, but few readers of educational history would require the historian to demonstrate that the students on the class roll actually learned the subject before including the historian’s account in a history of education. It may simply be enough to demonstrate that Whedon intended his film to serve an educational purpose. Nevertheless Whedon’s statement and the apparent wisdom of the informal education historian’s choice of subject are made stronger by analyses of viewership, documentation of audience members’ reactions to the text, and contextualization with broader cultural histories of gender in the era.

In the end, historical studies of informal education work best when both educational production and reception are addressed. There are several ways to achieve this outcome. The most common of these is simply to treat informal education as an addendum to a study of formal education.¹⁷ In conducting a thorough investigation of a given institution of formal education, one may come across narratives of the informal experiences of given historical agents. Relating these to the audience may help provide a fuller, more complete picture of the history of the institution or organization. Adding details regarding informal education to formal studies is a positive step, as it tends to add richness to the historical narrative. Still, such inclusions do little to promote the historical study of informal education as an important part of the educational landscape in its own right.

Another approach solves the theoretical problem by looking at how factors external to the school shaped the identity of an individual historical figure, providing direct evidence of the impact of the informal educational experience on the person. Often there exists a wealth of evidence left by historical figures on the influences that led them to become the prominent people they were, shaped their attitudes and thought processes, and proved

instrumental in shaping their characters. Such studies do a better job of foregrounding the informal education itself, while contextualizing it within a given historical context and providing evidence of its educational impact.¹⁸

The final approach is to concentrate directly on the informal educational text or process itself, contextualizing it in a historical era, unpacking its (either intentional or unintentional) educational message, and discussing its impact, either in terms of its pervasiveness (as determined by viewership, geographical spread, and the like) or in terms of its declared importance to individuals whose thoughts and feelings are documented by primary evidence in the historical record. This approach makes informal education a central concern of the scholarship, but it is also the most beholden to (what may, at times, prove to be scant) extant historical evidence.

On a Sunday morning television news program on May 6, 2012, U.S. vice president Joe Biden opined, "I think *Will and Grace* probably did more to educate the American public [about gay marriage] than almost anybody's done so far."¹⁹ In a few decades, historians will be left to evaluate the veracity of Biden's claim about the informal educational power of *Will and Grace*. How will historians of education deal with this American television situation comedy as an institution of informal education? Clearly the scope of the television program was wide enough that its impact was felt by major political leaders—who, in turn, attributed to it changes in the political beliefs of their constituents. Doing textual analyses of individual episodes of the program might be a good place for a scholar to start. In looking at the show's informally pedagogical function, such readings would represent an important aspect of scholarship.

For the historian of informal education, though, such analyses represent a jumping-off point, not a conclusion. While informal educational history can (and emphatically *ought*) to be informed by work in literary and film studies, the particular concerns of the educational historian make the tools of the cultural and media studies fields necessary, but not entirely sufficient. Fitting the scholarship of *Will and Grace* as informal educational text in gay rights history would require textual analysis, in conjunction with consideration of the text within the political and educational context of its era, and evidence of its role in shaping the attitudes of the actors in those contexts. How to negotiate the varying and complex theoretical orientations of the historical, cultural studies, and media studies fields required to effectively create a piece of informal education history can be daunting and may be the reason for the relatively small number of studies focused primarily on informal education produced by the field.

As a community of scholars in the history of education, we need to widen our conversation about ways of treating educational institutions across the education and entertainment spectrum (if we choose to conceptualize the matter in this way) in order to use Cremin's broad conceptualization of the scope of the history of education to simultaneously broaden and enrich the field.

NOTES

1. Diana Silberman-Keller, "Toward the Characterization of Nonformal Pedagogy," paper presented at AERA, Chicago, April 2003, 7–9.
2. G. L. Freeman, "The Motion Picture and Informal Education," *Journal of Educational Sociology* 13, no. 5 (1940): 257–262.
3. Saul Carliner, "How Have Concepts of Informal Learning Developed over Time?," *Performance Improvement* 52, no. 3 (2013): 6.

4. Phillip C. Candy and R. Gay Crebert, "Ivory Tower to Concrete Jungle: The Difficult Transition from the Academy to the Workplace as Learning Environments," *Journal of Higher Education* 62, no. 5 (1991): 570–592.
5. Victoria J. Marsick, "Toward a Unifying Framework to Support Informal Learning Theory, Research, and Practice," *Journal of Workplace Learning* 21, no. 4 (2009): 265–275.
6. Adrea Lawrence, "Epic Learning in an Indian Pueblo: A Framework for Studying Multigenerational Learning in the History of Education," *History of Education Quarterly* 54, no. 3 (2014): 286–302.
7. Donald Warren, "American Indian Histories as Education History," *History of Education Quarterly* 54, no. 3 (2014): 255–285.
8. For one of many examples of Pacific Islanders, see Malcolm Naea Chun, *A'o Educational Tradition* (Honolulu, HI: Curriculum Research and Development Group, 2006).
9. For example, see Saylina Fevziye, "Some Critical Reflections on Lifelong Learning Policy in Turkey," *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies* 12, no. 3 (2014): 156–170; Sarah Bexell, Olga Jarrett, and Xu Ping, "The Effects of a Summer Camp Program in China on Children's Knowledge, Attitudes, and Behaviors toward Animals: A Model for Conservation Education," *Visitor Studies* 16, no. 1 (2013): 59–81.
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14. Rebecca Z. Grunzke, "Pedagogues for a New Age: Childrearing Practices of Unschooling Parents" (PhD dissertation, University of Florida, 2010), 43–45.
15. Charles Francis Adams, "Fiction in Public Libraries and Educational Catalogues," *Library Journal* 4 (1879): 330.
16. Lawrence A. Cremin, *American Education: The Metropolitan Experience, 1876–1980* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 360.
17. See, as an example, Anna D. Jaroszynska-Kirchmann's "Between Polish Positivism and American Capitalism, 1889–1914," *History of Education Quarterly* 48, no. 4 (2008).
18. See, for example, Eileen Tamura, "Value Messages Collide with Reality: Joseph Kurihara and the Power of Informal Education," *History of Education Quarterly* 50, no. 1 (2010): 1–33.
19. *Meet the Press*, NBC Broadcasting, May 6, 2012.

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CHAPTER 35

THE HISTORY OF TECHNOLOGY AND EDUCATION

SEVAN TERZIAN

THE subject of technology and education is seemingly boundless. One prominent dimension of this topic has entailed various devices and tools for learning, such as illustrated texts, film, radio, television, computers, mobile technologies, and social media. A second dimension has entailed technologies of instruction, “the branch of educational theory and practice primarily concerned with the design and use of messages which control the learning process.” Furthermore the Association for Educational Communication and Technology’s definition of educational technology introduced an explicitly normative stance by emphasizing the “ethical” aspects of examining and enlisting “appropriate technological processes and resources.” Conceivably, then, technology and education could encompass nearly every aspect of teaching and learning in and beyond schools. Despite the seemingly unlimited possibilities for inquiry, however, relatively few historians of education have investigated this multifaceted and fertile field.¹

A handful of pioneering works constitute valuable exceptions. Larry Cuban’s book, *Teachers and Machines*, traces the inconsistent and fleeting implementation of film, radio, and television in American schools. Martin Lawn and Ian Grosvenor’s edited volume, *Materialities of Schooling: Design, Technology, Objects, Routines*, characterizes educational technology as a “social construction” and “powerful discourse” about institutional authority, knowledge, and public health. Stephen Petrina’s essays explore the technological dimensions of teaching and the origins of teaching machines.²

Historical studies from researchers in the field of educational technology constitute the majority of scholarship on this subject. Most notably, Paul Saettler’s widely influential textbook, *The Evolution of American Educational Technology*, provides a detailed synthesis of developments in one nation. Articles by Robert Reiser more concisely trace histories of educational media and instructional design. Reiser argues that these two domains should be understood distinctly because “most of the practices related to instructional media have occurred independent of developments associated with instructional design.” Saettler’s and Reiser’s narratives suggest that the field of educational technology initially focused on the machines and media for instruction (such as film, radio, and television), without much

consideration for how educators implemented and students interacted with these resources. By the middle of the twentieth century, educational technology research had diversified its intellectual orientation by utilizing perspectives from neighboring disciplines, including psychology, communications studies, and systems engineering. In subsequent decades, educational technology researchers placed greater emphasis on the systematic design of learning environments to improve performance and less on the educational media and physical tools themselves.³

In an analogous sense, most historical accounts of technology and education placed greater attention on educational media and technological tools than on the processes of teaching and learning as technologies of instruction. Many of these histories also tended to construct narratives of progress—looking mostly at developments in North America—that conveyed a relatively uncritical acceptance of new technological artifacts and instructional paradigms. Often cast as retrospectives of a professional organization, some of these works have paid insufficient attention to the larger social, political, economic, and cultural factors that spawned various technological innovations and influenced their implementation. Generally speaking, historical studies of educational technology have tended to neglect how the use of technologies in different historical moments impacted particular groups of children and adults; explicit considerations of race, gender, and socioeconomic status have been largely lacking. These omissions have often obscured the differential consequences of these technologies for diverse groups. Opportunities therefore abound for historians to identify and examine the broader societal contexts that encouraged or inhibited the development and implementation of new educational technologies and to explore how these dynamics mitigated, perpetuated, or exacerbated enduring problems in education.

EDUCATIONAL MEDIA AND INSTRUCTIONAL TOOLS

The earliest examples of educational media are difficult to pinpoint and may well date to prehistoric cave paintings of bison. In ancient Greek and Roman societies, models of the earth and constellations, ivory letters and writing practice boards, and computation devices like the abacus were occasionally used. More modern antecedents of electronic instructional tools have included illustrated texts, most notably the *Orbis Pictus*, a visual aid textbook for teaching Latin and the sciences first published in 1658 by the Czech theologian and educator Johann Amos Comenius. Textbooks of various forms subsequently appeared in formal educational settings in Europe and America. Although some scholars claimed that very little technology impacted education in Colonial America, there is plentiful evidence that students and teachers utilized a host of technologies, including spelling books, hornbooks, and textbooks such as the *New England Primer* and *Orbis Pictus*. Often reflecting emerging philosophical ideas about childhood and development from Comenius and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, illustrated texts aimed to provide tangible representations of abstract concepts. By the nineteenth century, mass production and distribution fueled the immense popularity of illustrated texts in American schools, including Noah Webster's *Blue Back* spelling book, William Holmes McGuffey's *Readers*, and John W. Draper's *Human Physiology*.⁴

Both the advent of group instruction and the emerging view that children learned best from manipulating tangible objects encouraged the implementation of additional visual media in formal educational settings. During the relatively brief heyday of monitorial schools in the early nineteenth century U.S., for instance, handheld slates, sand tables, wall charts, and blackboards permitted hundreds of students simultaneously to practice writing, spelling, and computation in the absence of more costly writing tools and books. Blackboards originated in Scotland in the early 1800s and increasingly facilitated both group instruction and student recitations. In American mathematics teaching, tools to foster conceptual understanding included the abacus and cube root block, and devices for efficient computation included the protractor and slide rule. The spelling stick—"a grooved piece of wood with a handle on it"—allowed a student to manipulate letters for composing a word or phrase. Globes, maps, and wall charts, meanwhile, became less expensive and more widely available to schools by the end of the nineteenth century. Other educational materials included language builder-boxes of letters or words, geometrical blocks, clay and wax models, peg boards, embroidery design cards, folding paper, number tablets, clock dials, toy money, and colored disks representing fractions.⁵

Mass production and the industrialization of Western societies yielded new technological tools for instruction and justified novel educational practices. Most notably the cheap manufacturing and distribution of paper and pencils displaced slates and chalk and would facilitate the implementation of standardized tests. Examinations belonged to an emerging quest to unify diverse American certification procedures and evaluations of student aptitude and achievement, especially by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Standardized tests themselves constituted a new kind of educational technology and rested on emerging claims among psychologists that a student's intelligence could be measured precisely. The American psychologist Lewis Terman's creation of the Stanford-Binet examination in 1916 popularized the intelligence quotient, the quantified relationship between one's mental and chronological ages. During World War I the U.S. Army enlisted new group tests of intelligence to measure the qualifications of nearly 2 million soldiers. Shortly following the war, American psychologists modified these examinations for use in the nation's schools.

For some educators, the results of these intelligence examinations justified grouping students into different curricula and levels of academic rigor according to their measured ability: to distinguish the "gifted" from the "feeble-minded." Efficiently administered multiple-choice assessments that machines could grade quickly also appealed to school officials. Various forms of standardized examinations became commonplace with the global expansion of schooling in the twentieth century. The proliferation and diversification of computers in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries facilitated new forms of educational testing as well. In many societies, mechanisms such as these shaped the educational opportunities and careers of multiple generations of youth.⁶

International expositions and world's fairs frequently promoted various educational innovations and tools. Children's and educational museums in American cities such as St. Louis, Chicago, New York, Cleveland, and Philadelphia became more permanent educational resources, emphasizing visual tools for learning. These, in turn, prompted the first traveling school museums in the United States in the first decade of the twentieth century. A school district might create movable exhibits, stereographs, slides, films, study prints, and charts to be delivered to schools on a rotating basis to supplement existing curricula. School museums could feature biological specimens, dioramas, paintings, and models. Specialized

resources such as these were typically more available to schools in cities and more densely populated regions.⁷

Moving pictures began making their way into schools in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Powered by the electric light bulb, the “magic lantern” or stereoscope projected photographs in the classroom. The booming popularity of silent films in the early twentieth century led some to claim that such tools could improve student learning. Some school reformers embraced the possibilities of educational film as tangible, accessible, exciting, and time-efficient alternatives to orations and printed texts. In 1913 Thomas Edison declared, “Books will soon be obsolete in the schools. Scholars will soon be instructed through the eye. It is possible to teach every branch of human knowledge with the motion picture.” Edison confidently predicted, “Our school system will be completely changed in ten years.” By the second decade of the twentieth century, educational film catalogs had appeared in England and the United States, while a school in France utilized silent films in science instruction. Numerous film production initiatives by educational institutions, foundations, and commercial organizations spawned new visual education libraries with prospects for widespread distribution and implementation in American schools. By the early 1930s a host of larger school districts in the United States had invested in this form of visual education, and twenty-five states had established offices for educational film and media by 1931. Nascent research on the relative effectiveness of audiovisual education in the classroom touted its various benefits, including motivating students to learn and efficiently presenting abstract concepts in concrete and accessible forms. Some have argued that this field of research in educational technology was closely linked to capitalist values and corporate interests and often uncritically advocated for the enlistment of new technologies in the classroom.

Despite these technological innovations, the impact of films on education proved to be modest. Frequently costly and under attack from the entertainment industry as unwanted competition, educational films were in low demand. In addition, ventures in educational film often failed financially, so their availability was unpredictable. Because such technologies appeared to align too closely with profit motives or entertainment values, moreover, many educators expressed apprehension about utilizing them in the classroom. The subsequent advent of sound in films also alarmed some educators, who feared that narration would weaken their pedagogical authority. Furthermore teacher utilization remained limited, as films and projectors proved costly, unreliable in quality, and difficult to obtain. The severe economic conditions of the Great Depression during the 1930s exacerbated these problems.

Beyond schools, the U.S. government increasingly developed and utilized educational films. One purpose was to elicit public support for various agricultural and New Deal programs in the 1930s. An even more prominent initiative involved the military. These efforts had begun in the Navy and War departments during World War I and had matured substantially by the start of World War II. The federal government’s Division of Visual Aids for War Training began in 1941 to prepare civilians to work in war production industries as part of all-out mobilization. The U.S. military also created roughly four hundred films and six hundred filmstrips to train millions of soldiers rapidly for various specialized roles. It pioneered the utilization of new technologies such as overhead and slide projectors (to train people in aircraft and ship recognition), audio equipment (to teach foreign languages), and flight simulators. At the same time, the federal government commissioned Hollywood

directors and studios to produce a series of propaganda films about the war, the most notable of which was director Frank Capra's *Why We Fight*. The National Film Board of Canada's documentary series, *Canada Carries On*, fulfilled a similar purpose.

The development and unprecedented utilization of instructional films during World War II would legitimize their use in schools in the postwar era. In the United States, new federal education programs such as the National Defense Education Act and Elementary and Secondary Education Act also stimulated filmmaking initiatives. Popular concerns about juvenile delinquency in the postwar era prompted the creation of mental hygiene films as well. These resources promised a kind of social engineering through lessons about proper social behaviors and problems to avoid. In the larger political context of the cold war, the U.S. Information Agency's Motion Picture Service created and disseminated films to nations globally that touted the virtues of democracy and capitalism. Eventually closed-circuit television and new forms of public broadcasting would supersede educational films.⁸

The rapid proliferation of radio after World War I presented new possibilities for both classroom instruction and adult education. School radio programs began in Canada and England in the mid-1920s. By the mid-1930s various forms of educational radio had emerged throughout most of Europe, Australia, Japan, South Africa, and India. Japan inaugurated nationwide school radio broadcasts in 1935. In the United States a host of noncommercial university radio stations established "schools of the air." Home study courses and radio correspondence courses also emerged. Land-grant institutions envisioned such programs as part of agricultural extension and a quest to stimulate rural economies. For example, a long-running program by Iowa State University, *The Homemakers' Half Hour*, sought to teach female listeners about the mechanics, operation, and repair of new household appliances. In other instances, broadcasts of public lectures and musical recitals aimed to expose listeners in geographically isolated locations to elements of "high culture." These sorts of educational initiatives through radio programming provided a kind of formal schooling through the airwaves.

Numerous attempts to incorporate radio broadcasts in the American classroom also aimed to supplement traditional instructional practices. Benjamin Darrow, creator of the Ohio School of the Air, proclaimed that radio would "bring the world to the classroom... [and] make universally available the services of the finest teachers, the inspiration of the greatest leaders... and unfolding world events which through the radio may come as a vibrant and challenging textbook of the air." Haaren High School in New York City pioneered efforts to teach accounting classes through radio starting in 1923. Schools in Oakland, California, taught radio lessons in penmanship, while the *Little Red Schoolhouse* program on a Chicago station featured children and teachers discussing automobiles, farming, and science. Various science and art museums inaugurated radio broadcasts about their collections intended for schoolchildren as well. Programs on commercial networks like NBC's *Music Appreciation Hour*, CBS's *American School of the Air*, and *World Radio University* on a shortwave station near Boston could reach both schoolchildren and adults. As radio receivers became more reliable and affordable, the possibilities of utilizing this technology in classroom instruction appeared unbounded.

A host of factors nonetheless limited the impact of radio in schools. The overwhelmingly commercial nature of radio broadcasting in the United States rendered many nonprofit and educational initiatives vulnerable and fleeting. The economic crises of the Great Depression compelled many educational stations to close by the end of the 1930s. Many professional

educators were apprehensive about the commercial and entertainment aspects of popular radio broadcasts. This tension resembled an ongoing struggle between scientists and commercial radio operators that ultimately compromised efforts to inform the public about science through that medium. Finally, the format and scheduling of radio programs were rarely convenient for the typical routines of the school day, particularly in secondary schools. By the 1940s commercial radio stations and networks had terminated the vast majority of their educational programs.⁹

As television gradually displaced radio in the decades following World War II, a series of initiatives aimed to enlist this new medium for the classroom (instructional television) and public enlightenment (educational television). Regarding the former, the Canadian Broadcasting Company began launching school broadcasts in the early 1950s. The British Broadcasting Company (BBC) developed instructional programs used by more than four-fifths of England's schools by the mid-1970s. In the United States, federal and foundational support yielded a host of controlled experiments in instructional television in a quest for more rigor and pedagogical innovation in an era of teacher shortages and political tensions arising from the cold war. Through the technologies of classroom television and programmed instruction, advocates argued, exemplary teachers could reach millions of learners in schools. Prominent examples include the *Midwest Program on Airborne Television*, closed-circuit television instruction in the schools of Hagerstown, Maryland, and Chicago's junior colleges, and a wholesale implementation of televised instruction in the schools of American Samoa. The results of these efforts, however, were decidedly modest. Teachers rarely played formative roles in the development and delivery of instructional television. Many professional educators viewed it to be of mediocre quality, an imposition on their authority, and incongruent with the curriculum and classroom management practices. As a result, when foundation support for instructional television diminished by the mid-1960s, most schools lacked the resources or the desire to sustain it.

Educational television was more broadly conceived as aiming to reach general audiences beyond schools. Programs featured lectures, interviews, documentaries, and dramatizations of various subjects. UNESCO and the Ford Foundation sought to use educational television to modernize developing nations. Educational television could reach and engage with remote and disadvantaged learners. Funded programs in India, for instance, aimed to disseminate techniques and scientific concepts for better farming. In 1952 the U.S. government reserved 242 television channels for educational purposes. Fifteen years later the Public Broadcasting Act would construct public television stations, investigate the possibilities of educational programming, and create a nonprofit educational corporation that would become the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS). In promoting this legislation, President Lyndon Johnson characterized educational television as "a vital public resource to enrich our homes, to educate our families, and to provide assistance in our classrooms." New forms of children's programming through PBS stations and the Children's Television Workshop, most notably *Sesame Street* and *The Electric Company*, subsequently emerged.¹⁰

Electronic computers—networked, portable, and accessible—incorporated features from many earlier educational media, including textbooks, maps, film, radio, and television. Indeed computers have become such an integral part of modern-day schooling that it can be difficult to envision eras without them or to trace their educational antecedents. One of the earliest examples of computers in the classrooms was Sidney Pressey's Automatic Teacher of the 1920s and 1930s. This device presented incrementally more difficult multiple-choice

questions to which a student responded by pressing one of four keys. Pressey hoped that his apparatus would relieve teachers of routine tasks and that students would be able to drill and test themselves. Despite these aspirations, the Automatic Teacher proved to be a commercial failure.

In the years following World War II, a handful of American universities created the first electronic computer mainframes. New educational applications soon followed. The IBM 650 Inquiry Station taught binary arithmetic in the 1950s. A decade later researchers at Stanford University developed IBM's 1500 Computer Assisted Instruction system for teaching reading and mathematics to schoolchildren and military personnel. At the University of Illinois, the Programmed Logic for Automatic Teaching Operations (PLATO) provided instructional programs and offered contact hours for multiple users to access a computer terminal simultaneously. The PLATO system began as a typewriter with a closed-circuit television monitor that displayed sequences of subject matter content (an electronic book) and students' responses to questions (an electronic blackboard). Continued federal support for computing in education through the National Science Foundation in the late 1960s led to the creation of thirty regional computing networks encompassing three hundred academic institutions. The expense and relative inaccessibility of mainframe computers, however, meant that these early educational initiatives had a negligible impact on classroom instruction.

The advent of the microcomputer in the 1970s—with portability, increased memory, and lower costs—presented new possibilities for computer-assisted instruction. Brigham Young University inaugurated Time-shared, Interactive, Computer-Controlled, Information Television, which provided students with terminal microcomputers containing individual television monitors. Handheld electronic calculators gradually displaced the slide rule as a computational tool. The popular notion that computer programs could facilitate student learning encouraged the proliferation of microcomputers in American elementary and secondary schools by the 1980s. It was estimated that in 1983 more than 40 percent of elementary schools and more than 75 percent of secondary schools used computers for instruction in some capacity. By the end of that decade, Luxembourg, Switzerland, the Netherlands, France, the United States, and parts of Canada averaged one computer per classroom.

In these years before the internet explosion, the actual implementation of computers in classroom instruction remained inconsistent. In particular, students overwhelmingly spent time learning about how to operate computers rather than learning academic subjects by using computers. Furthermore computers were typically enlisted for didactic purposes like drill and practice and, in secondary schools, for students to gain experience in word processing. In the United Kingdom, conflicting priorities of political advocates and professional educators limited the use of computers in schools. While politicians began to associate student computer use with national welfare, international competitiveness, and learning gains, most teachers remained skeptical and were reluctant to alter their pedagogy substantially.

Writing in 1986, Cuban acknowledged that computers were in some ways qualitatively different from earlier examples of technological tools in the classroom, such as film, radio, and television. In citing the relatively limited implementation of computer instruction, however, Cuban predicted that no more than 5 percent of instructional time would eventually be devoted to the use of computers. The subsequent ubiquity of computing through networks, the World Wide Web, and mobile devices ultimately rendered such predictions obsolete and transformed the presence of computers in instruction in unprecedented ways

through much of the world. Yet questions remain about the extent to which technological innovations fundamentally altered traditional learning environments—whether in the physical classroom or online medium. As Bill Ferster suggested, although machines radically transformed many aspects of daily living over the past century, “a nineteenth-century visitor would feel quite at home in a modern classroom.”¹¹

TECHNOLOGIES OF INSTRUCTION

Beyond the evolution of various physical tools and media, the history of technology in education has involved the design of instructional settings and study of processes through which learning takes place. Most research on educational technology in the early twentieth century focused primarily on the relative impact of machines on student learning: film (and projectors) and radio (and receivers). The Association for Educational Communications and Technology (AECT) reported in 1977 that one of the shortcomings of the early visual education movement had been “its emphasis on the materials themselves, with a lack of emphasis on the design, development, production, evaluation, and management of the materials.” Research on educational media during the interwar decades focused on the possible uses of educational films, the power of the visual image in children’s memory, and the effectiveness of radio broadcasts on students’ understanding. In other words, few studies investigated how teachers utilized educational media in the classroom—as potentially significant variables in determining student engagement and learning.

That singular focus broadened by midcentury, in part because of a flurry of experiments conducted by the U.S. military on the relative effectiveness of visual and audio training of personnel during and immediately following World War II. In 1949, for instance, *Experiments on Mass Communication* explored the persuasiveness of the *Why We Fight* orientation films on soldiers. Social psychologists conducted propaganda studies, public opinion polls, and audience measurement in highlighting processes of communication in teaching and learning. Rather than examining the material artifacts of instruction, researchers in educational technology began to consider how information was disseminated from various sources (including educators and media) to recipients (learners). Out of this new orientation, scholars characterized teaching and learning as being largely about the transmission of messages. By 1963 the Department of Audio Visual Instruction’s redefinition of instructional technology placed greater emphasis on the messages and media instrumentation in educational settings and less on materials and machines. According to this view, student learning would improve by isolating and fixing weak parts of the communication chain and reinforcing messages through repetition and improved feedback.

By midcentury the field of educational technology increasingly attended to the processes of teaching and learning. In the United States, behaviorist psychology was especially influential. The teaching machines developed by Pressey in the 1920s and 1930s, and their subsequent revival through the ideas of psychologist B. F. Skinner, focused on using media to reinforce learners’ behavior. The conviction that controlled learning environments determined student behavior had many educational implications. For some, as Stephen Petrina explained, the modern school’s features were far-reaching: “The new flooring would aid in concentration; new desks would lengthen attention spans, and

heating and ventilation systems would maintain high rates of attendance; and nutritional lunches would found clear thinking.”¹²

It was in this climate favoring operant conditioning that the programmed instruction movement became especially prominent in the postwar-era United States. For animal behaviorists like Skinner, learning proceeded in small, sequential steps. Therefore new instructional material should be presented as distinct “frames” to elicit the proper student “response” that would be “reinforced” through “feedback.” This, in turn, meant that behavioral objectives in instruction must be identified explicitly at the outset and that frequent learner responses were needed to guide instruction and to gauge student comprehension. Programmed instruction also favored individualized teaching for fostering and measuring a student’s progress. By the early 1960s much of the field of educational technology assumed this behaviorist stance. Prominent research strands investigated how best to apply a stimulus-response-reinforcement model of learning to assure specific student outcomes. Educational technology thus expanded its intellectual terrain by applying scientific theories of learning to teaching and utilizing communications media and tools.

The influence of behaviorist psychology was neither universal nor unchallenged, however. Behaviorism gained far less traction in Western Europe than in North America. Some criticized the behaviorist orientation in educational technology for unduly diminishing learner agency and the salience of cultural and linguistic contexts. In practice, moreover, the customized learning that programmed instruction promised proved to be elusive. The organization and management of schools was typically oriented to the education of large groups with teachers as the central authority. Instruction from machines tailored for individual learners who proceeded at their own pace often seemed out of place. By the late 1960s the behaviorist movement appeared to be in decline. There was little indication of programmed instruction’s effectiveness relative to conventional teaching methods. It also became evident that many students were disengaged and found the instruction tiresome. Some students’ growing demands to determine their own learning goals may have weakened behaviorist learning objectives. New conceptions of teaching and learning began to question theories of operant conditioning.¹³

By the 1970s and 1980s cognitive psychology had emerged as a powerful alternative to behaviorism in the field of educational technology. Rejecting the idea that stimulus-response sufficiently approximated the complexity of human behavior, cognitive learning theories instead focused on the active processes of thinking. Looking beyond observable behavior, cognitive psychologists aimed to understand how people processed information and structured knowledge. According to this view, behaviorism had incorrectly characterized learners as passive in absorbing and responding to stimuli in predictable ways. Cognitive theories, by contrast, treated learners as active negotiators of information through experience, language, and other techniques of comprehension to solve problems. For cognitive theorists, the elements of mental processing included a sensory register, short-term memory, and long-term memory. All of this influenced how people designated significance, recalled relevant information, and established generalizations. The mind’s organization of knowledge was neither linear nor sequential (as behaviorists had assumed) but hierarchical and oriented to the resolution of problems. Cognitive theories of learning, then, directed educational technology to questions about how learners enlist knowledge to interpret what they are taught, what mental constructs learners already have in place, and how instruction should be designed accordingly. The advent of increasingly powerful digital computers

simultaneously presented new tools for simulating these complex processes of human problem-solving.¹⁴

Constructivism emerged in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries as a prominent alternative to cognitive and behaviorist theories of learning. Rather than focusing on the learner's internal mental representations, constructivism emphasized the active construction of knowledge and skills by engaging with one's environment and modifying one's mental models accordingly. Radical constructivists and socioconstructivists rejected the notion that knowledge corresponded to a universal reality or that learners existed distinctly from their environments. Instead learners attributed meaning based on their particular contexts. In other words, knowledge was contingent on an individual's particular set of experiences rather than a set of static and universally true facts.¹⁵

By characterizing the learner as active in the pursuit and construction of knowledge, constructivism justified student-centered pedagogies of various sorts and encouraged the utilization of emergent technologies to those ends. The explosion of digital media in recent decades, for instance, presented scholars in the field of educational technology with new tools to simulate and facilitate collaborative problem-solving. These included WebQuests, problem-based learning, simulated learning settings, educational games, and interactive blogs. New technologies of this sort promised to facilitate social negotiation among students and teachers, represent knowledge in various forms, and encourage students to assume active roles in their learning while heightening their awareness of how knowledge is constructed.

It is worth noting that none of these theories of learning is regarded as authoritative. Many of the underlying assumptions behind behaviorist, cognitivist, and constructivist perspectives remain prominent, and researchers in educational technology continue to enlist them in making sense of how people learn and the implications for instruction.

Advances in communications technology have mitigated physical barriers to learning. Historians of educational technology point to Sir Isaac Pitman's correspondence courses in shorthand in 1840s England as the earliest example of distance education. Other correspondence courses appeared later in the nineteenth century in Germany and the United States. The fledgling Soviet Union implemented correspondence education as part of all of its universities by the late 1920s. In the United States, Chicago's junior colleges launched television broadcasts of course curricula in 1956. In 1969 the United Kingdom's Open University began combining printed curricular materials with radio and television broadcasts. This institution, in partnership with the BBC, was open to all, granted degrees, and enrolled tens of thousands of students. Assigned tutors conferred with students by telephone and occasionally in face-to-face group meetings. This institutional model inspired similar ventures in Hong Kong, Bangladesh, and South Korea. In the 1970s and 1980s four additional open universities started in Europe, with twenty more in other parts of the globe.

The launching of commercial satellites beginning in the 1970s accelerated this educational movement by establishing more reliable channels of communication spanning great distances. Open universities eventually spawned schools of unprecedented size, including China's TV University System, the French Centre National d'Enseignement à Distance, Indira Gandhi National Open University, and Indonesia Universitas Terbuka. Anadolu University of Turkey alone enrolled more than half a million students simultaneously. Traditional institutions of higher education also developed distance learning programs to extend their reach, primarily through correspondence. By the end of the twentieth century,

roughly one-fourth of all higher education institutions in the United States offered distance education programs that led to a degree.

The rise of the internet and the rapid expansion of learning at a distance through digital computers in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries therefore followed a long history of distance education. Nonetheless emerging electronic communication networks, remote databases, and learning management systems—coupled with mobile computing devices—presented new possibilities for students to interact with their instructors, learning materials, and each other. Existing institutions of higher education began to develop web-based courses and, increasingly, degree programs. In North America, Boise State University and the University of British Columbia were among the pioneers. At the same time, exclusively online and for-profit institutions emerged to compete for a market share of students. For some schoolchildren in the United States, state-sponsored virtual schools presented new alternatives in the burgeoning realm of homeschooling. Globally the proportion of students studying at a distance dramatically increased.

These technological developments presented a host of implications for education. As early as 1990 Saettler recognized that these new systems required teams of nonteaching personnel, “counselors, psychologists, curriculum consultants, research workers, librarians, media specialists.” The rise of distance education heightened the need for distance course developers and designers and further aligned the field of educational technology with informatics. Both within and beyond formal educational settings, as Nicholas Burbules explains, the potential for learning became “ubiquitous . . . in unexpected and unplanned moments.” Learning became “ubiquitous” because new technologies allowed people to learn virtually anywhere and anytime, which connected people to each other in unprecedented ways and conflated boundaries between work and leisure and between public and private domains. Because it is often asynchronous and customized for learner convenience, Burbules argues, “online education is not just a new delivery system, but a changing set of relations between teacher and student, between learner and subject matter.” It remains for future scholars to determine the extent to which these dramatic innovations from distance education confirm or contradict prevailing narratives of the history of technology in education.¹⁶

CONCLUSION

Various media and theories of learning have shaped technologically enhanced learning environments in innumerable ways. At the same time, the fields of learning theory and educational technology have not sufficiently informed each other. It has been primarily psychologists and cognitive scientists—not social foundations of education scholars (much less historians)—who have considered the various implications of technology for education. Some have encouraged the pursuit of nascent lines of inquiry under the social foundations umbrella about the digital divide, how new technologies can shape social behavior, the commercial dimensions of the internet, and the dystopian implications of such developments. Historians could begin by recognizing and analyzing the classroom as a deliberately constructed learning environment. As the site for housing technological tools, the classroom itself has been a technologically designed artifact. Technological innovations that yielded printed texts, chalk, electric lights, and classroom wall charts had profound consequences for how teachers taught and how students learned. Various instructional tools

therefore have facilitated and justified particular pedagogies and social relations among students and teachers over various alternatives.¹⁷

Historians of education can benefit from such recommendations. Most historical scholarship on technology in education has focused primarily on educational media and machines. It has tended to address trends in North America (in particular, the United States) and, despite some valuable exceptions, has largely yielded relatively uncritical narratives of progress. It is therefore timely for historians of education to investigate how larger political, economic, and cultural forces fueled technological research and the various applications of technology to learning from the past to the present. In such a manner, historical research promises to highlight more precisely what appears to have been at stake in the development and implementation of educational technologies—and what the various consequences have been for different groups of children and adults throughout the world.

NOTES

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CHAPTER 36

THE HISTORY OF TRANSNATIONAL AND COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

MARCELO CARUSO

WHEN in 1843 Théodore Fritz, a professor at the Faculty of Theology at the University of Strasbourg (France) and a member of the regional inspectorate of primary schools, published his voluminous work on the universal history of education, he did not hide the close links between nation and education emerging in his lifetime. After a long account on education in individual nations, Fritz alleged, “Among the nations that have made the most laudable efforts for improving the state of popular education in our time, France merits to take one of the most distinguished ranks.” Fritz followed the close link between writing the history of education and a rather assertive nationalism that scholars like Friedrich Ernst Ruhkopf had already displayed at the end of the eighteenth century. Ruhkopf had published his *Geschichte des Schul- und Erziehungswesens in Deutschland von der Einführung des Christentums bis auf die neuesten Zeiten* (*History of Education and Schools in Germany from the Introduction of Christendom until Today*) and affirmed a political and cultural entity called “Germany” when its emergence as a modern nation was both distant and unrealistic. The link between the nation and education accompanied the emergence of the history of education as a scholarly endeavor from its very origins. Even in the United States the emergence of the history of education became a national task, as the thirty-six-volume series *Contributions to American Educational History*, published between 1887 and 1900 by the U.S. Bureau of Education, shows.¹

One immediate outcome of the centrality of the modern nation-state in educational history was to direct attention to developments in other “nations.” To be sure, the first systematic draft for a comparative inquiry on educational systems, institutions, and practices, Marc Antoine Jullien de Paris’s *Esquisse et vues préliminaires d’un ouvrage sur l’éducation comparée* (1817), focused on Swiss cantons, not on nations. Studies from the late nineteenth century onward, however, adopted the nation as the main point of reference for comparative

purposes. The long tradition of writing the history of other countries' educational systems was certainly not comparative research in a strict sense. Nonetheless studying the development of educational institutions and practices in other contexts was often implicitly comparative, as many works approached foreign history as a way of analyzing their own educational past. International research in the history of education, like comparative education in general, was integrated into the dynamics of educational reform. In the second half of the twentieth century, studies increasingly used more genuine comparative frameworks when looking at developments in other nations. These works, informed by social science research designs, still assumed the nation as the critical unit in analyzing educational pasts as well. Whether more implicitly as international education, or in its more sophisticated version as sociological comparative research, comparative education has augmented the role of the nation as a frame of reference.

In the latter part of the twentieth century, historical scholarship in general, and the history of education in particular, grew skeptical with regard to the analytical value of the nation. This resulted from a series of interlinked changes. First, developments after World War II had clearly shown that international organizations had become leaders in shaping education around the world. Even if nations remained central actors, their legitimacy and, increasingly, the adoption of priorities in educational policy involved interstate understanding. Second, the simultaneity of educationally relevant political and social processes such as decolonization in Asia and Africa, insurgency in Latin America, youth and liberation movements in industrialized countries, and the rise of neoliberal reforms suggested the importance of transnational interconnectedness. Third, the revolution in global communications dramatically sharpened and multiplied the connective and synchronizing effects presaged by television decades before. With the new interconnectedness of production and commerce these new possibilities led to a reassessment of the role and significance of nation-states.²

The immediate impact of these changes was a new trend in historical research related to transnational history. Without discarding the nation as a crucial context for explaining educational continuity and change, cross-border developments attracted scholarly attention to an unprecedented degree. Antecedents of transnational developments in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as international congresses, early forms of educational transfer, traveling in search of models of educational reform, and transcultural processes within and beyond nations, were rediscovered as substantial elements of the history of education. Transnational and global history links to the nation in a slightly different way than the comparative approach. It not only deals with cross-border phenomena but explicitly looks for explanations beyond the nation. This includes global macroprocesses as well as phenomena like diasporas, which often may be localized but incomprehensible from a national point of view.

International and comparative perspectives share a focus on the nation that eventually leads—not always deliberately—to a valorization of the nation as the crucial framing for explaining educational developments. Yet the newer transnational history explicitly challenges the notion of the national to a certain degree. This distinction between the comparative/international and the transnational approach, while admittedly not being completely clear, allows for a differentiating of the intellectual endeavors scripting the different approaches, the contexts of their emergence, and some of their effects on scholarly discourses.

THE COMPARATIVE AND THE INTERNATIONAL: PROCESS AND APPROACH

The noncasual observation of alien cultures has long been a customary feature of literate traditions, and accounts of otherness were constitutive of their identity. However, although travelers reported on cultures and costumes as well as animals and technologies, education is almost completely absent from early travel accounts. Whereas the first Chinese traveler to today's Ethiopia described aspects of medicinal practices, he largely ignored education. Similarly, the explorer Ibn Battuta, a fourteenth-century Moroccan, recorded very few impressions of schools and education during his extensive journeys in Asia. It appears that educational practices and schools entered the accounts of travelers only under specific circumstances, as in the work of Friar Bernardino de Sahagun in early Colonial Mexico and the observations of the Jesuits in China. All these reports presented a considerable amount of "othering," including its disparaging and idealizing versions.³

Niklas Luhmann has suggested that a clear distinction existed between early forms of observation and truly comparative perspectives. In the comparative approach emerging at the end of the eighteenth century, other cultures appeared to be contingent forms of social organization just like that of the observer. The relativizing of culture and context became a central feature of systematic comparative research, even if the home culture still was perceived as superior. Under these conditions, the observation of other cultures and groups, increasingly described as "nations," gave way to a systematic comparative approach in many fields. In philology, law, and religion, the comparative approach was crucial for their status as modern disciplines, with scholarship partly inspired by the natural sciences. In particular, the emergence of the comparative method allowed an improvement and extension of empirical research. Comparative approaches seemed to contribute to structuring a growing body of knowledge. Marc Antoine Jullien's *Esquisse* is a good example of these tendencies. On the one hand, the structure of his work was a detailed survey of the realities of education in both familiar and institutional settings. In this sense, he proposed to approach education with a "scientific" outlook and he focused on empirical findings. On the other hand, he also attempted to make generalizations and to advance theoretical insights as a new way of constructing theories, beyond mere speculation and normative purposes. No matter how much this pioneering work has been celebrated as the origin of comparative education as a scholarly endeavor, a rather pragmatic interest in educational reforms prevailed in the nineteenth century at the cost of this more systematic approach.⁴

At least two trends accelerated international reporting on schools and educational practices for the purpose of domestic reforms. One was the Swiss pedagogical scene, where not only the much admired Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi worked, but also other reformers such as Phillip Emanuel von Fellenberg and Jean-Baptist Girard. On a larger scale, the English monitorial system of education and its adoption in France and other countries unleashed a truly transcontinental wave of direct observation related to pedagogical reform. One of its most interesting episodes involved Joseph Hamel, a Russian chemist who visited normal schools in London, reported their advantages to Tsar Alexander I, and was ordered to expand his studies. The result was the publication of his comprehensive work on the history

and characteristics of the system of mutual instruction in German, French, and Russian in 1818 and 1819, its translation into Italian in 1819, and an attempt to translate it into Spanish. Furthermore works published in different countries reported the “inexorable” progress of the monitorial system, reinforcing its diffusion.⁵

International observation after the 1830s, although still largely comprising travel accounts, focused on topics beyond innovation in pedagogies. This second wave examined the realm of educational policy. It also shifted the focus to central European and northwestern European countries, particularly Prussia, credited with a record of consistent policies of educational reform in structures and governance. The French philosopher Victor Cousin looked at Germany and Holland in order to advance domestic policy recommendations for both primary and secondary schools. Cousin’s reports circulated across Europe; the report on Prussia was translated into German and English, and the English translation was swiftly reprinted in New York. Subsequent literature on education extensively quoted from his reports, which in the United States were credited as the crucial inspiration for establishing public school systems in Michigan and elsewhere. Taking into account that Italian and Spanish elites avidly read this kind of French literature, it is possible to characterize Germany’s—particularly Prussia’s—increasing ascendancy as a model educational state as being partly of French invention.⁶

Reports on education strongly favored Prussia for some decades. German states stood for a long time as paramount examples of effective state regulation. Even in France, which often experienced tensions with this emerging continental power in the nineteenth century, this referencing remained unavoidable. More than twenty of the one hundred educational missions sent abroad by the French Ministry of Public Instruction between 1842 and 1914 focused on Germany. Additional proof of its appeal was Horace Mann’s plea for adopting similar governance approaches in Massachusetts. He extensively reported on his journey to Europe in 1843, and his quite positive view of the Prussian system, dissociated from the monarchical and authoritarian Prussian government, may have helped the cause of a tax-based school system with professional teacher training and a state board of education, and even included the pioneering introduction of compulsory school attendance in Massachusetts in 1853. In campaigning for this program, Mann’s reports pointing at Prussia as his main reference constructed a decontextualized model of progress as being both desirable and inexorable.

Not all travelers viewed the Prussian system in such a positive light, however. Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, an Argentinean in the service of the Chilean government and the director of the first institution of teacher training in South America, admired the state of German schools and pedagogy. He despised at the same time the possible introduction of Prussian reforms and political institutions, considering them incompatible with republican order. Yet the Prussian-inspired governance and structuring of education in New England had an impact on republican South America as well: Sarmiento met Mann in 1847 and became an admirer of the North American common schools, a relatively new institution that Sarmiento elevated as the republican reform model par excellence.⁷

A turning point in the dynamics of looking to other nations for reform was the beginning of Westernization in Japan after 1868. Earlier examples of educational import in non-Western countries existed, but this time it was about the structuring of comprehensive modern educational systems. The Meiji emperor imported whole reform sets, including compulsory attendance, extended schooling, comprehensive regulations through laws and decrees,

effective administrative apparatuses in a national ministry, and the establishment of modern university education and research, among others. All this represented a strategic link between the strengthening of the nation and education in a context increasingly marked by economic and political competition in the international arena. These policies consistently looked abroad in search of models. In a first move, Japanese officials preferred the North American type of common schooling and teacher training, and they consistently recruited experts from the U.S. Yet conservative factions within the government eschewed the democratic and republican orientation of the U.S. system. This, in turn, stimulated interest in German and Prussian schools, deemed better vehicles for a nationalistic agenda and more compatible with neo-Confucian traditions.

Such oscillating efforts between imitation and self-assertion often resulted in a conflicting and hybridizing introduction of Westernized education, as the instructive case of Egypt illustrates. A largely autonomous province within the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century, Egypt systematically imported Western knowledge and techniques and focused on the renewal of higher education. Between 1826 and 1863 almost five hundred students were sent to Paris, London, and Berlin in order to learn more about modern scientific disciplines. At the level of elementary education, monitorial schools were established in Cairo. Yet these initiatives were scattered in scope, discontinuous in intensity, and far from building a completely modern system of education. Until today the new imported educational institutions coexisted with rather traditional ones, forming what historiography has called, possibly too simply, a dual system of education. In these and other cases, national governments on the periphery organized and paid for these transfers of institutional knowledge. At the same time, further processes of Westernization in modern educational structures of a quite different nature were under way, particularly in colonial Asia and Africa.⁸

An additional form of observation of the developments in other nation-states surfaced in the mid-nineteenth century, adding to comparative insights: world exhibitions. Starting in London in 1851, these fairs combined themes of advancement and progress with displays of “national” particularities and often had exhibits dedicated to education. The world exhibition in Vienna in 1873 even had a special focus on culture and education. Such exhibitions multiplied in time to include other international fairs with a stronger regional character. These events stimulated additional traveling and reporting across nations. They were grand social events that attracted wide audiences. The display of educational progress, including ad hoc reports, materials, and the reconstruction of classrooms, suggested the possibility of making direct comparisons of different systems in a “compressed” time and space. This exceeded the implicit possibilities for comparison in travel accounts and other reports on education in other nations. Even if exhibitions featured rosy reports and boosterism, they helped to make large-scale comparisons appear somewhat realistic.⁹

With regard to internationalization, a series of institutional and pedagogical concepts transcended their “national” origins. These included, among others, Froebel’s kindergarten, the object lessons developed in England and the U.S., Herbartian pedagogy, the Scandinavian *slöjd* system of education through manual activities, the English university extension, as well as the research activities and seminars of German universities. Of course, during their transfer and relocalization, reinterpretations, misinterpretations, and changes occurred. This multidirectional trend paved the way for even stronger dynamics of internationalization that accompanied the emergence of so-called New Education in the twentieth century.

Despite efforts to render child-centered pedagogies universal, some progressive concepts remained linked to their national roots. A case in point is Dewey's educational theory and some concepts that readers around the world associated with it, such as the project method. Admiration for Dewey's work and for progressive schools proved very difficult to impart in other contexts due to both the particular democratic tradition of the U.S. and the particular epistemological assumptions that this specific breed of progressive pedagogy holds. This was certainly the case in the German discussion of Dewey's ideas, when the concept of democracy was widely discredited in the 1920s. National suitability was a matter of interpretation in other contexts even when democracy was not necessarily seen as a crucial problem, as in the case of republican China, where the remarkable reception of Dewey's ideas by an influential group of convinced modern republicans had to contend with the traditionalists' argument of cultural compatibility of North American pragmatism and Chinese tradition. For other pedagogies, such as Maria Montessori's early childhood proposals and theorizing, the link between educational concept and national frame was far looser.¹⁰

In the early twentieth century comparative education, echoing Jullien de Paris's early impulse, went beyond mere reporting on foreign educational systems. Certainly forerunners in the nineteenth century existed, but they were outside the field of education research or were merely programmatic in nature. Lorenz von Stein published a systematic comparison of elementary and vocational schools in 1868, but his work was primarily related to comparative law and administration. Similarly William T. Harris's call for "a science of comparative pedagogy" in 1889 was still wishful thinking. Only at the turn of the twentieth century did scholars advance proposals for a systematic comparative approach. In a lecture at the University Oxford in 1900, often characterized as the beginning of the scientific era in comparative and international education, Sir Michael Sadler cautioned against considering education only in educational terms. He advocated the comparative and systematic analysis of educational systems, institutions, and practices, taking into consideration their social and cultural embeddedness. Years later in New York, Isaac Kandel characterized comparative education as the inquiry into causes, whereas Nicholas Hans looked at "factors" and "traditions," which he also considered to be largely national in character, for a systematic comparative approach. Their works still exhibited a strong emphasis on data collection and certainly was less problem-driven than contemporary comparative education, yet their common purpose of overcoming the mere collection of foreign data and advancing explanations, often referring to a "national" frame, was characteristic of the time.¹¹

The role of the nation in these developments was reinforced by the emergence of international organizations. The first president of the League of Nations (1920–1946), Léon Bourgeois, affirmed in his famous report, "Organization of Intellectual Work" (1921), that "systems of education, scientific or philosophical research may lead to great international results, but they would never be initiated or would never prosper if they were not bound up with deepest national sensibilities." There were also nongovernmental actors like researchers working at the Institute Jean-Jacques Rousseau and other supporters of the new education movement that, for example, helped to establish the International Bureau of Education (IBE) in Geneva in 1925 and played a role in defining an expansive agenda, for instance in the field of children's rights. Yet only four years later the IBE became the first intergovernmental body to focus on education. Without the support of national governments, this rather local Geneva initiative would have been unable to survive on a long-term basis. Although the

significance of the League of Nations in shaping national debates and policies in the interwar time may have been limited, the establishment of UNESCO as the cultural, scientific, and educational agency of the United Nations had a bigger impact on the formulation of policy goals and priorities. Other interstate organizations with a strong record in educational policy, such as the World Bank and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), have also had considerable impact in both developed and developing countries. This ascendancy of the national state has not been broken by ideologies that rejected the national frame, as in the case of communism. Also, most aid-for-development assistance—a strong form of educational transfer—remained largely nation-based. The large wave of decolonization in Asia and Africa, beginning with the independence of India in 1947, added large territories—former colonies—to the list of “nations.”¹²

International and comparative educational historiography has strongly reflected this powerful trend in the history of international education. As for the whole field of comparative education, a “methodological nationalism” has shaped much of the research. This tendency pervaded many breeds of comparative and international history. It particularly applies to works addressing the educational history of other nations that are considered to be “international history,” although they do not deal with truly international developments like cross-boundary processes and entangled histories but only with one “other” nation. Methodological nationalism, implicitly or explicitly defining the national framing of educational processes as the crucial context for explaining both persistence and change, has also coined major international and comparative works in the history of education.

Classical historical comparative research takes a definite number of nations in order to work with hypotheses that are to be validated or falsified. Researchers do this by selecting a reduced number of nations, in which the value or significance of purportedly crucial explanatory variables and factors are quite different. In this sense, the different historical narratives allow one to assess the specific efficacy of particular variables and factors in explaining educational developments. For instance, Margaret Archer’s work on the origins of modern educational systems put a strong emphasis on the struggle of societal forces like churches and local powers dealing with the ascending force of the central state. In her analysis, different constellations of power among these actors in the formative phase of the development of modern educational systems have left a rather strong imprint in the different structures of the national systems of education. Andy Green’s examination of the same process, in contrast, has focused on education as a vital element of a larger strategy of state formation. In a work with considerable historiographical shortfalls, he analyzes different paths of development of national systems of education, but always as variations of the fundamental insight of institutionalized education as a constitutive element of modern statehood.

One major factor in the persistence of the nation as the crucial framing in these works is the fact that relevant archives have also undergone a process of nationalization, and the availability of documents is strongly nation-based. Yet even when archives are not confined to one nation, comparative works define problems in national terms, as in Christina de Bellaigue’s work on female private school entrepreneurs in France and England and in Marcelo Caruso’s work on the fate of monitorial schools in Spain and “Germany.” Even newer approaches to educational history, like educational transfer and reception of educational models and knowledge, implicitly or explicitly take for granted the nation as the main context for analysis. Theoretically sophisticated works of research focused on global

modernity, such as neo-institutional international sociology, have centered their empirical research on national reporting. They have convincingly elaborated on the specific links between a “global polity” and the nation as a crucial agent in the increasing and universalizing imposition of cultural scripts and their institutional realizations, such as school compulsion, national administrative responsibility for schools, and even the trends toward educational expansion. In this last version, the nation is considered a rationalized myth rather than a reified reality. Nonetheless this kind of international sociology still puts the constructed nation at center stage.¹³

Both the international and the comparative have strongly emphasized the efficacy of the nation as the key context for explaining educational developments in history. The constructedness of nations through long-term processes of identity formation and state building does not imply that they are fragile frames of reference and identification. National framing has survived political challenges—particularly socialist internationalism—and has partly patterned educational and scholarly cultures. Scholarly work, purportedly committed to the production of a knowledge deemed to be generally valid, did not escape the pervading force of nationalized communication frames. The fact that comparative and international historiography in education, reflecting these structural patterns, has largely centered on the nations is not the outcome of unimaginative historians only repeating conventional wisdoms. Even if the denaturalization of the nation remains a central tenet of historiographical critique, ignoring national frames and simply discarding comparison and the international does not seem to be a valid alternative.

THE TRANSNATIONAL: PROCESS AND EMERGING HISTORIOGRAPHY

The ascendancy of the nation in researching the educational past has an immediate consequence for the field of transnational history. The bulk of the scholarship dealing with the “transnational”—in the sense of transcending the nation as the crucial explanatory context for educational development and change—has particularly focused on the early modern times as well as on the recent history of education. In the first case, European states had not yet become national states, although representations of “nations” have circulated since the Middle Ages. In particular, the modern link between purported nations and individual states was by no means a tight one. In the second case, a whole new reality of increased interconnections and transnationalized actors, brought about through migrations, exchanges, and new possibilities of communication, motivated a stronger interest in processes located beyond the national.

The early experiences of Christian missionaries around the world are a good case in point for early educational history beyond nations. Whereas within the medieval church the term “nations” referred only to the geographical origins of her members in synods, Catholic missionaries abroad were often part of “transnational” (i.e., coming from different parts of Christendom) communities themselves. In addition, these transnational communities faced a transcultural challenge. Recent scholarship has also emphasized that the missionary experience in certain regions, particularly Japan, affected education within missions in other

parts of the world, demonstrating a transregional dynamic within the missionary sphere. On the whole, Jesuit educational work in missions on four continents, being the paramount case of the early modern era, was a truly transnational endeavor. Similarly, when Protestant missionary activities spread in India in the eighteenth century, missions were “multinational” settlements and schools “multinational” spaces not only because of the cultural encounter between local populations and the Europeans but also due to the mixed composition of the “Europeans” themselves. The growing ascendancy of the national contexts in the late eighteenth century and during the nineteenth also affected this originally transnational educational space. Missions themselves became more nationalized, as the famous case of India shows. There, although always intertwined with the universalistic rhetoric of missionary work, Christianity and nationality often straddled one another. Moreover some missionary work related to national churches—notably the Russian Orthodox missions in Central Asia and Siberia in the nineteenth century—was essentially national in its explicit purposes.¹⁴

Whether the Atlantic world, a category describing a strongly entangled transcontinental space in early modern times, had consequences in the field of education is difficult to assess. At first sight, the increasingly dense interconnection of Europe, Africa, and the Americas through commerce, the slave trade, and Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch, and English colonization from the late Middle Ages onward seems not to have had a significant impact on educational practices and institutions. Only the existence of a “revolutionary Atlantic” in the first decades of the nineteenth century clearly had educational consequences. Historical research has elaborated on the multidirectional links of different revolutionary processes, including the echoes of American independence, the French Revolution, Haitian and Latin American independence, as well as constitutional movements in Spain, Portugal, and some Italian states. In a time in which proponents of the Enlightenment, liberals, and revolutionary fighters shared the cult of education as an indispensable means of progress, knowledge about educational institutions and practices strongly circulated. Jeremy Bentham’s extensive network of correspondence, including recommendations about the reform of both elementary and higher education, reached influential men in many countries. Monitorial and Lancasterian schools using mutual teaching and tutoring rapidly expanded in the Atlantic world, connecting such disparate points of diffusion as London, Cádiz, Philadelphia, and Buenos Aires. Questions concerning education and political modernity circulated widely in this transnational space, as in the case of the limitation of the new principle of popular sovereignty and adult male franchise to those who could read and write.¹⁵

Historiographies of other regions, not defined by political or state borders and being identified as places of material and cultural exchange, have not particularly delved into the theme of the circulation and spread of educational institutions and practices. This is the case for the Indian Ocean and Central Asia, including the Silk Road, in the early modern era, when certainly knowledge and inventions circulated widely with travelers.

It is likely that colonial education was the broadest and strongest current of transnational educational history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Colonial education defined a constellation of power and actors that displayed a clear type of asymmetric transnationality. On one side, colonial educationalists and administrators coming from one (usually) European nation faced, on the other side, a whole range of different Native and local peoples whose sheer plurality challenged the national principle of a homogeneous national culture. Research has shown that this asymmetry opened different courses of action and regulation regarding educational practices and institutions. Particularly the different paths of the

British Empire and the French colonies attracted considerable attention for a long time. Following a contemporary self-description of the decentralized and rather liberal British indirect rule and the centralized, rationalized, and bureaucratic French system, scholarship reproduced these ideal types, partly with detailed research and partly overlooking the shortcomings of these two distinct and almost opposite categories for describing and explaining colonial education. Evidently French and British colonialism played a crucial role in introducing Westernized models of education and school in a big part of the world.

Nonetheless the focus on these major countries has somewhat neglected the existence of a stronger variation of colonial experiences regarding education and schools. This relative neglect is particularly true for the colonial experience under Portuguese rule—the last European country giving up her empire, as late as 1974—as well as for the Dutch, German, Belgian, and Scandinavian empires and the short-lived Italian colonies. An intensification of the transnational element in colonial education emerged at the end of the nineteenth century, when systematic surveys and conferences showed that colonial powers had a strong interest in learning from each other. The emergence of the Japanese colonial project and the American experiences with the neocolonial rearrangement of the Philippines after 1898 added more complexity to the relationship between colonialism and modern education.¹⁶

Once largely viewed as a reinforcement of colonial domination, Westernized models of education and colonial educational policies proved to be particularly ambivalent in their outcomes. First, for many administrators, institutionalized education was one of the most expensive strategies in the consolidation of colonial order, and consequently they were cautious in expanding educational services. Second, both native elites and outcast groups looked for schooling, albeit with different purposes. Elites viewed Westernized education as a means of reproducing old hierarchies in a new setting. For instance, the king of one Madagascan kingdom sent his sons to an institution for teacher training in London at the beginning of the nineteenth century and combined this mission with deeper insights into Western knowledge and science. The admittedly uneven acceptance of Western schooling and education led to both stronger cultural dependencies and the privileging of old elites in the new structures. For some members of outcast groups, institutions and practices of Westernized education opened unprecedented possibilities. In the case of the Dalits, or “untouchables,” in India, Western education and its promise of meritocracy and individual progress may have perturbed traditional structures like classifications of caste (*varna* and *jati*).

Particularly the effects of colonial education on elite developments were anything but univocal. Western-style educated members of the elites and anglicized groups in India became powerful advocates for independence. Similarly, many of the independent leaders in Asia and Africa had a strong Western educational record. Some, like Amílcar Cabral from Guinea, were former students in their respective colonial metropolis. Others, such as the Burmese Aung San, had a degree from a Western university (in Aung San’s case, in English literature), and some even had an academic career in institutions of higher education in Western countries, like the Mozambican Eduardo Mondlane. The process of decolonization was not only transnational in nature; it further deployed a transnational circulation of educational projects, such as those of the Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere, who coined some then popular concepts for educational policies, or the Brazilian Paulo Freire. Interestingly, these transnational aspects were not only circulating in the countries of the South but also impacting discussions and education movements in industrialized

countries. Among the significant transnational political movements related to independence and decolonization, pan-Africanism had some educational consequences—at the level of advancing reform programs and even elements for alternative educational philosophies—whereas this seems to have been largely absent in the case of pan-Arabism.¹⁷

Since the second half of the nineteenth century, another kind of transnational development took place in industrialized countries: international congresses discussing education, educational policies, and educational research, many of which were scientific congresses. Between 1860 and 1869 on average ten international congresses took place each year. In subsequent years this number noticeably increased. Between 1910 and 1913 there was an average of 230 international congresses per year. In the field of education, there were not only general educational congresses. In the course of time, a thematic differentiation occurred. Congresses on art instruction, moral education, popular education, vocational and agricultural education, school hygiene, and child protection, among others, demonstrated an unprecedented variety of educational topics. The New Education Fellowship, established in 1921, organized many meetings in the interwar period and heavily influenced the exchange of information and people as well as the consolidation of a progressive educational knowledge. Not only scholars and “experts” but also actors working in the education system, such as teachers’ associations, began to organize international meetings. National teams and delegations may have played an important role in organizing different positions in these meetings; nonetheless both kinds of meetings, scientific and political, negotiated discourses and positions that transcended the national frame referring to scientific truth or to common interests.¹⁸

Together with the enormous growth of international (interstate) organizations working in the field of education, transnational advocacy based on actors and organizations from civil society grew rapidly in the twentieth century. This kind of transnationality, often in connection with broader movements related to universalistic humanitarianism, was particularly strong in the long history of the passing of the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1989. Recent scholarship has convincingly credited nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) with this achievement of global scale. The history of the Rights of the Child reaches back to 1890 with the organization of the first international congresses concerned with the protection of children. Already in the adoption of the First International Declaration for the Rights of Children in 1924, representatives of transnational NGOs played a vital role. Some years later, advances within the interstate frame of UNESCO/UNICEF (United Nations Children’s Fund) culminated in the adoption of a nonbinding Declaration of the Rights of the Child in 1959 by the General Assembly of the United Nations. However, the further development of the declaration on children’s rights was largely an outcome of nongovernmental activism. In 1977 a committee of NGOs was established, which rapidly grew into a dense network of support for a binding and extended declaration. After more than ten years of close cooperation with UN agencies, in 1989 the UN General Assembly adopted the binding Convention on the Rights of the Child. The rather autonomous work of these nongovernmental agencies as advocates of universalistic norms and their—still—crucial role in monitoring the implementation of the convention show a new level of the international beyond the national frame.

To be sure, the transnationality constructed by actors from civil society still addresses individual national states, but at the same time, it also organizes advocacy coalitions on postnational levels, and it is not limited to children’s rights. This is particularly obvious in

the field of development aid, in general, and in the World Education Forums concerned with the Education for All initiative, in particular. In these, an unprecedented level of interaction between different actors, including many NGOs, has emerged. Strong evidence points at a new and different wave of transnational nongovernmental advocacy initiatives in education. Civil society actors constructing their own transnational spaces have multiplied since the nineteenth century; these have included, among others, networks of women rights' activists, Boy Scouts and other youth movements, as well as teachers' unions.¹⁹

Additional processes of supranational exchanges, movements, and spaces are emerging fields of research in the context of increasing entanglements of economies and cultures. For instance, diasporas may redefine relevant contexts of analysis. Although Irish immigrants' resistance to public nondenominational schooling in New York City is definitely not part of the "history of education in Ireland," it may be defined as a part of a transnational "Irish" educational history together with developments in Australia, Argentina, and India. Commonalities of language may also define a relevant context for researching entangled educational histories. This has been the case of the Portuguese-speaking world, where a dense exchange of pedagogical knowledge has been identified between Portugal and Brazil, but also South-South transfers, for example between Brazil and the former Portuguese colonies in Africa. This also applies to movements such as pan-Slavism that defined their commonalities on the basis of a family of languages rather than more divisive elements of tradition, such as religion. Multidirectional processes related to staff, student, and pupil mobility, and their role in the making of cosmopolitan educational cultures, might also become a central field for a truly transnational history of education.²⁰

These rather newer fields of historical research in education have benefited from recent conceptual innovations in the field of historical research. One of these conceptual innovations has been the outspoken flexible idea of "connected histories." Just as the concept of an Atlantic history suggested shared historical experiences, the idea of connected histories relies on linkages and encounters that are not necessarily only national. Mostly approached as local processes shaped by culturally different forces, the idea of connected histories has also entered the realm of educational historiography. A somewhat competitive concept is that of "entangled" histories. Although at first sight the idea of entanglements may appear almost identical to that of the connections, historians interested in entangled histories have emphasized colonial entanglements and their consequences in the metropolis ("empire at home"), performing a decentering from Europe or from industrialized countries. Whereas connected histories may be too general a concept, the idea of entanglements has focused on mutual influencing as well as processes of perception and exchange in which the participants are constituting each other in the very process of their entanglement. The new global history also emphasizes interactions and entanglements, yet this perspective refers to these phenomena in connection with structures and processes of worldwide scale for which a theorized framing is urgently needed in order to cope with multiple, even contradictory processes and developments.

In this respect, neo-institutionalist scholarship also advanced pioneering work in dealing with transnational actors and processes. As such studies suggest, transnational actors still are playing a part within the big picture of world culture strongly promoted by national states, but they are addressed in their specificity as being organized beyond national states, as in the case of international organizations. In remarkable works of theorizing, neo-institutional studies made a strong case for combining both the persistence of national

units and the efficacy of a supranational level of educational transformation, the “world polity.” This level consists of a series of rationalized “myths” that defined a model of society based on the modern (and, in this account, Western) ideas of progress and the individual. Particularly education is seen in this view as a secularized form of salvation and as the ultimate initiation ritual for the integration of societies. Both the individual and the nation find their salvation in education and its advancement. The myths of progress, individuality, and national polities are not national; rather they are available beyond national borders. Their pervasive cultural normativity constitutes a truly transnational force shaping the development of the main structures of education, even if the national states are still the main agents of these changes.

Some concepts from international sociology emphasizing differences and inequalities rather than convergence, above all Immanuel Wallerstein’s concept of world systems, have also entered into the field. Its central concepts, focusing on hegemony, dependency, centers, semiperipheries, and peripheries, are basically supranational and relational. Educational historiography, particularly for the history of the past two centuries, has not yet fully developed these perspectives with the same intensity. Connected histories and transnational spaces may have become research perspectives in recent years. Analytical perspectives from the viewpoint of global history—that do not take “global” as being somewhat “everywhere”—are still rare.²¹

ON THE EDGE: PROSPECTS FOR INTERNATIONAL AND TRANSNATIONAL HISTORY

The fields of international and transnational history are clearly in a phase of diversification and consolidation. Whereas traditional comparative research has somewhat receded, international and transnational perspectives are gaining ground partly due to the uncomplicated systems of bibliographical search across countries and the unprecedented digitalization of printed and archival sources. Yet not only are the feasibility of research concepts favoring prolific new areas of study, but the attractiveness of conceptual and theoretical innovations also gives participating scholars a general sense of radical revision of the nationally framed histories.

Yet the usefulness of many of the new positions and concepts is still to be assessed. Some of them have not even been spelled out in all their historiographical consequences. Really suggestive terms like “translocality,” in which the very concept of locality is being rethought as a series of operations at the cross point of a number of “flows,” or the strategy of a crossed history (*histoire croisée*), in which comparison and transfer are combined between connected entities, are still new for the general historiography. In addition, educational historiography has taken very little notice of them. The impact of these and other concepts in changing the narrations of the emergence of the modern world and its intrinsic connectivity related to education is still a matter of discussion.

Equivalent complex formulations have certainly impacted the field of educational historiography. For instance, idiosyncratic views on education and schooling have been discussed as being partly produced by an emerging “world-level ideology” of education, that is, as a

result of particular flows of worldwide relevance and dominance. Although historians working on education have become increasingly aware of the shortfalls of pure national explanations, it is rather difficult to assess what kind of explanatory context may be in focus instead of the nation. For instance, some scholars have defined “Europe” or “Western Europe” as the context of their research, such as Jeroen Dekker’s work on reeducation homes for children at risk in the nineteenth century and David Vincent’s book on the rise of mass literacy. It is not completely clear why Europe should become the relevant context for defining the scope of their research. Connections in the first case and parallel developments in the second are not limited to Europe.

These works may have contributed to a critique of the sole national contextualization pointing at the entangled histories and similar patterns of persistence and change across nations. Yet they have worked rather *ex negativo*, namely rendering visible forces and processes of educational change that are not confined to the realm of the national. Whether Europe emerges in these works as a meaningful form of contextualization is far from clear. A slightly different case is scholarship dealing with Latin America as a crucial supranational context. Books on popular education in that region by Adriana Puiggrós and the history of shared “models” of education by Gregorio Weinberg may be built on an entangled colonial past and the commonality of language that allowed a continuous circulation of knowledge and people, even when nations and their boundaries emerged in the nineteenth century. Yet even in these cases, educational developments in Puerto Rico and Brazil, for instance, show that commonalities and the purportedly clear concept of the “Latin American” may also be misleading and too simplistic. In many of these cases, particularly concerning Europe, nation-states are the rival that has to be dethroned as the main explanatory context rather than the analytical unity that has to be reassessed from the point of view of larger connections.

Neo-institutionalist scholarship on the diffusion of modern schooling around the world has advanced a consistent (and not unproblematic) hypothesis of the specific role of nation-states in establishing and reforming education within a “world-polity.” Although these studies do not analyze national processes very closely, their main argument still considers the nation as being one central agent in the history of modern education, while, at the same time, it deconstructs the nationalist view of nations by redefining them as agents of supranational forces and not as the expressions and institutionalizations of given particularities.

An additional concern in the field of comparative, international, and transnational histories is related to the idiosyncratic or cultural nature of the processes of transferring, importing, and interpreting education. The main tenet of studies like Barbara Schulte’s analysis of the coming of Western vocational education to China or Hector Lindo and Erik Ching’s work on U.S. programs about educational television in El Salvador during the cold war is that specific cultural meanings and circumstances changed purportedly global or general models and techniques in circulation. In this respect, these works voiced concerns about plain standardization and culturally insensitive policies and reform drafts. Yet there is not much analyzing and theorizing about the crucial point of the nature of this “culturality” in the process of lending and borrowing. Certainly cultures may also not be reduced to national cultures, but sound criteria differentiating between cultures of education are rare: are they tied to languages, to religions, to structural aspects of economic and social life, to legal traditions? Again, thinking big without ceding to the appeal of great—and too coherent—narratives could bring additional impulses as well as some order to the emergence of an educational historiography genuinely concerned with the international and the transnational.²²

On the whole, educational historiography has shown a consistent interest in delving into other nations' educational histories as well as supranational educational developments. In a first version, related to classical comparative research, the internationality of the approach was closely tied to the highlighting of nations as the crucial context in narrating educational histories. In the newer approaches of transnational history, the nation itself became an object of scrutiny and critique. Both approaches have their merits and limitations and are by no means mutually exclusive. The need for focusing and specifying research questions and problems leads to a modeling of the research work that usually highlights one of these two major directions of research. As new economic, cultural, and political settings have emerged in the past decades, educational historians have also differentiated their approaches, and the whole field of international and transnational history is being rechartered in the context of thick globalization, characterized by high-extensity, high-intensity, high-velocity, and high-impact transnational interconnectedness.

Historians, much accustomed to working individually on grants and book projects, should rely more on collaborative efforts to tame the challenge of this new historiography. The reach and complexity of many of the subjects related to transnational and international histories largely exceed the manpower of individual historians and even of small research groups. Of course, it is particularly tempting to face this with edited volumes, in which specialists of a given context are invited to contribute and a more general transnational argument may appear within the collection of chapters. This has certainly been a fruitful approach that has expanded to new subjects in recent years.²³ A more transnational and international approach that exceeds the sum of a series of local/national studies is now much needed. The rare genre of collaborative books (without individual chapters) may be a valid alternative for a field of educational historiography that not only challenges monocultural and monolanguage approaches but also the limits of the traditional making and circulating of texts and knowledge.

NOTES

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6. Victor Cousin, *Rapport sur l'état de l'instruction publique dans quelques pays de l'Allemagne et particulièrement en Prusse*, 2 vols. (Paris: Impr. Royale, 1832); Victor Cousin, *Etat de l'instruction secondaire dans le Royaume de Prusse pendant l'année 1831* (Paris: Levrault, 1834); Victor Cousin, *De l'instruction publique en Hollande* (Brussels: Société Belge de Librairie, 1838). See a resumed American reprint in *Review of Victor Cousin's Report on the Prussian Schools* (Albany, NY: Packard & Van Benthuyzen, 1833).
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